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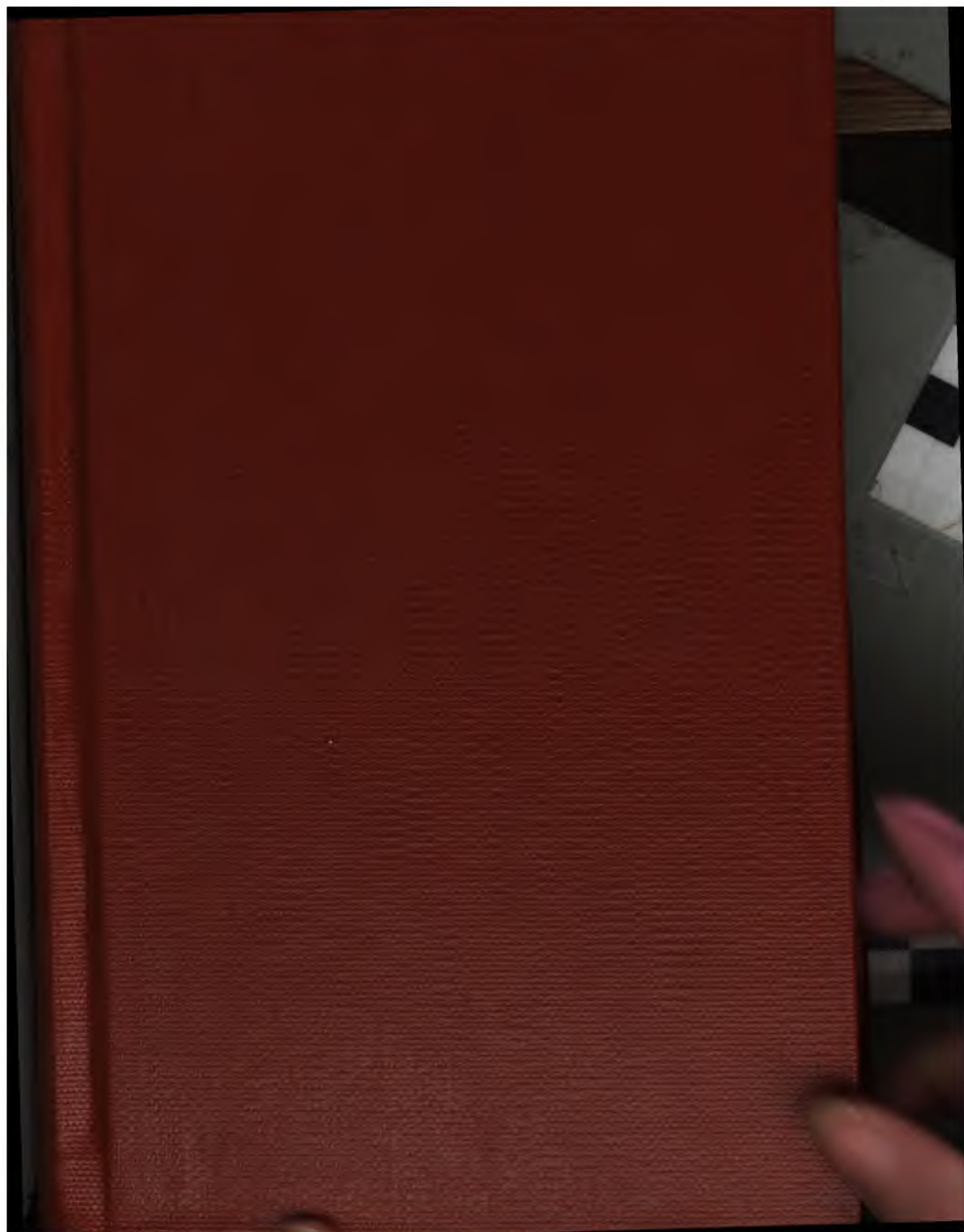
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# KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON

FRONTISPIECE TO THE VOLUME.

*A. Franklin Ball*

*Charles Knight*

KNIGHT'S CYCLOPÆDIA

OF



1851.

LONDON:

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SERPENTINE BRIDGE

KNIGHTS  
Cyclopedia  
OF  
LONDON

NO. I. PARKS.



VICTORIA.



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# KNIGHT'S

## CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

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### I. PARKS.

As public haunts, the Parks of London scarcely date from an earlier period than the time of the Commonwealth. It may be added that, in their character of royal demesnes, St. James's, Hyde Park, and Kensington Gardens, are no older than the time of Henry VIII., while even the Regent's Park can claim a connection with royalty, more equivocal and less blazoned, it is true, but equally certain. Their common story is briefly as follows :—

The fields which now constitute St. James's Park were acquired by Henry VIII. for some lands in Suffolk. The hospital of St. James, which had previously stood there, was pulled down, the sisterhood pensioned off, a "goodly palace" erected on its site, and a park enclosed by a brick wall. Hyde Park came into the possession of the same bluff monarch by a less formal process, at the dissolution of the monasteries. It formed part of the manor of Hyde, the property of the abbot and monastery of St. Peter at Westminster. As mention is made of the keeper of the park very soon after its acquisition by the Crown, and no notice taken of its enclosure by Henry, it has been generally assumed that it was enclosed while yet the patrimony of the convent. A number of manors, previously belonging to monasteries, fell into the king's hands at the same time with the manor of Hyde. Some of these were granted to bishops, and others to secular courtiers; some remained for a time annexed to the Crown. Among the latter seems to have been the manor of Marylebone, attached to which, in the time of Elizabeth, was a park, in which it is recorded that a deer was killed on one occasion for the amusement of the Muscovite ambassador. Some undivided twenty-fourth parts of the manor of Mary-bourne, and of Mary-bourne Park, have been retained by the Crown to the present day; and these, with some additional lands, now constitute the Regent's Park.

To the passionate fondness of the early English sovereigns for the chase, we owe, in all probability, the parks of London. What was a passion in our Williams and Edwards, became in their successors a fashion also. Even the awkward and timid James deemed it a part of king-craft to affect a love of the chase. Hence the formation of St. James's Park by Henry VIII., and the retention of Hyde Park and Mary-bourne Park by that king and his successors, when other lands appropriated by the Crown at the dissolution of the monasteries were squandered away as lavishly as they were covetously grasped in the first instance. There are circumstances which would lead us to attribute to Henry VIII. a more extensive project than that of merely studding the country in the vicinity of the royal residence with deer parks. A proclamation issued by Henry in July, 1546, would have had the effect of converting a considerable extent of country round Westminster into a royal *chase*, within which

the parks would have been mere nurseries for the deer. The proclamation announces that, "Forasmuch as the King's Most Royal Majesty is much desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron, preserved in and about his honour of the Palace of Westminster for his own disport and pastime; that is to say, from his said Palace of Westminster to St. Gyles in the Fields, and from thence to Islington, to our Lady of the Oak, to Highgate, to Hornsey Park, to Hampstead Heath, and from thence to his said Palace of Westminster, to be preserved and kept for his own besport and pleasure and recreation; his Highness, therefore, straightly chargeth and commandeth all and singular his subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, that they nor any of them do presume or attempt to hunt or to hawk, or in any means to take or kill, any of the said game within the precincts aforesaid, as they tender his favour, and will eschew the imprisonment of their bodies, and further punishment at his Majesty's will and pleasure."

Had this attempt been strenuously insisted upon and carried through by the Crown, it might have proved more effectual than the frequent proclamations issued in subsequent reigns to prevent the extension of the buildings of the metropolis. New houses might have been pulled down, on the plea that they were encroachments upon the royal chase, and interfered with the preservation of the game. This belt of royal hunting-ground might have kept London cabined in within the liberties, or driven it across the Thames, or down into the marshes of Essex. But Henry did not long survive, and in Edward's brief boy reign there were more serious matters to attend to than hunting, and Queen Mary hunted heretics, not hares, and Queen Elizabeth had too many reasons for keeping on good terms with the merchant-princes of London to insist upon a measure always so unpopular in England as an extension of the royal hunting reserves. So the plan, if ever seriously entertained, broke down, and the city corporation hunted the hare at the head of the conduit, where Conduit Street now stands, and killed the fox at the end of St. Giles's; and a flood of stone and mortar, leaving the royal parks isolated and far apart, like mountain peaks in the deluge, rushed from London, covering the meres and brooks, along which bluff Harry had sprung the heron and flown his hawk at her, and over the dry uplands, where the quick-eared hare had trembled to hear the coming route of "mayor, aldermen, and many worshipful persons, the masters and wardens of the twelve companies, and the chamberlain."

This forgotten proclamation of Henry VIII. marks the turning of a tide. William the Conqueror made new forests. One of the most bitter causes of quarrel between Charles I. and his subjects, was the attempt of that monarch to enclose some new lands within a large park he attempted to erect between Richmond and Hampton Court. William carried his point; Charles's attempt helped to cost him his life; Henry only failed. Henry's attempt was made under the culmination of the star of feudal times. Looking back, we can see that it was impossible that the public should long be kept from sharing with the monarch in the good things he took from the church.

#### ST. JAMES'S PARK.

It is impossible to saunter about St. James's Park without being struck by its beauties. If, however, any person wishes to enjoy them like a true epicure—to take as much of the beautiful and exclude as much of the common-place as possible—to heighten the pleasure of each succeeding morsel by a judicious regard to harmony in the order in which they succeed each other—it will be advisable to enter through

the Green Park by the gate opposite Hamilton Place, at the west end of Piccadilly. Lounging onwards by the walk that descends close by the spot formerly occupied by the ranger's lodge, the eye passes along a vista between trees to rest upon a beautiful line of wood in the middle distance, out of which rise the towers of Westminster Abbey. A massive corner of the palace is seen between the trees nearer at hand. The walk here parts into two—that on the left hand descending into what has all the appearance from this point of a woody dell; the other carrying us into an open space, where we have a view of the unobtrusively wealthy mansions of Piccadilly on the other, and the more decorated line of buildings which form the eastern boundary of the Green Park in front. The pictures on every hand are at this point perfect in regard to composition: the arrangement of trees, lawn, and architecture is simply elegant. Turning to the right hand, at the mansion of the Duke of Sutherland, we come into St. James's Park. The palace itself presents a front of some magnificence, from its large breadth and height; and is now seen to better advantage, since the removal of the marble arch. Crossing the mall, enter the ornamented enclosure in front of the palace. Once here, it is a matter of perfect indifference what way the loiterer turns—only, if it be possible, he ought to get upon the grass as soon as he can. From the side at which we have supposed him to enter, he catches through the trees as he moves along such partial glances of the palace, or of the Government offices at the opposite end of the park, as make pretty pictures out of very questionable architecture. Opposite him he has the majestic receptacle of the dead royalty of old England. If he prefer the opposite side of the central sheet of water, the most eligible point of view is on the rising near the angle at Buckingham Gate, affording a fine view, closed by the dome of St. Paul's.

This is the still life, but in the "enjoyment of prospects" the shifting of the human and other figures is the most material source of pleasure to the spectator. Along the track which we have been pursuing in imagination, there is rich variety: from the glance and dash of equipages along Piccadilly to the pedestrians of the Green Park; thence to the stately noiseless sweep of the privileged vehicles of the nobility along the mall, enlivened by the occasional passage of a horseman, who rides as if the fate of empires depended on his keeping the appointment to which he is bound; and thence again into the ornamented enclosure, where, in the absence of other company, we are sure of the birds. Many an hour of pleasant intercourse may be spent with the water-fowl in St. James's Park, whether they be showing the ease with which habit has taught them to mingle in crowded society; or with their heads under their wings sleeping on the smooth water at eight o'clock in the morning—for, like other inhabitants of the pleasure-seeking world of London, they have acquired bad habits of late rising; or in the intoxication of returning spring, wheeling in pursuit of each other in long circles overhead, then rushing down into their native element, and ploughing long furrows in it on St. Valentine's Day. These birds are the property of the Ornithological Society.

During the reigns of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts, St. James's Park can only be considered as a nursery for deer and an appendage to the tilt-yard. The frequent allusions to it as a place of rendezvous by the dramatists of the age of Charles II. are sought in vain in Shakspeare and his contemporaries, with whom St. Paul's occupies its place. It could not well be otherwise. A visit to the palace at Westminster was then going out of London, and to have gone out of the palace into the park would have been in the way of pleasure-hunting a work of supererogation—gilding refined gold. A passage occurs in Pepys's 'Diary,' which enables us to form an idea of the comparative seclusion of the park in these days. The date of the

entry is not much earlier than that of the notice of the alterations made by Charles II. "1660, July 22nd. Went to walk in the *inward park*, but could not get in; one man was basted by the keeper for carrying some people over on his back through the water." If the reader will consult one of the earlier maps of London, he will find a long, narrow, four-cornered piece of water introduced behind the tilt-yard, extending nearly from side to side of the park, at right angles to the direction of the canal constructed in the time of Charles II. This apparently is the piece of water across which the crowd attempted to get themselves smuggled on the occasion referred to by Pepys into "the inward park."

So long as the tilt-yard maintained its interest, the space beyond it would have few attractions for the gazing public. On either side of the park there was a place of resort preferred by the loungers of the times anterior to the Restoration—Spring Garden and the Mulberry Garden. The period at which Spring Garden was enclosed and laid out is uncertain. The clump of houses which still bears the name, indicates its limits with tolerable exactness. The Mulberry Garden was planted by order of James I., who attempted in 1608 to produce silk in England, and to that end imported many hundred thousand mulberry-trees from France. In 1629 a grant was made to Walter, Lord Aston, &c., of "the custody of the garden, mulberry-trees, and silk-worms, near St. James's, in the county of Middlesex." How soon after this the silk-worms disappeared and the gardens were opened to the gay world, does not appear. Buckingham House, which stood where the central part of the palace now stands, was erected by John, Duke of Buckingham, in 1703, and the Mulberry Garden attached to the house as private property.

After Charing Cross had become more and more connected by lines of buildings with the City, and private dwelling-houses had multiplied along three sides of the Park by Pall Mall and King Street, and the streets behind Queen Square, and when tournaments fell into disuse, the temptation to penetrate into the recesses of the park would increase. In the time of Charles I. a sort of royal menagerie had begun to take the place of the deer with which the "inward park" was stocked in the days of Henry and Elizabeth.

With the restoration of Charles II. begins the era of the park's existence as a public haunt, and materials for its history become accessible. The design according to which the park was laid out has been generally attributed to Le Notre. Charles seems to have set to work with its adornment immediately on his return. We can trace the progress of the operations in Pepys's 'Diary:'

"1660, Sept. 16. \* \* \* To the park, where I saw how far they had proceeded in the Pall Mall, and in making a river through the park which I had never seen before since it was begun. \* \* \* October 11. To walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest I liked that which Mr. Greatorex brought, which do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. \* \* \* 1661. August 4. \* \* \* Walked into St. James's Park (where I had not been a great while), and there found great and very noble alterations. \* \* \* 1662. July 27. I went to walk in the park, which is now every day more and more pleasant by the new works upon it."

All the future representations of the park during the reign of Charles II., exhibit to us his long rows of young elm and lime-trees, fenced round with palings to protect them from injury. We have such a row in front of the old Horse Guards, and another such following the line of the canals. These are occasionally relieved by some fine old trees, as in Tempest's view, in the title-page of this number.

The elegance of the park transformed into a garden, with the attractions of the

re animals for the curious and the mall for the gamesters, rendered it immediately the favourite haunt of the court. The mall (a vista half a mile in length) received its name from a game at ball, for which was formed a hollow smooth walk, closed on each side by a border of wood, and having an iron hoop at one extremity. He curiously inquiring Mr. Pepys records:—"1663. May 15, I walked in the park, scouring with the keeper of the Pall-mall, who was sweeping of it; who told me at the earth is mixed that do floor the mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells rwdred and spread to keep it fast; which, however, in dry weather turns to dust and deads the ball." The game was, however, played somewhat differently, even in the park.

St. James's Park is intimately associated with anecdotes of the private life of Charles II. Gibber tells us, that "his indolent amusement of playing with his dogs and feeding his ducks in St. James's Park (which I have seen him do) made the common people adore him." He was an early riser; which was sorely complained of by his attendants, who did not sleep off their debauches so lightly. Burnet complained that the king walked so fast, it was a trouble to keep up with him. When Prince George of Denmark complained on one occasion that he was growing fat, "Walk with me," said Charles, "and hunt with my brother, and you will not long be distressed with growing fat." Dr. King, on the authority of Lord Cromarty, has enabled us to accompany the merry monarch in one of his walks. The king, accompanied by the Duke of Leeds and Lord Cromarty, had taken two or three turns in St. James's Park, and after proceeding up Constitution Hill, which was then quite in the country, he encountered the Duke of York returning from hunting as he was about to cross into Hyde Park. The Duke alighted to pay his respects, and expressed his uneasiness at seeing his brother with so small an attendance: "No kind of danger, James," said Charles, "for I am sure no man in England would kill me to make you king." Another of the merry monarch's strolls in the park is characteristic, and rendered more piquant by the decorous character of the narrator, Evelyn, in whose company he was at the time:—"1671. March 1. \* \* \* I thence walked with him (King Charles) through St. James's Park to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between Mrs. Nellie, as they call an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and \* \* \* \* \* (*sic in orig.*) standing on the green walk under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the king walked to the Duchess of Cleveland, another lady of pleasure and curse of our nation." During this interview with "Mrs. Nellie" the king was standing in the royal garden which constituted the northern boundary of the park. "Mrs. Nellie" looked down upon him from the wall of a small garden behind her house (near 79, Pall-mall). Perhaps, however, a little incident related by Coke is even more characteristic of Charles, from its contrasting his loitering gossiping habits with public and private suffering. Coke was one day in attendance on the king, who, having finished feeding his favourites, was proceeding towards St. James's, and was overtaken at the further end of the mall by Prince Rupert. "The king told the prince how he had shot a duck, and such a dog fetched it; and so they walked on till the king came to St. James's House: and there the king said to the prince, 'Let's go and see Cambridge and Kendal,'—the Duke of York's two sons, who then lay a-dying. But upon his return to Whitehall he found all in an uproar, the Countess Castlemaine, as it was said, bewailing above all others that she should be the first torn in pieces." The news of the arrival of the Dutch fleet in the river had just been received. Pepys gives in his 'Diary' a fine picture of a court cavalcade in the park, all flaunting with feathers, in which the same Castlemaine takes a



prominent part, while the king appears between her and his lawful wife and Mrs. Stuart (with reverence be it spoken) not unlike Macheath "with his doxies around." Popps often encounters, also, Charles's brother, the Duke of York, in the park, but always actively engaged:—"1661. April 2. To St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at pall-mall, the first time that I ever saw the sport." And—"1662. Dec. 15. To the duke, and followed him into the park, where, though the ice was broken, he would go alide upon his skaits, which I did not like, but he slides very well." Skating was then a novelty among us. It is probable that some of the exiled cavaliers had acquired the art while seeking to while away the tedium of a Dutch winter.

After the death of Charles II. St. James's Park ceased to be the favourite haunt of the sovereign. The burning of Whitehall, by occasioning the removal of the court, may in part account for this—in part, the less gossiping turn of succeeding sovereigns. But the love of their subjects for this pleasing lounge has been more lasting. In the last century, when the distinctions of rank were more marked by dress, "the toe of the peasant" came somewhat too near "the courtier." Walpole writes, "My Lady Coventry and my niece Waldegrave have been mobbed in the park." The gradual rise in refinement amongst all orders in society, now renders such a place of public resort safe for all and offensive to none; no insult for the great, no contumely for the lowly. The improvements effected in the time of George IV. were for the people, and they abuse not their own possession. The ornamented grounds are kept with the nicest care, uninjured by any rude trespassers; the water-fowl are confided to the protection of the public. The relief of the guard on the parade attracts a crowd of idlers of all denominations, but there is no disorder. Civility has become a marked characteristic of all classes of the people. By night, as by day, the park is now secure. It was lighted by gas in 1822.

#### HYDE PARK.

Hyde Park, the Green and St. James's Parks, may be regarded as forming part of an uninterrupted space of open pleasure-ground. This is not so apparent now that they only touch with their angles, but it was otherwise before the ground on which Apsley House and Hamilton Place stand was taken from Hyde Park. Even yet the isthmus which connects them, where Hyde Park Gate and the gate at the top of Constitution Hill front each other, is only attenuated, not intersected. They have, moreover, since the Revolution been invariably intrusted to the care of the same ranger.

Each of these parks has its own peculiar character. St. James's, lying among palaces, and hedged round on all sides from a comparatively early period by the fashionable residences of the "West End," is the courtier. Hyde Park, not yet quite surrounded by the town, and decidedly extending into a rural neighbourhood, is the "fine old country gentleman," essentially stately and noble, and a courtier too on occasions, yet with a dash of rusticity. Hemmed in though this park now is on all sides by long rows of buildings, one feels there, on a breezy upland with a wide space of empty atmosphere on every side, what must have been the charm of this place when the eye, looking from it, fell in every direction on rural scenes, for Hyde Park until very recently was entirely in the country. And this remark naturally conducts us to those adventures and incidents associated with Hyde Park which contribute even more than its rural position to render it less exclusively of the court, courtly, than St. James's.

Hyde Park was a favourite place of resort for those who brought in the 1st of May with the reverence once paid to it. Pepys breathes a sigh in his 'Diary' on the evening of the 30th April, 1661, (he was then on a pleasure jaunt,) to this effect :— "I am sorry I am not in London to be at Hyde Park to-morrow morning, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine." It was very fine, for Evelyn has entered in his 'Diary,' under the date of the identical 1st of May referred to by Pepys :—"I went to Hyde Park to take the air, where was his Majesty and an innumerable appearance of gallants and rich coaches, being now at time of universal festivity and joy." But even during the sway of the Puritans, the Londoners assembled here "to do observance to May," as we learn from 'Several Proceedings of State Affairs, 27th April to 4th May, 1654.'—"Monday, 1st May. This day was more observed by people going a maying than for divers years past, and indeed much sin committed by wicked meetings with fiddlers, drunkenness, ribaldry, and the like ; great resort came to Hyde Park, many hundreds of coaches and gallants in attire, but most shameful powdered hair men, and painted and spotted women. Some men played with a silver ball, and some took other recreation. But his Highness the Lord Protector went not thither nor any of the Lords of the Commonwealth, but were busy about the great affairs of the Commonwealth." We would give a trifle to know whether one John Milton, a Secretary of the Lord Protector, was equally self-denying. In 1654 the morning view from the Ring in Hyde Park must have been not unlike this description of what had met a poet's eye in his early rambles—

"Some time walking not unseen  
By hedge-row elms on hillock green,  
Right against the eastern gate  
Where the great sun begins his state,  
Robed in flames and amber light,  
The clouds in thousand liveries dight,  
While the ploughman near at hand  
Whistles o'er the furrow'd land ;  
And the milkmaid singeth blithe,  
And the mower whets his scythe,  
And every shepherd tells his tale  
Under the hawthorn in the dale."

Be this as it may, the sports affected by the habitual frequenters of Hyde Park at all times of the year had a manly character about them, harmonising with its country situation. For example, although the Lord Protector felt it inconsistent with his dignity to sanction by his presence the profane mummary of the 1st of May, he made himself amends for his self-denial a few days afterwards, as we learn from the 'Moderate Intelligencer : '—"In Hyde Park, this day, there was a hurling of a great ball by fifty Cornish gentlemen of one side, and fifty on the other ; one party played in red caps, and the other in white. There was present his Highness the Lord Protector, many of his Privy Council, and divers eminent gentlemen, to whose view was presented great agility of body, and most neat and exquisite wrestling, at every meeting of one with the other, which was ordered with such dexterity, that it was to show more the strength, vigour and nimbleness of their bodies than to endanger their persons. The ball they played withal was silver, and designed for that party which did win the goal." Evelyn, in May, 1658, "went to see a coach-race in Hyde Park ;" and Pepys mentions in August, 1660, "To Hyde Parke by coach, and saw a fine foot-race three times round the park." Evelyn's coach-race recalls an accident which happened

to Cromwell in Hyde Park, in 1654. Ludlow's version of this story is:—"The Duke of Holstein made him (Cromwell) a present of a set of grey Friesland coachhorses; with which taking the air in the park, attended only with his secretary Thurloe, and a guard of Janizaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him; and therefore, not content with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they, unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box, with which fell his pistol fired in his pocket, though without any hurt to himself: by which he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to meddle with those things wherein he had no experience." Cromwell seems to have been partial to Hyde Park and its environs. The 'Weekly Post,' enumerating the occasions on which Syndercombe and Cecill had lain in wait to assassinate him in Hyde Park ("the hinges of Hyde Park Gate were filed off in order to their escape"), enumerates some of his airings all in this neighbourhood:—"when he rode to Kensington and thence the back way to London;" "when he went to Hyde Park in his coach;" "when he went to Turnham Green and so by Acton home;" and "when he rode in Hyde Park." One could fancy him influenced by some attractive sympathy between his affections and the spot of earth in which he was destined to repose from his stirring and harassing career. The unmanly indignities offered to his dead body harmed not him, and they who degraded themselves by insulting the dead were but a sort of sextons more hardened and brutal than are ordinarily to be met with. Cromwell sleeps as sound at Tyburn, in the vicinity of his favourite haunts, as the rest of our English monarchs sleep at Westminster or Windsor.

The fashionable part of Hyde Park was long confined within very narrow limits; the Ring being, from all time previous to the Restoration till far in the reigns of the Georges, the exclusive haunt of the *beau monde*. Subsequently Kensington Gardens, at the opposite extremity of the park, was appropriated by the race that lives for enjoyment; but even after that event a considerable space within the park remained allotted to the rougher business of life. During the time of the Commonwealth it became private property. Evelyn (11th April, 1653) complains feelingly of the change:—"I went to take the aire in Hyde Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse sixpence, by the *sordid fellow* (Anthony Deane, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Esq.) who had purchased it of the state, as they are called." Mr. Hamilton, the ranger appointed at the Restoration, continued for ten good years to let the park in farms; it not having been enclosed with a wall and restocked with deer till 1670.

Hyde Park has from an early period down to our own times been a favourite locality for reviews. A splendid one took place at the Restoration. Pepys "did stand" at another in 1664, when Charles II. was present, while "the horse and foot march by and discharge their guns, to show a Frenche Marquise (for whom this muster was caused) the goodnesse of our firemen." Walpole laughs at a review of the militia in 1759. The Brobdignagian scale of the reviews of the volunteers in the days of George III. are beyond the compass of our narrow page. The encampment of the troops in Hyde Park in 1780, after Lord George Gordon's riots and of the volunteers in 1799, must be passed over in silence; as also the warlike doings of the fleet in the Serpentine in 1814. But Hyde Park, unlike St. James's, has witnessed the mustering of real as well as of holiday warriors. It was the frequent rendezvous of the Commonwealth troops during the civil war. Essex and Lambert encamped their forces here, and Cromwell reviewed his terrible Ironsides.

Butler's muse, which, as the bee finds honey in every flower, elaborates from all events, has sneered at the labours of the citizens of London upon the fort in Hyde Park, the jest at which royalists could laugh under. It was no joke to the cavaliers of Charles I. The very women shared the jest, and, as the irreverend bard alluded to sings,—

“ March'd rank and file with drum and ensign,  
 To entrench the city for defence in ;  
 Rais'd rampions with their own soft hands,  
 And put the enemy to stands.  
 From ladies down to oyster wenches,  
 Labour'd like pioneers in trenches,  
 Fall'n to their pick-axes and tools,  
 And help'd the men to dig like moles.”

circumstance that tends to impress us with the idea of the solitary character of the park and its environs, when compared with St. James's Park, during the reigns of the Stuarts and the first sovereigns of the present dynasty, is its being long neglected, in common with the then lonely fields behind Montague House, the British Museum, as the scene of the more inveterate class of duels. The duel in which Wilkes was severely wounded occurred in Hyde Park. Here, too, the duel in which the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mahon (November, 1712) and their seconds were wounded, took place. Swift enables us to fix with precision the locality of this last event: he says, in his ‘Journal to Stella,’ “The duke was directed towards the Cake-house by the Ring in Hyde Park, where they fought, on the grass before he could reach the house.” Its loneliness is also vouched for by the frequency of highway robberies in its immediate vicinity: pocket-picking and the sale of industry characteristic of town places like St. James's Park: high-ery and fox-hunting are rural occupations.

Long ago, we have already observed, was the first part of the park taken possession of by the gay world. Evelyn's complaint of the exaction of the “sordid tax” which had purchased it of the state, as they are called, seems to imply that it was then a resort for horsemen and people in carriages previous to 1653. He more fully notes a visit to Hyde Park, “where was his Majesty and abundance of people.” The sight-seeing Pepys, too, appears from his journal, as might have been anticipated, to have been a frequent visitant. His Paul Pry disposition has led him to leave on record, that on the 4th of April, 1663, he went “after dinner to Hyde Park, where the parke was the King, and in another coach my Lady Castlemaine, they were one another at every turn.”

King William took up his abode in Kensington Palace, a court end of the park, and reigned around it. The large gardens laid out by Queen Caroline were opened to the public on Saturdays, when the king and court went to Richmond. All visitors, however, were required to appear in full dress, which must have lent a stately and aristocratic character to the scene. These occasional glimpses into the seclusion of the park, where so many foreigners in the land they reigned over, contrast characteristically with the publicity-courting manners of the time of Charles II. The formal and remote Kensington, remote from the brilliant gaiety of the Ring and Mall, marked a widely-different era. St. James's Park was the appropriate locality of the court, in which Etherege, Suckling, Sedley, and Buckingham dangled. The umbrageous shades of Kensington, into which the clatter of the gaudy equipages at the entrance of the park penetrated “like notes by distance made more sweet,” was

the equally appropriate retirement of a court, the type of whose literary character was Sir Richard Blackmore, and from which the light graces of Pope kept at a distance.

When the court ceased to reside at Kensington, the gardens were thrown entirely open. They still, however, retain so much of their original secluded character that they are impervious to horses and equipages. Between their influence and that of the Drive in Hyde Park, the whole of the park has been drawn into the vortex of gaiety. Its eastern extremity, except along the Serpentine, still retains a homely character, contrasting with that which St. James's Park has long worn, and the Green Park is now assuming. It is questionable whether any attempt to make it finer would improve it. The effect produced by the swift crossing and recrossing of equipages, and the passage of horsemen—the opportunity of mingling with the crowd of Sunday loungers and country cousins, congregated to catch a glimpse of the leading characters of the day, constitute the attraction of the park. The living contents throw the scenery, amid which they move, into the shade. The plainness of the park, too, makes it perhaps a more fitting vestibule to the more ornamented gardens at its west end. Of these gardens we shall have to speak in our next number.

But Hyde Park appears destined, in the first year of the second half of the nineteenth century, to have associations more universal, if not more lasting, than May games or Cornish hurlings—than the Ring or Rotten Row. It is to be the site of the great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations. It is impossible to imagine a nobler site, or a more convenient. One of the most pitiable manifestations of the dying contest between exclusiveness and the people has arisen out of the appropriation of this site to so glorious an object. This is not the place to anticipate that description of the glass palace of industry which will find a place in our little work. It is sufficient to mention that the enclosure for its erection, on a space little used, and which is very near the Knightsbridge road, must be seen to understand the vast scale upon which this building will be constructed.

#### REGENT'S PARK.

The Regent's Park lies at the south foot of the conical eminence called Primrose Hill, which is connected by a ridge, somewhat lower than its summit, with the higher eminence of Hampstead to the north. On the west side of Primrose Hill, a small stream is formed from the drainage of several springs which originally flowed in a southern direction across what is now the Regent's Park, to the Green Park, and the Mulberry Garden, now the garden of Buckingham Palace, and thence through Tothill Fields to the Thames. This is the celebrated rivulet Ay-bourne, or Tybourne, from which, what has been called in later days, the parish and manor of Mary-le-bone, or St. Mary-on-the-Bourne, took their original name. The ancient Manor House of Marybone stood opposite the old church, where Beaumont Street now stands. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it was in the possession of the crown; and mention is made of a stag having on one occasion been hunted within the pale of the park attached to it, for the amusement of the Russian ambassadors. A part of the manor has ever since remained in the crown. Out of this, and some neighbouring fields purchased for the purpose, was constructed the park, which, by its name, reminds us of its having been projected and laid out during the Regency.

The south side of the Regent's Park is about half a mile in length, and parallel to the New Road, which is to the south of it. The east side, nearly at right angles

the south side, extends northward to Gloucester Gate, a distance of almost three-quarters of a mile. The west side, forming an oblique angle with the south side, ends in a direction west of north to Hanover Gate, a distance of half a mile. The northern terminations of the east and west sides are connected by an irregular curve nearly coinciding with the sweep of the Regent's Canal, which passes along and forms the northern boundary of the park. A sheet of water extends from Hanover Gate in a south-east direction, parallel to the west side of the park, and, curving round at a south-west angle, continues in a direction parallel to the south side to cut the middle of it. Opposite the middle of the west side, an arm of this sheet of water extends at right angles to the very centre of the park. The bottom of the lake, through which Tyburn rivulet flowed in days of old, stretches from its termination up to Primrose Hill, which is nearly due north of it. Nearly two-thirds of the park, forming an oblong parallelogram, slope down on the eastern side of the valley the former channel of the stream, and the north-east and south arms of the artificial lake which is formed by its collected waters, and which resemble, to use a simile more accurate than dignified, the arrangement of the three legs on an Isle-of-in-halfpenny. Within the houses of the crescent formed by its north-east and south arms is the Ring, the interior of which is occupied by the Garden of the Zoological Society. On the eastern slope, at the north end of the park, is the Garden of the Zoological Society. Of these gardens we shall have to speak in our next paper. On the east side of the park, a little south of Gloucester Gate, are the enclosed villa grounds of the late Sir Herbert Taylor; on the west side, a little north of Hanover Gate, those of the Marquis of Hertford. Along the east, south, and west sides of the park are continuous ranges of buildings, the architecture of which is in some cases sufficiently florid, in others more than sufficiently grotesque. The open north side allows the eye to range over the beautiful uplands, Primrose Hill, Hampstead, Highgate, and the range extending westward in the direction of Harrow.

The history of the park, as a park, is a brief one. An anonymous writer speaks of it in 1812, as "already one of the greatest, if not absolutely one of the most fashionable, Sunday promenades about town;" adding, however, that it "does not appear to be in a progress likely to promise a speedy completion." It is now perhaps far advanced towards completion as human aid can bring it; time and the vegetative power of nature alone can give those dimensions to its trees that will reveal, in its full extent, the taste with which the grounds are laid out. Even in their mature state, however, the grounds have much of beauty in them, and the view to the north is an advantage possessed by none of the other parks. Primrose Hill is now connected with the Regent's Park, by bridges which cross the canal, and by gates leading into the road which runs between. A ground for gymnastic exercises has been set apart on the level beneath the hill.

As a promenade, the Regent's Park seems quite as much in vogue as either of the other two; as a drive, Hyde Park retains its uncontested supremacy. The Zoological Gardens are a source of interest not possessed by the other parks, and the Colosseum a rare attraction to sight-seers.

#### VICTORIA PARK.

In 1841 the Government sold York House, on the verge of St. James's Park, to the Duke of Sutherland, for 72,000*l*. The purchase-money has in great part been appropriated to the formation of a park for the people in the north-east of London—

"Common pleasures,  
To walk abroad, and recreate themselves."



If the dingy, unwholesome character of the neighbourhood through which lie the approaches to Victoria Park are unsuggestive of the existence of such a place, they at least suggest very forcibly its necessity. And as we do get near, one fancies one can already see traces of its purifying influence. The houses begin to look a little neater and fresher, and new ones are starting up, which are at all events better than the old ones that blacken the once fair face of Bethnal Green. The chief entrance is at the corner of an open grassy space, known as Bonner's Field, and where till recently stood an old house, which was once the residence of the heretic-burning bishop. Close by where the bishop doubtless laboured in thought how to devise fresh schemes to harass and torture those who happened to differ from him in opinion, we find the house of the superintendent of the park—a courteous and intelligent man, whose sole occupation, on the contrary, is to see how he can add to the comforts and enjoyments of all about him by perpetually improving the grounds under his care; and it is no very hazardous assertion to say, that in doing so he troubles himself very little with the opinions of those who benefit by his labours. His house is attached to the entrance-gateway, and forms, altogether, a pretty, picturesque, but not very solid-looking structure, where Tudor and modern architecture mix together in a manner pleasing enough, if not very artistic. Crowning the bridge over the canal, just within the gates, we see the pagoda, at present the only other ornamental building of any size erected in the park. This stands on an island in a piece of ornamental water, which is as yet unfinished, and therefore scarcely amenable to criticism. A second piece of ornamental water really deserves its name, and will be very charming when the trees and shrubs within and around it have grown up. Here the artisans of Spitalfields and adjoining parts take their morning bath. And how truly they enjoy it may be judged from the numbers who come hither in a summer morning, amounting to four thousand at a time. Another pleasant reminiscence connected with this water is the fact that it is supplied gratuitously and in a very liberal manner by the East London Water Works Company. During bathing hours there is a constant change of the water going on. Close by is the gymnasium, which is also largely frequented, and where the artisans acquit themselves in a really superior manner. Two extensive cricket clubs are also in operation. Then there are archery games, foot-ball games, &c., &c. It is a most cheering fact, and one that appears to be more than ordinarily belonging to our time, that the people do now respond cordially to all enlightened efforts made for the amelioration of their condition. Here, at Victoria Park, behold that fact illustrated by the presence of 30,000 visitors in a single summer's day. Another interesting period is the children's day, that is Wednesday afternoon, when they have their half-holiday from school.

The park comprises above three hundred acres, and is therefore large enough. At present it exhibits a bare and in cold days a bleak aspect, from the paucity of trees and foliage. The shrubs that have been planted do not in some parts seem to be at all settled in their new habitation, and the late winter has made serious havoc upon them. The smoke of London threatens to be very injurious to the pine, many of which have been planted. However, all sorts of ornamental trees are planted or to be planted, and if some will not thrive others will, and so in time Victoria Park will become woody, and luxuriant, and beautiful. Beauty will not be thrown away here. Perhaps there is nowhere a population more calculated to enjoy plants and flowers than the weavers of Bethnal Green. All sorts of gentle recreations find favour in their eyes. At dahlia and carnation shows they are great; pigeon and canary fanciers congregate thickly among them. They are great entomologists. The country is for them "a joy for ever."



The entire cost of the Victoria Park has amounted to a little more than 50,000*l.*; the annual expense is about 2000*l.*

#### RICHMOND PARK; AND BUSHY PARK.

Richmond has attained an enviable celebrity. Universally it is recognized as the most beautiful of English villages. The record of its loveliness is inscribed indelibly on some of the best pages of our literature. Men of all countries, of all ages, and of every rank, are attracted to it, and though they come with minds pre-disposed to believe that its beauty must have been overrated, that much of its charm must be due to the poetic haze which rests upon it, they are pleasantly undeceived. The exceeding gracefulness of its matchless view would have extorted admiration, though the lyre had never sounded its praise, nor the pencil essayed to represent its glory:

"Cold must he be who ever gazed  
Impassive on its beauty."

But the associations, that are aroused, do very much heighten the delight with which it is contemplated. Scarcely more do the manifold beauties of that "glorious prospect"—the broad sweep of the Thames, here truly the *silver* Thames—the vast "sea of verdure," as Scott well calls it—the shifting colours of the landscape, which borrows almost as much of its hue as of its light and shadow from the varying sky—the aerial tints of the distant hills: scarcely more exquisite is the pleasure which these and a thousand other beauties excite, than that which arises from the associations that crowd upon the memory as the eye rests in succession upon objects and places dignified by their connection with eminent names,—the distant towers of Windsor—the long avenues that indicate while they conceal the proud palace of the "king-cardinal"—and the houses rendered classic, as the abodes of men renowned in the literature of our country. And not least is the pleasure excited by the recollection of those who have imparted a new lustre to this scene in many a bright leaf of English poetry, and on many a glowing canvas. Nor does Richmond itself lack objects of interest, to which are attached associations that add to the loveliness of the place. Such are the remains, slight but valuable, of the royal palace wherein many of our monarchs have dwelt, and some of the greatest of them have died,—the Green, the theatre of brilliant tournaments at which kings were spectators and sometimes combatants—the dwellings of poets and painters—and the church, under whose shadow repose many whose names will not soon die.

> The most usual entrance to the Park is by Richmond Terrace, where suddenly the long anticipated prospect bursts upon the view. However the imagination may have  
> been raised, the view will fully satisfy it, that is, supposing that the visitor has not  
> been led to expect the sterner or wilder features of nature. It is a purely *beautiful*  
> landscape that is spread before us, holding to the rugged grandeur of other famous  
> scenes the same relation as the soft grace of feminine loveliness does to the severer  
> character of manly strength. But of all that belongs to the beautiful in scenery  
> nothing is wanting. Wood and water, softly-swelling hills and hazy distance, with  
> village spires and lordly halls, are blended in beautiful harmony. From the gentle  
> slope of the hill a vast expanse of country stretches far away till the distance is closed  
> by the hills of Buckinghamshire on the north-west, and the Surrey downs on the  
> south-east; and all this intermediate space is one wide valley of the most luxuriant  
> fertility, but appearing to the eye a succession of densely-wooded tracts, broken and



request suits were instituted to obtain a coach and a bridle-way, but they failed: but have, however, been recently conceded, and now every proper facility is afforded to the public. Lewis, the gallant opponent of the encroachment, became, in after years, reduced in circumstances; when the inhabitants of Richmond acknowledged the obligation by settling upon him an annuity, which he enjoyed till his death in 1782.

Richmond Park is spacious, being eight miles in circumference, and containing 3500 acres; the surface is broken into wide glades and gentle undulations; it is well stocked with timber-trees, chiefly oaks and elms, many of which are of large size; there are also several considerable sheets of water; and great numbers of red and fallow deer are kept in it. As may be supposed, therefore, it affords many very beautiful "bits" of park scenery. Sometimes we come upon a quiet spot where a herd of deer are browsing among the tall ferns—and magnificent trees on every side close in the view; or a bolder scene opens, where one or two veteran oaks that have withstood many a storm, though not without loss of some goodly limbs, stand as sentinels on a rough bank which overlooks a wide expanse or deep dell; or, again, a far-reaching extension of open glades leads the eye to some lovely glimpses of distant country, to which the tall trunks on either side, and the overhanging branches, serve as a frame. Besides the views that are obtained in the more secluded parts of the park, there are many of great beauty, that fall within the reach of every visitor. On entering the park-gates, the terraces on the right afford a continuation, with some changes—variations, as it were, on a favourite air—of the noble prospects of the hill. These are uncommonly beautiful as the sun is setting. If the path that leads to Roehampton Gate be taken, the circle, as described in Thomson's lines, may be completed. "Lofty Harrow," and the "sister hills" of Highgate and Hampstead, are seen to great advantage, and some fine glimpses are ever and anon caught of "huge Auguste"—and all appears the more beautiful because only seen transiently between masses of rich foliage, or above the dips of hills. Sometimes, too, over London may be observed the most exquisite aerial effects—such as a painter would glory to be able to fix on his canvas.

Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Sidmouth lived in the Great Lodge across the Park. This smaller Lodge, on the brow of the hill, is the retreat of Lord John Russell. What a delicious nook, nibbled out of the Park, is that wooded eminence! Mighty oaks standing upon shaven lawns, and looking down complacently upon lilacs and laurels! Pass we Lord John Russell's Goshen, and look down from the hill upon Budbrooke. There dwell the water-drinkers. We could almost venture to encounter the perils of hydropathy, for the morning walk up this charming ascent into Richmond Park, which the drenched and swilling martyrs daily earn. Here each may stretch "his listless length at noontide," far away from the loungers on the Hill, its barrel-organs, its white mice, and guinea-pigs. In five minutes they may be deep in the shade of old avenues, worn by time and accident into irregularity; or plunge into a glen wild with brambles and fern, with little sunny glades of the softest green, where a solitary deer sometimes steals away from the distant herd, panting "for the water-brooks" which the hydropathists enjoy to repletion. We now, from these quiet thickets, look no longer on nature in her full dress. That rough barren plain is Ham Common. Looking from Richmond Hill, who would think that there was an unfertile spot in all that wide expanse? And yet is Surrey one of the least densely-peopled of our counties, with longer ranges of uncultivated land than most other districts. Here is a mound—perhaps an artificial elevation—where fair ladies met with cross-bow in hand, and aimed at the hart as he galloped noiselessly by.

The romance of deer-shooting is gone—in the South, at least. You see that rude ladder leading up into the bole of an oak, where the spreading limbs form a natural seat. There, as evening tempts the herd to feed luxuriously and securely, the treacherous keeper bides his time till “the hart of grease” bounds along, and the rifle stretches him on the turf,—honoured in death, with two inches of fat upon his haunch. Now, we are in a hawthorn dell. Where are the lads and lasses “to fight in the May?” They are gone for ever—together with the Palace, where tournaments and galliards were once rife, and which was a chosen seat of song in the days of

“Those flights upon the banks of Thames  
Which so did take Eliza and our James.”

There is an old view, engraved in Nicholls’ ‘Progresses,’ of Richmond Hill and the Palace, in its turretted splendour. On the opposite shore, now known as Twickenham Park, the print shows us a merry group of Morrice-dancers with the Hobby-horse. These, too, are gone with the Mayers. Well; let us endeavour to keep the spirit, if not the forms, of old English cheerfulness. A merry peal is ringing out from some distant church tower. There is the tower—that of Kingston—seen through the frame of those noble oaks. Another mile—by a charming lodge embosomed in lilacs and laburnums—will carry us down the hill, out of the Park at the Kingston gate.

Imagine Kingston passed through. It is a nice quiet town, with some pretty houses on the Thames bank, and moreover has something to say about early kings. But our present business is with the ever-during freshness of the teeming earth. We are in Hampton Wick—on the edge of BUSHY PARK. Somewhere on the banks of the Thames, in a public-house, not a hotel, have we seen the immortal representation of the man who gave us the right of entering Bushy Park by this easy stile. The Cobbler of Hampton Wick, Timothy Bennett, was a real patriot in the days when a minister’s gold did its straightforward work effectually—the good old days of honest pay for willing hire. The print of Timothy Bennett, *stat.* seventy-five, in the year 1752, tells us, if we remember rightly, that he, “being unwilling to leave the world worse than he found it, by a vigorous application of the laws of his country, obtained a free passage through Bushy Park, which had long been withheld from the people.” Honour to the Hampton Wick cobbler—the “village Hampden,” who the great “tyrant of his fields withstood.” It was no joke to battle with the Crown; but the Cobbler was triumphant. Thus has everything good in our institutions been won, inch by inch. Well; the man who was unwilling to leave the world worse than he found it, had the good taste also to prefer a wide park to a dusty road under a dreary wall. How he must have rejoiced, in his victorious old age, when he rested himself under the shadow of that forest of hawthorns—the slow growth of centuries—that he had opened these enjoyments to the common people. Perhaps he was only thinking of a shorter cut to Teddington. Be it so. Taste is sure to follow in the steps of a well-directed utility.

But the Chestnut avenue of Bushy! We have come thus far to look upon it. We have passed the hawthorn thicket, and are in the avenue. But these are limes! True. Another avenue: but these are limes and elms blended! Are they not of wondrous beauty, in their loftiness and gracefulness? But the Chestnut avenue! Look then across the road, upon those dark masses of a single tree, with thousands of spiral flowers, each flower a study, powdering over the rich green from the lowest branch to the topmost twig. Look up and down this wondrous avenue. Its mile length seems a span;—but from one gate to the other, there is a double line of unbroken green, with flowers, rich as the richest of the tropics, contending for the

variety of colour. Saw you ever such a gorgeous sight? Fashionable London even comes to see it; but in the Whitsun-week, and during the some twenty days of the series of the chestnut, thousands of those who have "the true city calenture" will come here to rejoice in the exceeding beauty of this marvel of nature, which the art of the Dutch gardeners, whom William of Nassau brought to teach us, have left as a good relic of their taste. Never ought the "prolixity of shade" to be "obsolete," whilst it can produce such scenes as this great avenue of Bushy! When London is jammed to overflowing in the spring of 1851, the Chestnut avenue of Bushy Park will amply repay a ten miles trip by railway or boat—for one *spring* "certifieth another."

## GREENWICH PARK.

The Greenwich Railway is the quickest conveyance; the steam-boat the most attractive. For a few pence the same miles of water may be passed over that once saw the pageants of kings as a common incident. Between Westminster and the Tower, and the Tower and Greenwich, the Thames was especially the royal road. When Henry VII. willed the coronation of his Queen Elizabeth, she came from Greenwich, attended by "barges freshly furnished with banners and streamers of silk." When Henry VIII. avowed his marriage with Anne Boleyn, she was brought by "all the crafts of London" from Greenwich to the Tower, "trumpets, shawms, and other divers instruments, all the way playing and making great melody." The river was not only the festival highway, but the more convenient one, for kings as well as subjects. Hall tells us, "This year (1536), in December, was the Thames of London all frozen over, *wherefore* the king's majesty, with his beautiful spouse Queen Jane, rode throughout the city of London to Greenwich." The interesting volume of the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII." contains item upon item of sums paid to watermen for waiting with barge and boat. The barge was evidently always in attendance upon the king; and the great boat was ever busy, moving household stuff and servants from Westminster to Greenwich or to Richmond. In 1531 we have a curious evidence of the king being deep in his polemical studies, in a record of payment "to John, the king's bargeman, for coming twice from Greenwich to York Place with a great boat with books for the king." We see the "great Eliza" on the Thames, in all her pomp, as Raleigh saw her out of his prison-window in the Tower, in 1592. In the time of Elizabeth and the First James, and onward to very recent days, the North bank of the Thames was studded with the palaces of the nobles; and each palace had its landing-place, and its private retinue of barges and wherries; and many a freight of the brave and beautiful has been borne, amidst song and merriment, from house to house, to join the masque and the dance; and many a wily statesman, muffled in his cloak, has glided along unseen in his boat to some dark conference with his ambitious neighbour. Nothing could then have been more picturesque than the Strand, with its broad gardens, and lofty trees, and embattled turrets and pinnacles. Upon the river itself, busy as it was, fleets of swans were ever sailing; and they ventured unmolested into that channel which is now narrowed by vessels from every region. Paulus Jovius, who died in 1552, describing the Thames, says, "This river abounds in swans, swimming in flocks; the sight of whom, and their noise, are vastly agreeable to the fleets that meet them in their course." Shakspeare must have seen this sight, when he made York compare the struggle of his followers at the battle of Wakefield to a swan encountering a tidal stream:—

"As I have seen a swan,  
With bootless labour, swim against the tide,  
And spend her strength with over-matching waves."

But the sight in our days is more truly glorious. The shipping of the Thames is, perhaps, of all the great features, the one which most strikes foreign tourists in England. "What a throng of ships," says Von Raumur, "and what restless activity! Paris, with its few scattered boats on the Seine, is nothing compared with this. . . . From Woolwich to Greenwich activity continues to increase, till we approach the docks, and hasten through forests of ships. What I saw of the same kind at Havre, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, can be compared but to a single chamber cut out of these enormous palaces. . . . Here we see and acknowledge that London is the true metropolis of the world, and not Paris, with the pretensions of its journalists and coteries." The Parsees, three native gentlemen of Bombay, who visited England a few years ago, thus express themselves on the same subject:—"When we came within about five miles of London, we were surprised at the amazing number of vessels, from the humble barge to the more beautiful ships and steamers of all descriptions. The colliers were most numerous, and vessels were anchored close to each other, and the river seemed to be almost covered with vessels; and the masts and yards gave it the appearance of a forest, at a distance. Indeed, there were to be found ships from all parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; and a great number of steamers ply about in all directions, filled with passengers. None of our countrymen can form an idea of this noble river, and the shipping on it." The Thames, covered with the vessels of all nations, may fitly prepare the mind for visiting the palace of those veterans who have sailed under the British flag during many a year of tempest and of battle. Now you will pass alongside the hulk of some immense ship, destined to be broken up, and you may think of these fine lines of Campbell, which stir the heart "as with a trumpet:—"

"Britannia needs no bulwark,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her march is o'er the mountain waves,  
Her home is on the deep."

Again, some steam-vessel from Boulogne, or Hamburg, or the Rhine, will sweep by, heaving the wave all around in its impetuous course;—and you may reflect how much nobler are the triumphs of peace than those of war, and that the unbounded commerce of England is a better thing for herself and the world than even her proudest victories. In the mean time, the domes and colonnades of Greenwich will rise from the shore, and impress your mind with a magnificence of which the architecture of England presents few examples;—and you will feel an honest pride when you know that few of the great ones of the earth possess palaces to be compared with the splendour of this pile, which the gratitude of our nation has assigned as the retreat of its wounded and worn-out sailors.

It is not our purpose now to describe Greenwich Hospital. The park invites us. We pass by the domes and colonnades of the palace of veterans, and by a small wicket enter a free space of great natural beauty. With a limited extent few parks can offer a greater variety of surface, or more magnificent trees. The views from the two hills,—that near the Observatory and the "One-tree" hill,—are almost unrivalled. The broad river may be traced for several miles, winding its way to the sea, with every variety of vessel, from the stately Indiaman to the trim yacht, giving life to its silent course. Every now and then clouds of smoke are sent up from the passin

steamers, with their threepenny fares, or their freights for distant ports. There, is a gay boat rushing away with its three or four hundred holiday makers to Gravesend; and there, an emigrant ship, with anxious hearts aboard, on its five months' voyage to Australia. The great city looms out of its canopy of smoke—dim and shadowy—venerable in its associations with the past—sublime in its present aggregation of riches and poverty, of hope and fear. But the park is full of light and cheerfulness;—green lawns and leafy avenues. Science here, too, asserts her majestic control over the movements of ordinary life. The ship that passes Greenwich on her distant voyage regulates her course by the ball that falls from that Observatory at the instant of noon. In that building are the calculations made, surpassing in their accuracy, by which the navigation of distant seas is rendered safe to the practised seaman. That noble institution, founded in 1675, has been the seat of the labours of the greatest astronomers and mathematicians that England has produced—Flamsteed, Halley, Bradley, Maskelyne, Pond, and Airy. Under the guidance of the last of these illustrious names, the operations of Greenwich Observatory have been carried out in a way that has won the admiration of the civilized world. Those who would know what is daily and nightly being done in this marvellous place, should read a graphic and most admirable description in Mr. Dickens' 'Household Words.'

### HINTS FOR THE STRANGER.

*St. James's Park.*—Entering by the steps near the Duke of York's column, in Waterloo Place, or by the Horse Guards, in Whitehall, the parade is before us. The guard is relieved here every morning at ten o'clock,—a noble sight. Of the official buildings, before which the troops are drawn up, while bands are playing, the central is the Horse Guards, the northern the Admiralty, the southern the Treasury. On the parade are two remarkable pieces of ordnance—the one, a cannon of some fifteen feet in length, captured in 1801, by the British Army in Egypt; the other, a mortar, cast by order of Napoleon, used at the siege of Cadiz, and abandoned by the French after the battle of Salamanca. Passing westward there are four routes,—one on each side of the water within the enclosure, with devious paths, amidst pleasant shrubberies, each conducting into the carriage roads. The time in the evening at which the enclosure is closed is regulated according to the season. The carriage-road on the north is bounded by Carlton House Terrace (a front of splendid houses on the site of Carlton House), by Marlborough House (now used for the Vernon Gallery), by St. James's Palace, and by Stafford House. The southern road is bounded by Queen Square, the Wellington Barracks, the Stationery Office, &c. From Buckingham Palace the carriage-road leads up Constitution Hill;—the paths through the Green Park conduct into Piccadilly, or to the gate near the triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner, which is surmounted by the colossal equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington. The roads of St. James's Park are not accessible to any carriages but those of owners having a special privilege, with the exception of the southern road from Parliament Street to Buckingham Gate. The park is open to pedestrians till ten o'clock in the summer months, and nine in the winter.

*Hyde Park.*—Hackney coaches and cabs are excluded from this park, but private carriages and horsemen have free entrance. Paths, kept in nice order, intersect it in various directions. Having crossed the road by Apsley House, the mansion of the Duke of Wellington, the park is entered by one of the triple archways. The bronze statue of Achilles (as it is called), which stands near the gates, was erected in 1822, by a subscription of the women of England, in honour of "Arthur, Duke of Wellington, and his brave companions in arms;" and was cast from cannon taken in the

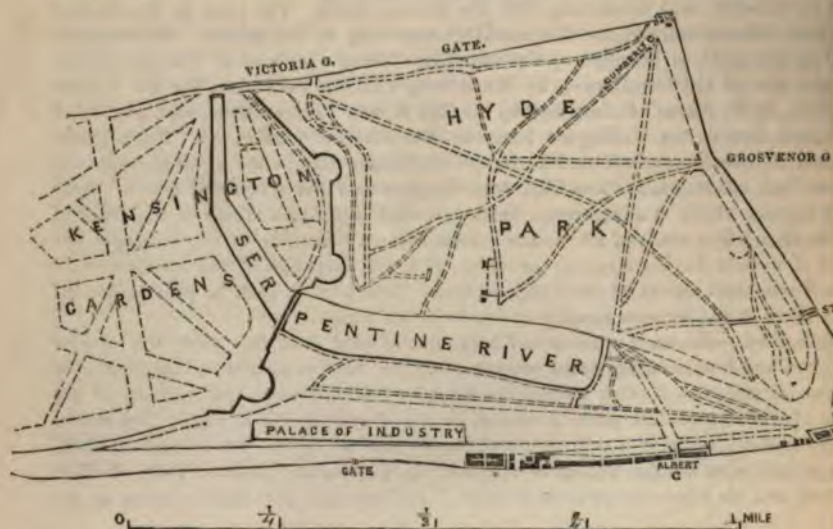


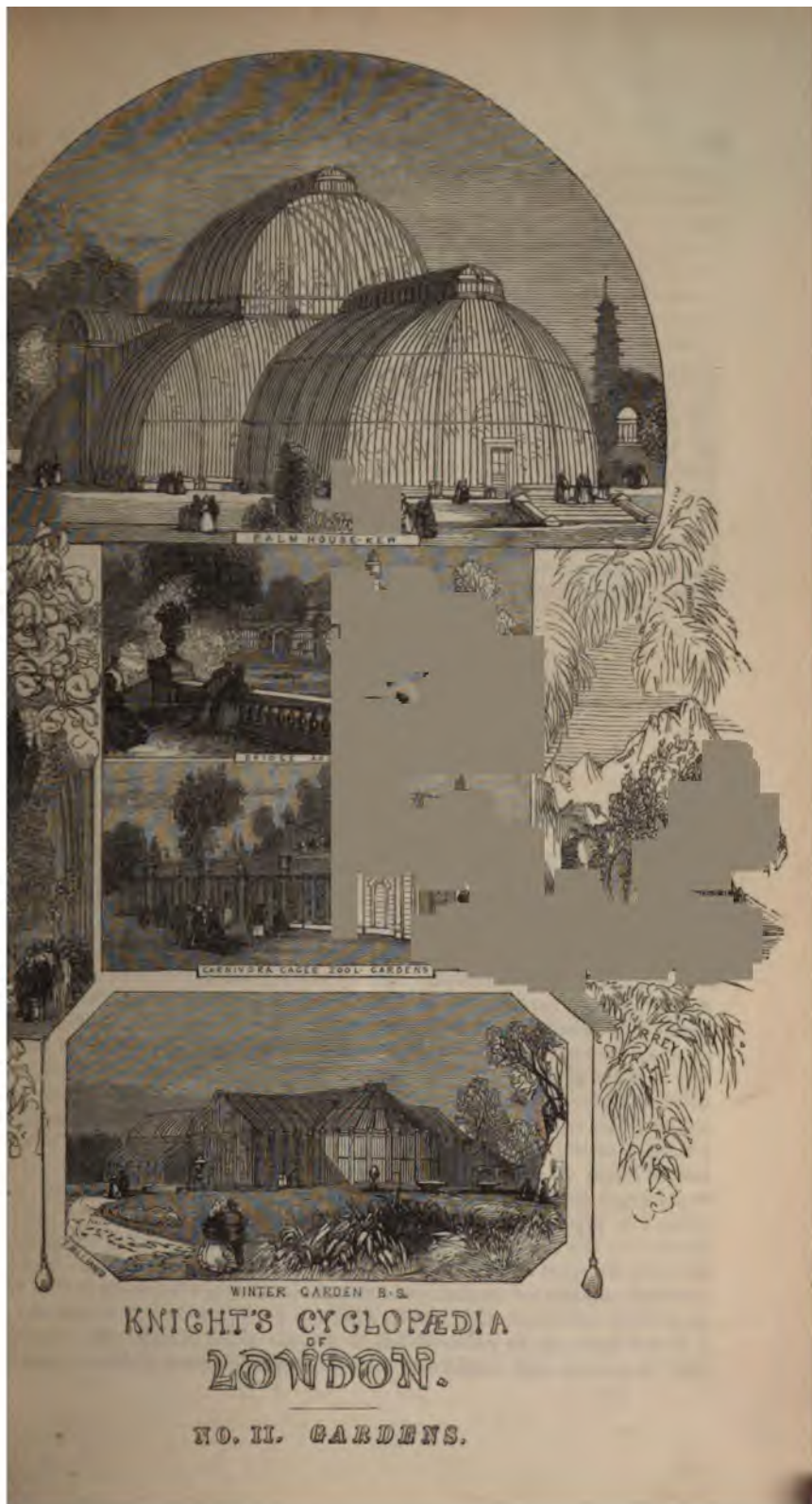
Peninsular War. We assume that the stranger has entered Hyde Park after passing through St. James's and the Green Parks. But if he visits this park without reference to its immediate connection with the others, he may enter from Stanhope Gate or Grosvenor Gate, which open to Park Lane, or from Cumberland Gate, at the western end of Oxford Street. Close by Cumberland Gate is an iron plate, with the inscription, "Here stood Tyburn turnpike." This was the common place of execution, and here Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest of English rulers, was consigned to ignominious earth by one of the most profligate and unpatriotic of hereditary kings. Crossing by the path from Cumberland Gate you reach the vestiges of the Ring. Advancing towards the Serpentine there are fine old trees, which have lived through many changes of dynasties and fashions. Passing along the edge of the Serpentine you will reach the bridge with a double road,—one for the park, the other for Kensington Gardens. On the centre of the bridge pause to contemplate the view—Westminster Abbey and the New Houses of Parliament rising up in the distance. After the bridge is passed, the enclosure for the great Palace of Industry soon meets the eye. In a few months its crystal roofs will glitter in the sun-wondrous work. To reach this spot the pedestrian has choice of many routes. That which travels in public carriages had better alight at the Albert Gate, in Knightsbridge, or the Princes' Gate, in Kensington Gore.

*Regent's Park.*—Entering from the gate opposite Portland Place, the Diorama and the Colosseum are soon reached—two of our most attractive exhibitions. The gardens of the Botanical Society lie to the west, in the inner circle; at the north-east side are the gardens of the Zoological Society. All these places of public resort may be approached with hired carriages. The many paths which cross the park are admirably kept.

*Victoria Park.*—The nearest practicable approach to this park from the west end or from the heart of the city, is by Bethnal Green, to which place omnibuses are frequent from the Bank. There is a direct road to the park from Bethnal Green.

*Richmond Park* can be reached by railway from the Station in the Waterloo Road by omnibuses, and by steam-boats; *Greenwich Park* by railway from London Bridge Station, by steam-boat, and by omnibuses, through every hour of the day.





PALM HOUSE KEW

CORNIVORA CAGE

ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS

WINTER GARDEN B. & L.

KNIGHT'S CYCLOPÆDIA  
OF  
LONDON.

NO. II. GARDENS.



## II. GARDENS.

### KENSINGTON GARDENS.

THE history of the public gardens in and near London, since the sixteenth century, illustrates, with tolerable completeness, the history of the changes of taste in gardening, and the general tenor of its progress. During the reign of Charles II., Greenwich Park and St. James's Park were laid out under the direction of the eminent French landscape designer, Le Nôtre, who had been invited to this country by Charles, with the express view of introducing the splendid French style. William III., not long after his accession to the throne, purchased from Daniel, second Earl of Nottingham, his house and gardens at Kensington. Kensington Gardens were commenced by William, who stamped upon them the impress of his own, and we believe, it may be added, the national tastes of the time; when in our gardens all sorts of "vegetable sculpture,"—the

" wonders of the sportive shears  
Fair Nature mis-adorning, there were found;  
Globes, spiral columns, pyramids, and piers  
With spouting urns and budding statues crown'd,  
And horizontal dials on the ground,  
In living box, by cunning artists traced;  
And galleys trim, on no long voyage bound,  
But by their roots there ever anchor'd fast."—*G. West.*

From notes made on the gardens round the metropolis, by J. Gibson, in 1691, it appears the sovereign's example was still followed with dutiful exactness; the characteristics of them all were terrace walks, hedges of evergreens, shorn shrubs in boxes, and orange and myrtle trees. Kensington Gardens as yet comprised but twenty-six acres, to which Queen Anne added thirty more, and caused them to be laid out by Wise, who turned the gravel-pits into a shrubbery, with winding walks. Tickell has perpetrated a dreary mythological poem on "Kensington Gardens," which we have ransacked in vain for some descriptive touches of their appearance in Queen Anne's time, and have therefore been obliged to have recourse to Addison's prose in the 477th Number of the 'Spectator':—"I think there are as many kinds of gardening as poetry: your makers of parterres and flower gardens are epigrammatists and sonnetteers in this art; contrivers of bowers and grottos, treillages and cascades, are romance writers. Wise and Loudon are our heroic poets; and if as a critic I may single out any passage of their works to commend, I shall take notice of that part in the upper garden at Kensington, which was at first nothing but a gravel-pit. It must have been a fine genius for gardening that could have thought of forming such an unsightly hollow into so beautiful an area, and to have hit the eye with so uncommon and agreeable a scene as that which it is now wrought into. To give this particular spot of ground the greater effect, they have made a very pleasant contrast; for as on one side of the walk you see this hollow basin, with its several little plantations lying so conveniently under the eye of the beholder, on the other side of it there appears a seeming mount, made up of trees one higher than another as they



approach the centre. A spectator who has not heard of this account of it, we think this circular mount was not only a real one, but that it had been actually scooped out of that hollow space, which I have before mentioned. I never yet with any one who had walked in this garden who was not struck with that part of which I have mentioned."

It was about this time that there arose in different quarters a more natural taste in gardening, and which, as the commencement of our present system, has excited considerable interest and a great deal of not very conclusive discussion. One of the sources to which this taste is attributed by foreigners is odd enough—the Chinese; but our own poets seem much better entitled to whatever amount of credit may be justly assignable to any particular quarter. From Bacon downwards, we find them exercising a steady and growing influence to this end. That greatest of prose-poets expressly inculcated the adding to our gardens rude or neglected spots as specimens of wild nature, and he placed gardening on a higher elevation than was dreamed by any one else in his time in the passage, "When ages do grow to civility and elegance, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection." Waller, at his residence at Beaconsfield, is said to have presented more than usual evidences of natural taste. Addison is the author of the paper 'On the Causes of the Pleasures of the Imagination, arising from the works of Nature, and their superiority over those of Art,' which appeared in 1712; Pope, of that in which the verdant sculpture school is unmercifully attacked in the 'Guardian.' In his epistle to Lord Burlington he laid down the opposite principles that were to be cultivated,—the study of nature, the genius of the place, and not to lose sight of good sense.

The first artist who appreciated and accepted the new faith was Bridgman, who banished verdant sculpture from the royal gardens, introduced "ha-has" instead of walls for boundaries, and portions of landscape scenery, in accordance with Bacon's ideas, but the clipped alleys were still left to be clipped. Queen Caroline, the wife of George II., was the boldest improver of Kensington Gardens. Under the superintendence of Bridgman, they were enlarged, by the addition of no less than three hundred acres taken out of Hyde Park, and the Serpentine was formed from a series of detached ponds.

Along the line of the ponds a canal was begun to be dug. The excavation was four hundred yards in length and forty feet deep, and cost £6000. At the south-end of the gardens a mount was raised of the soil dug out of the canal. On the north and south the grounds, of which these works formed the characteristic features, were bounded by high parallel walls. On the north-east a fosse and low wall, running from the Uxbridge Road to the Serpentine, at once shut in the gardens, and conducted the eye along their central vista, over the Serpentine to its extremity, and across the park. To the east of Queen Anne's gardens, immediately below the principal windows of the east front of the palace, a reservoir was formed into a circular pond, and thence long vistas were carried through the woods that circled it round to the head of the Serpentine; to the fosse and low wall, affording a view of the park, and to the mount constructed out of the soil dug from the canal. This mount was planted with evergreens, and on the summit was erected a small temple, not to turn at pleasure, to afford shelter from the wind. The three principal vistas were crossed at right angles, by others at regular intervals—an arrangement which has been complained of as disagreeably formal, with great injustice, for the formality is only in the ground plot, not in any view of the garden that can meet the eye of a spectator at one time. Queen Anne's gardens underwent no further alteration than

was necessary to make them harmonise with the extended grounds, of which they had now become a part.

In our own days, several changes have been made in the gardens, with a view to the greater public enjoyment of them. The chief of these is an exquisite walk of flowers and shrubs, extending from the central avenue, along the southern boundary of the gardens. The numerous plants are distinguished by inscriptions, bearing their botanical and common names,—the country where they are indigenous,—and the date of their introduction. Here, then, may lessons of botany be acquired in the pleasantest manner; and those who come to “recreate themselves,” find practical instruction.

An imaginative writer in ‘The Land we live in,’ has thus described the effects upon his mind of Kensington Gardens in their summer beauty:—“It was an evening in July; one of those wondrously rich glowing sunsets which bathe the world in glory, when we found ourselves wandering through Kensington Gardens. Suddenly we came out in front of those grand old cedars of Lebanon, which so richly darken the green sward in the western part of the gardens, near the palace, in one of its most lovely and least-frequented spots. The gorgeous light was fully upon them at their tops, while beneath you saw through long and low vistas, far away in the distance, stretching along and touching the ground, a line of rosy light, of the loveliest conceivable hue, and barred perpendicularly by the black slender-looking tree trunks. As we turned away, after a long, silent, reverential study of the scene in that direction, another of a different kind arrested the eye. An artist was at work upon those cedars, aiming doubtless to catch and fix for ever that wondrous combination of form and colour which they then presented. He was seated on a low portable garden-stool, and leaned his back against one of the garden seats, on which sat a lady, with a book in her hands, and with her head bending down towards him, reading in a low and musical voice—what, we knew not, nor cared to know; it could not be more beautiful or suggestive to the heart and mind of man than the scene in which they were, and to which their appreciation of it, so luxuriously complete, lent a new charm. And then it was that once more dawned upon us a fresh sense of the particular beauty of these gardens, and of the privilege which all may enjoy of walking in them, as well as of the apparent unconsciousness of so many men and women who might benefit by them,—of what they lose by their neglect to do so.

“We strolled on through the flower-walk, with its choice collection of trees and shrubs, and felt that we never saw so plainly before the peculiar beauties and characteristics of each; we ranged in vision over the sylvan glades on the left, climbed in the same way the magnificent trees, and were again arrested by the scene—unequalled surely anywhere—that presented itself at the eastern extremity of the gardens, where you look over the low wall, with its sunken fosse, or ha-ha! beyond to the well-known Rotten Row, that divides the gardens from the park. In that road, ranged in almost military precision and silence, was drawn up a long line of horsemen and horsewomen, who had quitted for the moment the army of mounted irregulars to which they belonged, and who kept sweeping to and fro in the rear: our modern domestic chivalry—in a word, the flower of the male and female aristocracy of England. Inside and lining the garden wall, and thus protected from any sudden inroad from the “Row,” or promenading up and down the broad walk, or thickly covering the green lawn on the left, or grouped picturesquely a little farther off, or scattered more and more sparingly as the eye compassed a greater distance, we looked upon hundreds of fair women, arrayed in colours sportive and brilliant and varied as the rainbow, and which would have been almost as harmonious, but for the

ugly black forms called gentlemen, that, in painter's language, spotted the picture all over. And what was the charm that arrested alike promenaders and equestrians? What but the lovely strains of Mozart's 'Magic Flute,' exquisitely performed by one of the household regiments? And this too, we thought, is the people's! Twice a week may they here enjoy one of the highest of all human pleasures, and benefit by one of the highest of all those influences that tend to spiritual culture—they may hear divine music, worthily rendered, and in a spot so congenial that we need only contrast it with the theatre, or with the expensive and fashionable concert-room, to see that the poorest of amateurs is not also in this matter one of the most unfortunate.

"Pursuing our walk, we reached the bridge, where a new aspect of beauty wooed us. The waters of the Serpentine were dancing, every here and there, in long trails of light; the wide stretches of green sward that encompass the river were lustrous with the new life that had been given by recent rains; the lofty forest trees seemed to dilate to an unusual magnitude their glorious bulk; white sails were gliding to and fro; while from boats with low picturesque awnings, the pleasant sound of uproarious laughter ascended at intervals. As evening drew on, bands of youths and men gathered upon the water's edge, and gradually became the sole occupants of the place, for bathing commenced. Again the thought occurred with renewed force—and these health-giving, these truly manly enjoyments can be enjoyed by all, under circumstances of beauty and fitness that the richest nobleman in the land cannot in essentials surpass."

#### ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, REGENT'S PARK.

"The Royal Botanic Society of London" was incorporated by a Royal Charter in 1839, for the "promotion of Botany in all its branches, and its application to Medicine, Arts, and Manufactures; and also for the formation of extensive Botanical and Ornamental Gardens within the immediate vicinity of the Metropolis." The Society consists of Fellows, who pay an admission fee of five guineas, and an annual subscription of two. There are three annual exhibitions in May, June, and July, at which prizes are given, and the gardens are crowded with visitors. The grounds in the Regent's Park, which are bounded by what is known as the Inner Circle, consist of eighteen acres, which were previously in the possession of a nurseryman, and then formed an almost level surface, the only noticeable deviation being the slight slope of the ground westward. In stepping into the grounds, now, the change is truly surprising, and we do not know where our readers could more readily obtain a practical example of what may be done in picturesque landscape gardening, on the most unpromising site. As we enter, on one of the Wednesday evenings devoted to the promenade, as it is called, a pretty rustic screen of ivy intercepts, for a moment, the view of the interior, which passed, we find ourselves on a very broad gravel walk, adorned with large vases on pedestals, and terminated by the glass Winter Garden. As we pace along this walk we have, on the right, a picturesque-looking mound rising to some considerable elevation from the midst of the irregular grounds about its base, and on the left, lawns and shrubberies, behind which the winding walks disappear into the lower grounds beyond, where occasional glimpses may be obtained of a brilliant parterre of flowers. "The mount, at least, is not artificial," we have heard visitors say; but it so happens that not only that, but another of the chief features of the gardens—the fine piece of water close by the mount, show, somewhat



amusingly, how these things may be managed. The soil dug out of the bed of the water would have been an expensive article to remove, so it was thrown up close by, and behold, the materials of the mount; then there was a difficulty as to filling the vacant hollow, and it was in serious contemplation to obtain a supply from some of the water companies, when a few heavy falls of rain settled that matter, and the lake was created.

Turning now to the right, the walk leads us beneath the shade of a magnificent tree, brushing the ground on all sides with its drooping branches; and thence onward to certain portions of the grounds laid out in gracefully-shaped patterns which, though yet but very incompletely furnished, are, rightly considered, the most important if not the most interesting departments of the place. That large piece of ground, forming a spiral, is for the reception of plants used, or useful, in medicine; and the student who begins at one end of the spiral will find the different orders are all arranged systematically, according to the improved natural system of De Candolle. Another piece of ground here is devoted to the collection of the chief agricultural plants. But the most generally attractive of the whole will be the garden of hardy plants from all parts of the world, which already contains 3000, and will receive at least 7000 more. These are also arranged according to De Candolle's system, and convey still more directly to the eye, owing to the general form of the parterre, than the other divisions mentioned, the affinities of plants with each other.

Returning to the terrace, noticing by the way the taste with which a variety of objects are scattered about, as rustic vases at the intersections of walks, rustic bridges over the water, and the judgment displayed in the more important additions to the original monotonous surface,—such as the sloping mounds thrown up in different parts, which now give such variety and expression to it,—we pass to the lower grounds on the opposite side of the terrace, where the irregularities become still more agreeable and decided. Every few yards the scene changes. Now we descend into a rocky dell, spanned by an arch of rocks, and with a cave, in character with the whole, at one side; then a little rude bridge takes us across a stream winding sluggishly along between its reedy banks; then, a few yards further, and we are in a kind of amphitheatre, formerly devoted to the growth of the beautiful American plants, for those requiring peat soil, the rhododendrons, kalmias, azaleas, andromedas, &c. Many other interesting floral compartments adorn this part of the grounds, among them a rosary. Here, too, is the Secretary's office, and residence, in a picturesque little building, with a richly-furnished lawn in front, and a fine shady grove, with a cast of Diana and the Hart at one side. We pass on now to the mount, with its winding walks of ascent, at the foot of which are numerous masses of interesting geological specimens. From the summit we obtain by far the finest view of the whole gardens, which from hence have really a charming effect; whilst beyond them, if we look in one direction, we have the handsome terraces of the park, backed by impenetrable masses of houses, and in another, the ever-beautiful "sister-hills" of Hampstead and Highgate.

Lastly, we proceed towards the great feature of the place—the Winter Garden. Eminently it deserves its name. As we enter the gardens by the chief gate, and pass up the central promenade, the airy structure stands before us—charmingly light and elegant. Not an inch is there of unnecessary rafter to interrupt the light; there is no wall visible above ground, the very pilasters that (we presume) form the chief supports, are faced with ground glass so as to enhance, instead of to detract from, the general effect; the doors are but glass panels, undistinguished, when shut, from the rest of the structure. The shape presented to us from this point is of a project-

...land, transplanted into the heart of  
realizing all our ideal. From the keen frost  
of universal nature, one steps into an atmos-  
the slightest degree oppressive. The most c  
with every movement of the glass doors. B  
every direction one sees all that is most statel  
all that is finest or most richly coloured, or m  
aloe of magnificent growth demands your adm  
hanging from point to point of the roof in fes  
touch your face in salutation; a pair of arauca  
pine tribe, compel your allegiance on either si  
rhododendrons, &c., &c., in full flower (we mean  
luxuriance, make you again and again pause to a  
In the very centre, growing in the ground (whic  
having a charming effect of colour, cleanliness  
lovely and picturesque of palms—the dwarf palm  
fail. The eye must return and return to it, whi  
it possible it can grow in such an atmosphere? N  
than the temperature here. The only answer tha  
here, and in most perfect health and beauty, al  
sionally given the alarming indication—*three degre*

This is emphatically a garden—not a beautiful  
formality of the walk round the great bed of ear  
Horticultural Gardens, or round the iron floor o  
Kew, is here done away with. The plants rea  
which you walk. The chief ones are growing in  
gravel comes close to every stem and covers up  
treated in this way has reached some seven or eig  
the year round in flower. Elegant little iron t  
there, filled with little floral gems in the way o  
beside each table a chair invites you to sit down a

The Society has lately taken stock of its trea  
factory, considering how few years it has

at least, and it will be strange, indeed, if instruction, in some shape or other, does not follow. But the beautiful place has its own proper inhabitants. Of the number and variety of these inhabitants, there really seems no end. A visitor who, after spending some hours here, sauntering hither and thither, just as curiosity or impulse guided, should discover a good half of the collection, would deserve every praise for his industry and tact. Still more surprising, rightly considered, than even the number and variety of the families that compose this strangest of villages, are the differences as to the quarters of the globe whence they have respectively come. Listen but to the characteristic sounds that rise from time to time: the low growl of the bears from the eternal snows of the polar regions; the hoarse screams and piercing cries of the tropical birds, whose plumage speaks them the children of the sun; the magnificent roar of the lion: in short, the whole world has been ransacked to people these few acres of soil, where the magic of skill and enterprise has overcome all difficulties—reconciled conflicting seasons, and tempers, and habits—formed, from the most heterogeneous of materials, one of the most thriving, and orderly of communities.

A broad terrace walk extends from the little rustic lodges at the entrance, in a straight line onwards, bordered by flowers, shrubs, and trees on each side, and which is now continued at the same level for some distance, over the lower ground, by a handsome viaduct, which covers a long range of roomy cages beneath, and forms the most striking feature of the gardens. Here the carnivorous animals,—the lions, tigers, leopards, &c., are located; and it is found that by having a large space for exercise and for the admission of fresh air, set apart for each animal, with a small sleeping place behind, artificial warmth may be dispensed with, to the advantage of the animals' health. Branching to the right of the terrace-walk, immediately on our entering, we find a winding path among lofty bushes and trees, presently opening on our left, and presenting a fine view over the park, in the foreground of which are grazing various novel-looking inhabitants for an English pasture-ground; and continuing along the same path, on our right, appears the New Aviary, an actual *bird palace*, with an architectural façade. Here we have the bird cottages at the back, with doors and windows, then a promenade under glass, outside the cottages, and beyond that again, the open garden of the aviary, with its trees and fish-ponds.

Returning to the terrace we find, at the point of junction of the terrace walk and the carnivora terrace on the right, in a deep square pit, those amusing climbers, the cinnamon and brown bears. Their prenomens are derived from their handsome brown coats, in which, as well as in locality and in greater ferocity in their natural state, they differ from the American black bears, of which species they are considered to be a variety: specimens of the latter are also to be found in the gardens.

Descending by a circuitous path on the left of the terrace, commanding a charming little bit of scenery, with a lawn and pond in the foreground at the bottom, we find a large octagonal cage, occupied by the king vulture. In summer the macaws are also to be found about this spot, most splendid in their red and yellow—and red and blue plumage; and who, by their most un-bird-like tumult, seem desirous to show that there is some truth in the philosopher's idea of a kind of compensating principle in nature. The path, now running between the macaws' cage and the llama-house opposite, conducts us to the lawn, rich with purple beech, and with its sparkling little piece of water, dotted over with aquatic birds—among which black swans and older ducks are conspicuous—and with little raised nests or boxes. In the centre a fountain

"Shakes its loosening silver in the sun."

A beautiful and very familiar species of *Coreopsis* geese, from New Holland, deservedly attract much attention. They are numerous, and have been all bred from a single pair. These might be naturalised in our farm-yards, and their flesh is said, by some travellers, to be more delicate than that of the English bird. A wonderfully interesting collection of birds occupies the cages on the right of this piece of water: crowned cranes; blue crowned pigeons; enormous cassowaries, with beaks like helmets, which extend backwards right over their heads; storks, standing on one leg, each on its own granite pedestal, in solitary and most sculpturesque repose and dignity, &c. The pelicans have a rock home or grotto of their own, with courtyard and pond in front, entirely covered by a magnificent tree, forming a perfectly horizontal canopy. Here they seem to grow fatter and fatter every day; already their cream-coloured bodies are so puffed up that the long beaks cannot but repose upon the breast beneath. Whistling ducks, sheldrakes, and garganey teal, are here also to be found. Close by are the ostriches and emus. These last are among the wonders of the animal creation—creatures with wings that cannot fly, birds with the habits and strength of limb of quadrupeds.

We turn to the Carnivora Terrace, where we pass in succession the most powerful and ferocious of the wild beasts of our globe. The first cage contains pumas or panthers, often called lions. Next are black leopards—then more pumas—black bears—and spotted leopards. Isabella bears succeed; then the striped and spotted hyænas from Africa.

Turning the corner at the end of the terrace, we find on the opposite side the more magnificent of the carnivora. First comes the royal Bengal tiger; than which it is impossible to imagine a living organism combining at once more beauty, and strength, and ferocity. In striking contrast are the three lions in the next cage, all reposing in the most supreme dignity of form and character. The chetah, or hunting leopard, in another cage, must arrest every one's attention by the contrast between its long and high body, and absurdly small head. Tigresses, lions and lionesses together, jaguars, follow in due succession.

At some distance beyond the termination of the viaduct, and in the same line, a piece of water attracts attention, even more by its own beauty than by the variety of its aquatic inhabitants. Small but luxuriantly-wooded islands are scattered about the centre, the banks are thickly fringed with reeds, and bordered by elegantly-flowering shrubs, suitable to the kind of scenery indicated; and altogether it is impossible to imagine a much happier existence than these waddling, and swimming, and diving rogues here enjoy—these Brent, and Canadian, and Chinese, and Egyptian, and laughing geese—these tufted, and crossbred pintail, and penguin ducks—these teal, and shovellers, and pochards. In his way, too, the polar bear, in the neighbourhood of the pond, is luxuriantly lodged; he has got his comfortable den, and his pool of water, where he may swim about, and fancy he is once more breasting the seas of the polar regions, swimming his thirty or forty miles at a time, as they have been seen in Barrow's Straits. The monkey-poles, close by, are unoccupied, except in a few summer months. The condor's cage is near. That great pile of rock-work, almost big enough for a human habitation, covered with foliage, and surrounded by its own little but deep lake of water, is the otter's home. This is one of the great centres of attraction in the gardens at the animal's dinner-time, when live fish are thrown into the water, which he catches with astonishing skill and rapidity.

We have now reached a kind of central spot of the portion of the gardens, that lies on this side of the park-road, and a charming little place it is, with walks branching off in different directions, each between its own high, green and blooming banks,



with lawns, and beds of flowers in the centre, a pretty-looking and elegantly-furnished building for refreshment on one side, the monkey-house on another, the otter and other cages, just mentioned, on a third. The monkey-house has a wired enclosure, extending all along one side, for their out-door enjoyments in the summer. We must step into the house, to pay our respects to these most amusing of organized beings. A school broke up for the holidays seems but a faint imitation of their gambols. Their power of locomotion is familiar to every one; but really the amazing distance to which some of these monkeys can throw themselves (for that word expresses best the character of many of their movements), scarcely appears less wonderful for the fiftieth than for the first time. Among the other striking features of the monkey-house is the sonorous bark of one of the baboons, the human-like character of that cluster of faces of the bonnet monkeys, and the exceeding grace and prettiness of the diminutive marmosets. As we pass on in our walk, we reach the ponds for the American teal, ducks, &c.; the building containing the family of birds in which the destructive power has been developed to its highest extent, the vultures and eagles,—the parrot-house, containing the finest living collection in the world of the most beautiful of all birds, macaws, cockatoos, parrakeets; the aviary for small birds, a handsome-looking semicircular piece of architecture, where, among weaver-birds, and paradise grackles, and rice-birds, and mocking-birds, a brilliant scarlet ibis especially attracts the eye. We now cross the bridge over the mouth of the tunnel, and then pass on to the owls' cages, and thence to the dove cote. In this part we find the bison,—a formidable-looking animal seen thus solitary and in captivity, but which must be indeed terrible when beheld almost covering, with their immense numbers, the savannahs of the remoter districts of North America; or, as when Lewis and Clarke watched them, crossing a river in such multitudes, that, although the river was a mile broad, the herd stretched, as thick as they could swim together, from side to side. Here there is another pond for geese, where the wild swans should not be passed without notice.

Having passed through the tunnel, by which the grounds on the opposite sides of the park-road are connected, we reach the secluded-looking spot, completely embosomed in lofty trees, and with steep banks sloping down towards the waters of the Regent's Canal, where we find the Museum, rich in materials illustrative of the general objects of the society; and the new Reptile House, which forms one of the most attractive features of the garden. Here are the sand lizards of Egypt, burrowing deep into the gravel of their cage. Here, too, is the Indian cobra, with the remarkable expanding membrane which rises on each side of the head and neck when the animal is irritated. In another cage we have Cleopatra's asp, which when disturbed from the sand moves sidelong in a most remarkable manner, all the folds of the body advancing at the same time on the same level. Pythons, boa constrictors, puff-adders, and rattlesnakes, help to tenant this house. The rattlesnake offers a peculiarly interesting exhibition. You can see and hear the whole mystery relating to the rattle; this is at the end of the body or tail, and is formed of a few scales of a horny character, connected together by a membrane. When you have in any way excited the snake's indignation, you will see that rattle quivering with an almost inconceivable speed, and hear its loud note of indignation for some five minutes probably before the injured reptile can forget its wrongs, and sink back into its quiet sand at home.

We are now approaching the extremity of the gardens, where, completely embosomed in the green wood, are various buildings scattered about, as that for the peccary sties, where is the collared peccary from South America, really a beautiful

little pig, with slender, delicate legs and feet, intelligent aspect, and particularly clean appearance. Here also are the Elephant House and the houses of the superintendent and head keeper; the former having one of its rooms devoted to the reception of a variety of small tender quadrupeds, as the flying opossum, the brown coatimundi, the golden agouti, porcupine, Indian tiger-cat, jerboas, &c. &c. And, lastly, a remarkably lofty building appears before us, with an enclosed yard on the left, where the trees, fenced to a most unusual height, and with a projecting guard at the top of each fence, seems to imply we have got among some creatures from the scene of Swift's geographical discoveries — that mysterious land of Brobdignagg, which not all British skill, and capital, and enterprise, have yet been able to find the way to. And when we do get within the building, and perceive it is the giraffe-house and park that we have been gazing on, it is difficult to resist the impression, that these most beautiful and delicate, but, to the very eyes that behold them, almost incredibly tall creatures, cannot belong to any part of our planet with which we have been hitherto familiar. There are now several here; males and females, some born in the gardens, and enjoying excellent health. There are some kangaroos from Australia in the same house.

But the great attraction of 1850 has been the hippopotamus. The town has crowded to see that rarity of Africa, which had not been exhibited in Europe for sixteen centuries. This huge prize hog with a broad muzzle disappointed public curiosity in some degree. He was asleep when some of the eager visitors wanted to see him bathe; and groping in his bath when others were anxious to observe him at play with his keeper. The wonder is becoming stale. If he grows into a mighty hippopotamus, such as the Romans gazed upon, he will be again popular; but perhaps he will have instinctive pinings for the reeds of the Nile, and die of porridge and a washing-tub.

#### KEW GARDENS.

Since Kew first came into possession of the Royal family, about 1730, when the Prince of Wales (the father of George III.), took a lease of the property from the Capel family, there has been flowing into these gardens an almost uninterrupted stream of floral and botanical wealth from all parts of the world. The Prince commenced by laying out the pleasure grounds (which adjoin the Botanic Gardens), but died before their completion. His Princess then continued the works on a still more extensive scale; Sir W. Chambers was called in as architect, and the exotic collection, which was to become the glory of Kew, was commenced. During the reign of George III., Kew became the favourite royal residence, and statesmen were called into the royal councils to devise how Kew should be made more and more rich. The Earl of Bute, for instance, paid particular attention to the gardens. Some of the more eminent subjects of the crown aided in the same interesting work; the Duke of Argyle, the "tree-monger" as Horace Walpole calls him, contributed many of the finest foreign trees. But on the whole, none took more active and successful parts in the prosecution of these labours than Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, and his friend Mr. Aiton, the keeper, (a pupil of Philip Miller,) and who for fifty years kept Kew before the world as one of the first European gardens. Of course during a century filled with so much of political changes as this last has been, and resulting in such an immense increase of new territories to England, opportunities have continually occurred of enriching Kew; and they have for the most part, we believe, been taken full advantage of. The chief expeditions of discovery have been similarly laid



under contribution. The voyages round the world of Captain Cook (accompanied by Sir Joseph Banks), Captain Flinders, and Mr. R. Brown; of Mr. Allan Cunningham to Australia; of other men to Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope, rendered Kew unrivalled in its examples of the botany of the southern hemisphere. During the last two reigns a pause, or even a retrogression, occurred; but of late great improvements have been made, and it is not too much to say that at present the gardens are in a state worthy of the country they belong to, and of the extraordinary aids and appliances that they have possessed, and still possess, for their own increase and conservation. Much of this change is owing to Dr. Lindley, who, in 1840, reported to the House of Commons on the state of the gardens. The investigation that then took place resulted in Kew being placed under the management of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and becoming—instead of a private royal garden—a public national one. And the spirit of improvement thus commenced, has been fully maintained under the present director, Sir W. Hooker. How much we, the public, owe to this gentleman may be illustrated by a passage from an interesting paper written by Dr. Lindley, in 1847, in reference to Kew as it was, and as it is. "Look," he said, "at the state of things in former days. You rang at a bell by the side of a wooden gate, which of itself was perfectly emblematic of the secrecy, the unnatural privacy, of the working principle within. You were let in as if by stealth, as if the gate-keepers were ashamed to see you come, or you yourself were ashamed to be seen there. And when you were there, you were dodged by an official as if you were likely to carry off the St. Helena willow-tree in your button-hole, or one of the smaller hot-houses in your waistcoat-pockets. You entered unwelcome, you rambled about suspected, and you were let out with manifest gladness at your departure.

"How gratifying is the contrast now! You go in by one of the most beautiful entrances that have been erected in modern times, whether we regard the effect of the whole design, or the taste shown in the design of each particular gate. There is no unlocking of a dark door—you walk in freely. Turn to the left, you wander amid the more secluded scenery of the old gardens, until you reach the hot-houses and the adjacent beds. Or walk straight forward along the bold, broad promenade immediately after you enter, visit the conservatory on your right, and at the end of this promenade turn to the left, and ramble along the far finer promenade, adorned on either side by flower-beds, lawns, and shrubberies, and terminated by the new conservatory (or palm-house), . . . its terrace and sheet of water, all bounded by the views in the pleasure grounds beyond. It is scarcely conceivable that in so short a time the change from the old close, cribbed, cramped, suspicious, dark system could have been so complete. And yet *there* is the work done, and on the whole, so far, admirably done. The student is free to enjoy access to all these daily increasing stores, and every person is free to enjoy the pleasurable objects presented to his view."

It will be evidently useless for us to attempt to interest the reader in any lengthened description of each particular house in Kew Gardens, or to present him with anything approaching to a catalogue of the chief families of plants contained in them. All that can be done in this way has been done in the best manner by the little pamphlet issued by Sir W. Hooker, and which is sold at the gardens for sixpence. This is beyond comparison the most perfect little thing of the kind we ever met with, and should be purchased by every visitor to the gardens. We shall confine ourselves to what may be termed the characteristic features of each of the houses that possesses any character. Thus, to commence with the Conservatory (which was removed hither from Buckingham Palace): you pass its threshold, and England is left behind you for Australia, whose chief plants and trees surround you on all sides. And eminently remarkable



they are. No country has so distinctively a botany of its own as Australia. Its plants, like its animals, exhibit so peculiar an organization, that some entire orders and a large proportion of the genera, are absolutely unknown elsewhere. The Banksias and Dryandras at Kew, with their rigid fern-like foliage and flowers, resembling both brushes of a rich brown colour, attract every one's attention. Here, too, are the plants whose name is Protea—and a most felicitous one it is, considering how changeable the character of their stems, leaves, and inflorescence, while still preserving a family likeness and union. On leaving the conservatory we see, straight before us, and looking as though forming a part of the gardens, the picturesque old brick building now known as Kew Palace. This was a favourite residence of George III. and his Queen in their earlier days, and was purchased by the King about the time he pulled down the old Kew House. The glory of the Orangery, the next house to be visited, is the collection of pines, the most magnificent of all evergreen forest trees, and which, by their distribution over England, will in a century or two alter very materially the character of our scenery. Only the tender ones are indulged in the Orangery. Among these we find the *Araucaria excelsa*, perhaps the handsomest without exception of forest trees. There are two magnificent specimens here, reaching nearly to the tops of the house. But there is one very small specimen, only about three or four feet in height to which we would call the attention of every Kew visitor, if it be but to ask him if he can conceive anything in existence more absolutely perfect in form. For those who have never seen the *Araucaria excelsa*, we may describe the tree, as rising with a perfectly straight stem to an enormous height (in its native country, Norfolk Island) and sending forth regularly from its base on all sides, branch after branch, each shaped like a gigantic ostrich feather, stretched horizontally upon the air, with a droop towards the extremity. True to the character of its native country for singularity, the *Araucaria excelsa*, at different stages of its growth, differs so much in appearance, that an ordinary observer at Kew may often think he looks upon different plants, until he reads the labels.

The erection of the Palm-stove of Kew may be expected to mark an era in the history of horticultural architecture: it is so large—so magnificent in all its appointments—and so interesting for the many improvements and experiments there made. The stove consists of a centre and two wings; the former 100 feet wide and 66 high, the latter 50 feet wide and 30 high. The length is in proportion, no less than 300 feet. It is heated from beneath by stoves, which are connected with an ornamental chimney, standing so far from the stove, that no stranger would suspect any connection between the two. A gallery runs round the lofty centre portion, which is reached by a very elegant circular staircase of iron, looking almost as light as the climbing plants which run all over it, and which give in season some of the most superb of all known flowers. The colour of the glass is an interesting novelty; which Mr. Hunt, of the Geological Museum is the author. The object sought was to admit all possible light, but to shut out the fiercest of the heat rays. It was found in the course of a series of experiments made upon palm juices, that it was these heat rays alone that caused the injury palms have been proved to experience, when they were not shaded from the sun. Mr. Hunt has, we believe, succeeded in his object, and the mode is apparent in the pale yellowish green tint of the glass used. Palms—those princes of the vegetable kingdom, as Linnaeus called them—are the more conspicuous tenants of the stove, and a glorious company they make. What an interesting subject for reflection—that these magnificent plants were the first inhabitants of the soil of our world, at least of its land portions, as is evidenced by the vast extent of their remains in the coal formation. The palms are also as useful

they are magnificent. Scarcely one of its species but renders man some service. The cocoa palm gives him its nuts, the date palm its fruit, the palmyra palm its sweet juice, which fermented becomes wine, the sago palm its pith, so largely used by invalids, the cabbage palm its crown, as a succulent vegetable, &c. So much for its contributions to the table. Then as for other matters, the fan palm provides in its foliage an admirable material for thatching; another called the *Iriartea* furnishes a vegetable wax; the oil palm gives oil; another, vegetable ivory; many afford fibres fitted to be formed into needles, or, if you like, cordage instead; whilst many of the more robust-growing palms are valued for their timber, and many of the more delicate ones for their elasticity. We may sum up all by saying that the cocoa-nut palm itself is said to be turned to as many uses as there are days in the year.

The plantains rival the palms in size and usefulness. Three dozen of the fruit of the one known botanically as the *Musa sapientum* will maintain a person for a week. The plantain is, in fact, frequently the sole support of an Indian family. Some of the sorts are said to be finer than the finest pear. The clusters of fruit weigh from thirty to eighty pounds. In walking round the stove there are among the smaller plants some few that invariably attract the attention of all visitors. One is the *Maranta arundinacea*, which possesses probably the richest foliage ever beheld by mortal eye. Amid a thousand beautiful things, that ever stands out above all comparison with its competitors. The leaves seem formed of the most superb green velvet, are beautifully striped, and lined with purple. Another is the Caffre bread-tree, with a solid, gloomy-looking cylindrical trunk. A third is the exquisitely-graceful tree fern; and a fourth the water tank, with a reedy-looking plant, the papyrus, the letter-paper (in a raw state) of the ancients—the fair sheet on which the poets and sages of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, wrote their immortal works. The part of the plant used was the white pith, cut into very thin slices, and joined together with gum. Among the other noticeable stove plants of Kew, are those which give us chocolate, cocoa, coffee, pepper, cassava, bread, cinnamon, tamarind, ginger, Paraguay tea, nutmegs, cloves, the cow-milk tree, arrowroot, rich fruits, whose very name is strange to English ears, as the mangostan, and we know not how many more of the edibles and drinkables for which our merchants ransack the globe. The last plant here that we shall notice is that which first meets the eye in entering at the door on the north-west side, the famous banyan tree, one of the tribe of figs. The drooping tendency of the plant is even here apparent. To this tribe belongs the very beautiful and very serviceable India-rubber tree.

Leaving the palm stove, and feeling wonderfully refreshed by the pure natural air of the gardens, after so long breathing an atmosphere, which, however pure, was not certainly intended for *our* comfort and well-being, we pass on to the little greenhouse where the African crassulas and mesembryantheums, &c., find their resting-place. Many of the latter resemble the jaws of various animals. This family presents a very interesting phenomenon: the capsules or seed-vessels open only in wet weather to scatter the seed, and close in dry to keep their contents safe from the burning sands of the deserts during such an unpropitious time.

On entering another house, the first object that presents itself is a plant, called the stag's horn, growing out of the centre of a board which is suspended by its edge—a strangely uncomfortable place and position one would suppose, but the plant evidently knows better than we do what is good for it, and thrives amazingly. One wonder has not yet ceased to impress us ere another and yet another succeeds. In this part it is a pitcher-plant suspending its lidded goblet; in that a fly trap, which seems to have one sole mission, that of catching between two lobes any poor luckless fly who may



venture to pass by, pressing it to death, and then quietly and demurely opening again in due preparation for another victim. The caricature plant in this house may probably flatter the visitor with his own portrait; it is certain many of the spots upon the leaves bear a very striking resemblance to human faces.

The New Zealand House brings us back again to the more elegant simplicities of Nature. Trees of charming foliage, and which, in their native forests, assume an immense development, are to be found here. The New Zealand pine is one of the most valuable trees yet known for ships' spars. The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax, is used for an infinity of purposes. Here, too, we find the two extraordinary beeches from Terra del Fuego; one of them is evergreen, with a foliage scarcely larger than the broad-leaved myrtle; and in certain localities, high and exposed, grows so dwarf, thick, and stunted, that the traveller may walk on the tops: imagine our English giant of the forest dwindled down to such a state and size. This beech extends to a further point southward than any other known tree in the world. On all sides we see other plants equally worthy of attention; but we must pass on. Among the remaining houses more eminently demanding notice are, the house containing the pine-apple tribe, which possesses also some magnificent aloes from Africa and America; the Australian House, which (in addition to the conservatory before-mentioned) is rich in plants from our antipodes, the house containing the Arums, Gesnerias, Gloxinias, and Achimenes, the Camellia House, especially when the plants are in bloom; the Orchid House, the Cacti House, and the Heath House. How, we can fancy, a gardener of a century ago—say good old Philip Miller—would have gazed in astonishment, and almost in adoration, on such collections as one or two of these we have named;—the heaths and the orchids, for instance. In looking at the last, the orchids (or epiphytes, that is, plants growing upon others)—which would most have struck him, we wonder, the inconceivably strange, and varying, and imitative character of the plants,—the enterprise and liberality that had brought them here together from so many distant and almost unknown parts of the world,—or the surpassing skill in his own dearly-loved art, that could alone have brought them to, and which alone keeps them in, so high a state of health? Up and down, in and out, with mould and without mould, on old rotten trunks; no matter what freak any particular orchid takes with regard to his mode of living and of making himself comfortable in his native land, he is indulged with just the same here; and how contented he is you may see by his gratitude. What exquisitely beautiful flowers! What deliciously-overpowering fragrance he gives us in return for our good offices!

The orchids are odd, but beautiful; the cacti are equally odd, but very far from beautiful, except in their flowers; these are splendid enough, in all conscience. It is enough to blind one's eyes to look down a bank of them on exhibition-days. What a contrast to both these are the heaths. An enthusiastic writer says, "the richness of colour, the elegance and variety of form, the delicacy of texture, or the minute microscopic perfection of their corolla, are such as no words can describe. Lovely as even our wild moorland heaths are, they rank among the lowest in point of beauty in this extraordinary genus, in which all the hues of red, pink, and purple, vie with each other in the most brilliant manner, assuming every tint but blue, and fading into the purest and most transparent white."

The Museum is but young and immature. It is intended to exhibit all such vegetable substances as the living plants cannot show equally well, or at all. Thus we have gutta percha and caoutchouc in various stages of preparation; the products of the various palms before mentioned, as wax, oil, ivory, &c.; lace-bark, from Jamaica; rice-paper, vessels made from the bark of the pottery-tree, rare Chinese teas, African

butter, vegetable caterpillars, from New Zealand, &c., &c. There is here a model of the new aquatic plant, the *Victoria regia*, the most magnificent herbaceous plant yet known in horticulture. The plant itself was exhibited in flower in 1850.

We have said little of the grounds, although they cannot be passed over without some additional comment. In every part are interspersed hardy trees, and shrubs, and herbaceous plants, of the rarest kinds. The botany of our own country is of course paid especial attention to, and has a compartment to itself under the name of the British Garden. A pinetum is also in course of formation, where all the hardy pines will be cultivated.

The Pleasure-grounds adjoining, and partly surrounding the Botanic Gardens, comprise no less than 170 acres of wood and lawn, beautifully laid out in half-garden half-park style. They are much frequented, and would be much more so, but for the restrictions that exist.

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### HORTICULTURAL GARDENS, CHISWICK.

What Kew Gardens are to botany, the Chiswick Gardens are to horticulture. The whole vegetable kingdom forms the subject-matter of Kew; whilst at Chiswick only those trees, shrubs, and plants which are ornamental, only those fruits which are edible, are paid particular attention to.

During the war men had weightier matters to engross all their thoughts, time, and money, than the improvement of their gardens or the development of horticultural tastes through the community; it is, consequently, from the period of peace that we may date the commencement of the present extraordinary prosperity of English gardening, and of which the Horticultural Society must be looked upon as the chief moving impulse. It was by its means that the new leisure was used for the advancement of an innocent and graceful recreation, and which may easily become more than this—a valuable and elevating study; it was by its means that the new opportunities of inter-communication between our own and other countries were taken advantage of for the interchange of those natural productions, which seem purposely scattered over the globe that they may form so many links that shall ultimately bind the whole human race in friendship together; it was by its means that all the appliances and discoveries of science were brought to bear in the readiest and most effective manner upon the commonest but most valuable fruits and vegetables of our tables; lastly, it was by its means that the beautiful and previously-unknown plants scattered about in different parts of the globe were obtained, not simply for the completion of a botanical collection, or for the improvement of a nobleman's or gentleman's garden, but also indirectly for the common enjoyment even of the poorest cottager. If we perceive how extensively the example of this society has been followed in the formation of the innumerable associations that now comprise one or more for almost every large town, we have satisfactory evidence that the objects and the exertions of this society have been fully appreciated.

Let us run through the gardens on one of the *fête* days—such a day as England sometimes offers—a day consummately clear, beautiful, and temperate, and with just so much brilliancy as to make quivering leaves sparkle, transform every little pond by the roadside into a sheet of silver, and bring forth flower-girls and flower-baskets as a kind of natural spontaneous production. Who is it says the fashionable and the aristocratic cannot condescend to be punctual, or to be seen doing anything in haste, or to



be ever caught interested? he has certainly never been at a Chiswick flower-show. Here is this long seat, beneath the awning that covers the entrance-lane leading to the gates, filled with ladies and gentlemen half an hour before the time of opening, whilst thicker and faster every moment arrive the carriages, till at last there is scarcely standing-room out of the broad sun-shine. Then, as soon as the gates open, how rapidly the whole disperse through the beautiful grounds, in so many separate streams, each having one of the numerous marquees scattered about for its centre of attraction. Lastly, in following the principal of these streams towards the tent which parties most familiar with such exhibitions make the primary object of attention,—the one in which new seedling plants and flowers are exhibited—it is pleasant to see the utter hopelessness of our getting any near view, within a reasonable time, of the delicate and varied things of beauty that make the central stage one continuous glow, fading not even by contrast with the sparkling eyes and rosy lips that are so busy examining and discoursing upon their respective merits. Many a note-book may be seen in use, to preserve the name of that new and magnificent variety of pelargonium, or that pretty pink, or that beautifully formed hearts-ease. A close examination of the faces around will satisfy us, however, that the mere curiosity of the lovers of flowers to learn what new acquisitions they are to expect to their parterres and green-houses is not the only feeling that makes this tent so attractive; something like parental pride may be traced in the countenance of that rosy-featured and white-haired old gentleman, who is expatiating on the novelty of a calceolaria he has sent to the exhibition; whilst in the more serious and business-like persons collected in a little knot here by our side in earnest debate, it is not difficult to perceive so many professional florists; one perhaps chewing the cud of his disappointment at finding the plant he had nursed with such care, and on which he had expended so much valuable time, has been passed unnoticed instead of receiving the solid approbation of a prize; whilst another may be weighing the pecuniary advantage—by no means insignificant—we have heard of new plants making fortunes for their possessors within the last few years—that will result from the confirmed success of *his* favourite.

But it were useless to attempt a description in all its details of a sight so utterly indescribable as the exhibition in question: where we wander from one scene of floral splendour to another, looking down long ranges or artificial banks of calceolarias, pelargoniums, fuchsias, roses; in which flowers—of every individual hue, finely contrasted with each other, and forming, on the whole, magnificent masses of harmonious colour—alone are visible, preventing almost the sight of a leaf by their luxuriance; where one instant our eyes are both attracted and repelled by the intensely vivid colours of the cacti, and the next soothed and charmed by the delicate and soft tints of the corollas of the exotic heaths; and where, above all, we are almost as much delighted with the beauty and perfume of the orchidaceous plants, as we are surprised at their extraordinary character and modes of growth.

Leaving the tents and wandering about the grounds, we presently ascend the only elevation the gardens furnish—the raised base or terrace on which stands the Conservatory. Hence we gaze upon a scene unique, perhaps, in England. Whilst the air is ringing with music, bursting forth now in front, now behind, and now again far away on one side, band answering band, several thousand persons are pouring in and out of the marquees, or moving in slow and dense but steadily-progressive array through the conservatory, or filling the long covered shed where the confectioners' numerous assistants are supplying refreshments without an instant's cessation, or promenading over the lawns, or sitting on the scattered benches in a hundred picturesque

little groups, which by their repose relieve the continuous sense of motion which the whole so forcibly impresses.

As the day advances, a written paper fixed against one of the tents draws many of the more enthusiastic amateurs to see what prizes have been gained, and by whom. The number and value of the society's gifts on these occasions is remarkable evidence both of its liberality and wealth. In some class or other any person may compete at these exhibitions, and the classes are, on the whole, admirably adapted to give all exhibitors a fair chance of success: thus, for instance, in some cases private growers are distinguished from nurserymen; in others, the possessors of large collections from those who have but small ones, the object in both cases, of course, being to stimulate the production of excellence in every quarter, in accordance, we might almost say, with every one's means. It is impossible, indeed, to over-estimate the value of the services rendered to horticulture, and everything directly connected with it, by this society, which was established in 1804, and incorporated in 1809. The objects its founders had in view were twofold; to prepare and maintain a place suitable for all kinds of experiments in horticultural science, and for the purpose of collecting together the most valuable and ornamental plants that can be found on the surface of the globe, preparatory to their subsequent distribution throughout England. The beautiful gardens, comprising no less than thirty-three acres, were in consequence formed. In these we now find an arboretum, containing the richest collection of ornamental trees and shrubs that probably exists in Europe. Secondly, there is an orchard, which is acknowledged to be the most perfect ever formed; also forcing-houses for grapes, hot-houses for rare exotic plants, and an extensive kitchen-garden for the trial of new vegetables, or of new modes of cultivating the old ones, and for the instruction of young gardeners; who, we may observe by the way, are not admitted into the gardens till they have passed through an examination, attesting something like knowledge of the theory as well as of the practice of their calling, and to whom the gardens are in effect a normal school. We may form some notion of the extent and value of the orchard, from the published catalogue of the different varieties of trees in it, which forms an octavo volume: a curious contrast to the original poverty of our country, when, according to Mr. Loudon, the whole collection of native plants might be comprised in a list of two or three lines, thus: "small purple plums, sloes, white-currants, brambles, raspberries, wood strawberries, cranberries, blackberries, red berries, heather-berries, elder berries, sour berries, haws, holly berries, hips, hazel nuts, acorns, and beech nuts." For the carrying out of the objects indicated a fund is obtained by the payment on the part of each Fellow of the Society of an admission fee of six guineas, and of four guineas yearly; in return for which he receives, free of any further charge, the published Proceedings and Transactions of the Society; a portion of the rare seeds and plants distributed; admission to all meetings, and to the library; with, lastly, the privilege of sending non-members to the meetings in Regent Street (which are so many minor and more frequent exhibitions, where also plants are shown and prizes conferred), and of giving a limited number of orders to friends for tickets of admission, to be used at either of the three principal exhibitions, on the payment of 5s. each.

#### VAUXHALL.

The "New Spring Garden," at Lambeth, was, in 1661, called by Evelyn, "a pretty contrived plantation." Pepys saw there the citizens "pulling off cherries," and "fine people walking," and ladies with masks supping in arbours with "mad rogues



of the town." Addison, in 1712, takes Sir Roger de Coverley to Faux Hall, or Spring Garden:—"We were now arrived at Spring Garden, which is excellently pleasant at this time of the year. When I considered the fragrantcy of the walks and bowers, with the chorus of birds that sung upon the trees, and the loose tribe of people that walked under their shade, I could not but look upon the place as a kind of Mahometan paradise."

Some twenty years after this memorable visit, the gardens were in the occupation of Jonathan Tyers, Esq., and were opened by him in a style of novel magnificence. The entertainment given on this occasion, which was announced as a "Ridotto al Fresco," was several times repeated, which encouraged the proprietor so much, that in a short time he opened the gardens every evening during the proper season. As Vauxhall grew more and more in the public estimation, the proprietor erected an organ in the orchestra, placed a statue of Handel, by Roubilliac, in the garden, and decorated the boxes with paintings by Hogarth and Hayman.

Fielding, in 'Amelia,' is enraptured with "The extreme beauty and elegance of this place;" and Goldsmith, in 'The Citizen of the World,' "found every sense overpaid with more than expected pleasure: the lights everywhere glimmering through scarcely-moving trees; the full-bodied concert bursting on the stillness of night; the natural concert of the birds in the more retired part of the grove, vying with that which was formed by art; the company gaily dressed, looking satisfaction, and the tables spread with various delicacies." Goldsmith's humble friends were probably more decorous than a fashionable party described by Horace Walpole, when Lady Caroline Petersham stewed chickens over a lamp, and Betty, the fruit girl, supped with them at a side table.

About seven years ago there was a talk of building over these gardens, and extinguishing this ancient place of public recreation. But it still survives; and on gala nights, we may step at once from the passages into a scene of enchantment, such as in our young days opened upon our eyes as we pored over the magical pages of the 'Arabian Nights.' At first, one wide-extended blaze of radiance is the idea impressed upon the dazzled beholder. As his eyes grow accustomed to the place, he perceives the form of the principal part of the gardens resolves itself into a kind of long quadrangle, formed by four colonnades, which enclose an open space with trees, called the Grove. On his right extends one of the colonnades, some three hundred feet long, with an arched Gothic roof, where the groins are marked by lines of golden lamps, and the pendants by single crimson lamps. Looking across the Grove, midway is seen the lofty orchestra, glittering all over with many-coloured lights. This was erected in 1735, and has itself many interesting memories attached to it. At the back of the short colonnade is the room originally called the Pavilion, now the Hall of Mirrors—the principal supper-room. Turning the corner we enter upon the other of the two principal colonnades, which is similarly illuminated. A little way down we find an opening into the Rotunda, a very large and handsome building, with boxes, pit, and gallery in the circular part, and on one side a stage for the performance of ballets. The pit forms also, when required, an arena for the display of horsemanship. At the end of this colonnade we have on the right the colonnade forming the other extremity of the Grove, hollowed out into a semicircular form, the space being fitted up somewhat in the manner of a Turkish divan. On the left we find the more distant and darker parts of the gardens. Here the first spot that attracts our attention is a large space, the back of which presents a kind of mimic amphitheatre of trees and foliage, having in front rock-work and fountains. Here, too, is a large building, presenting in front the appearance of the proscenium and stage of a

estrate. Ballets, performances on the tight-rope, and others of a like character, are exhibited. Passing in our way the area where the fireworks are exhibited, we next enter the Italian Walk, so called from its having been originally decorated in the formal, exact style of the walks of that country. This is a promenade or avenue of great length and breadth, crossed every few yards by a lofty angular arch of lamps, with festoons of the same brilliant character hanging from it, and having statues interspersed on each side throughout. On quitting this walk, at its farther extremity we find ourselves in the centre of the long colonnade opposite to that we quitted in order to examine the more remote parts of the gardens. The inner side of each of the long colonnades is occupied by supper-boxes, in some of which yet remain the pictures before referred to.

To describe the performances at these numerous places of attraction would be here out of place. They are constantly varied, according to the prevailing fashion. At some seasons balloons are the rage; at others, equestrian exhibitions. Music and fireworks are never-ceasing attractions. Vauxhall has ceased to be a place of fashionable amusement; but it is not the less decorous for being cheap.

#### ROYAL SURREY ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

These—perhaps the most truly popular gardens in London—so nearly resemble, in some of their more important characteristics, the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park, that a preliminary word or two on their differences may not be out of place. While, then, the latter have for their chief object the promotion of science, but take care, at the same time, to make the study as attractive as possible, the former aim directly and avowedly to amuse the millions of London; but by the purest and most legitimate means, foremost among which is the opportunity of obtaining scientific knowledge. In harmony with these differences are their positions as regard ownership—the one belongs to a society, who seek no profit, and are only very glad when their annual reports show no loss; the other is the property of an individual, and falls into the category of regular commercial speculations. Under these circumstances it would be absurd to expect the Surrey Gardens to rival those of the Regent's Park in their own especial vocation, and enjoying, as the latter do, all the aid that royalty, government, and foreign consuls can give, in the search, capture, and transmission, at cost price, of the most rare animals on the globe. The Society's Gardens are now, we believe, the first in the world; but it is something to say of a single individual, that he possesses the next best collection of animals yet formed. But so it is; and we may here mention that were the comparison confined solely to birds and deer, another individual, a nobleman, possesses a far finer collection than either of the parties referred to, that is the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley Park. It was remarked to us by a gentleman, who spoke from his own experience, "when any zoological treasure comes into the market, we must content ourselves with the Earl's leavings. What he wants he takes at any price."

A threepenny ride from Charing Cross toward Camberwell sets us down within a short distance of one of the two entrances to the Gardens. Passing through an open green, and along a wide gravel walk, bordered on one side by an ivy-covered wall, we see on the other a range of pretty little structures in the rustic style, with thatched roofs, all opening into the Gardens, and suggesting the number of the visitors here on great days, by the amount of the accommodation provided for their entrance and exit. In what is called a good average day, as many as eight thousand persons visit the gardens; but the number has swelled on extraordinary occasions to nearly double



that amount. They form two classes—subscribers annual or for life, and casual visitors, who pay one shilling each on entrance. There are generally seven or eight hundred of the former, to whom, and to whom only, the gardens are open on the Sunday. Of course there are no amusements on that day. What is desired is to afford a pleasant promenade, in very agreeable gardens, and surrounded by a *thousand* incentives to thought, in the presence of the birds and animals, who are so comfortably located here, and who amount to scarcely less than the number just named. There is not a Hippopotamus: that fact must be acknowledged; but we should find it hard to say in what else they are deficient. A pair of Giraffes, Ostriches we know not how many, but we think we counted at least four. Llamas, by the herd we might almost say, are among the rarer inhabitants of the various houses scattered about the gardens, in more or less picturesque positions. Among the other animals that particularly struck us were—the Harpy Eagle, as darkly suggestive in its appearance as in its name; the pair of Dromedaries presented by Ibrahim Pasha; the Reindeer; the Wapiti, the king of its tribe, trying hard to have a thrust at us with its vast expanse of branching horns; the Cassowary, a most majestic bird, full five feet high, the finest specimen in Europe; and the Tigress and the Dog, in adjoining cages, but who are admitted to each other's society every now and then by the lifting up of a door in the partition wall between them. They have been bred together almost from birth, and a curious contrast they present, the comparatively small size and slight power of the Dog, beside that wonderful combination of strength, stateliness, and flexibility of form, with gorgeous beauty of superficial covering, the Royal Bengal Tigress! This kind of amity between very great and very little, has, however, always its disadvantages for the apparently-favoured party, and it is so here. The Tigress loves the dog very much, and that blood on his back proves it—it is but an accidental scratch from her claw while playfully fondling him. Oddly enough, however, the dog is decidedly the master spirit, and exacts obedience from time to time, in a very decided fashion.

The building in which this interesting exhibition takes place is itself of an attractive character. It forms a large circle of glass, with a flattened top, and encloses nearly half an acre. It used to be said of it, it was the largest conservatory in England; but it is so no longer. The centre contains the cages of the carnivora, all facing the broad walk that extends round the structure, and which in summer forms a delightful promenade, for the glass on one side is covered with vines, which have a most picturesque effect, and grow and ripen luxuriantly.

As we walked about the gardens, which are very well laid out, and—what is equally important—are very well kept, we were suddenly struck by the novel spectacle to us of a couple of elephants being led by the ears, by an attendant who walked between them, towards a little fountain of water, where we watched them drink. They looked cold and shivering, and seemed to march off home to their warmer cells, with an air that seemed to say they wished they hadn't left them. In summer they promenade about the gardens among the people, and, occasionally, with a family of children on their backs.

It is an agreeable sign of the interest taken in these gardens, to see inscriptions over many of the animals, showing they were the gifts of eminent persons, foremost among whom stands the Queen. Ibrahim Pasha, Count D'Orsay, and some English noblemen, are among the other benefactors.

Such a collection of animals would, it might be supposed, suffice, without any additional claims to popularity; but the gardens are rich in other respects. Flower shows of a very superior class are held here. Jullien's band forms a regular item in the nightly bill of fare. The fireworks claim to be first rate—as the production of

'unrivalled' London *artiste*, Southby. Lastly, the picture exhibited here, and is changed every season,—a picture of that class which is composed, like *rical scenes*, of various lines of surface, is the largest, it is said, in the world, of unquestioned excellence. The subject of the one exhibited this last season (Napoleon's passage of the Alps, and striking, indeed, is the air of verisimilitude can now be given to such compositions. In that picture were represented some thousand men in motion, who appeared, in front, of the life size, and were, in living men, and who dwindled gradually, at different distances, to the veriest such that the eye could track along the zig-zag line of ascent, toward the summit of the Alps, where stood the monastery of St. Bernard, ready to receive the weary and *rosen troops*, and their imperial master. An entire space of ground occupied amounts to about fifteen acres.

### CREMORNE GARDENS.

Cremorne is situated on the Thames bank, a little above Battersea Bridge, on the east side of the river, and is peculiarly beautiful in its lofty forest trees, which *letely encircle* it, and in its various open glades or lawns, which are connected each other in a very agreeable manner. It is, in fact, a very fine old aristocratic man, which *cannot* be utterly spoiled; though it must be owned much has been in that way, by long stretches of vilely-daubed canvas, representing scenery, and *re thrusting* into every nook and corner of all sorts of trumpery structures, for *oses worthy* of them—penny peep-shows, in fact, of different kinds, which none *children*, one could fancy, would think of without contempt. But the trees and *s are really* beautiful, considering the surface is level; and the piece of garden, and the River Esplanade, which is divided from the rest by a road, and bridged over *re only decent* structure the gardens possess, is a pleasant walk, overlooking the *oes*. There are also a great number of casts distributed about the ground, *h as copies* either of truly fine antiques, or of the best of modern sculptures, *onise with* the lofty beauty of the trees, and with the shady walks between *u*. Balloon ascents are a frequent feature here. Last season a water tournament given on the Thames in front of the river esplanade. *ere is a good* hotel attached for the accommodation of the more genteel of *Cre-* visitors. Let us not forget to mention that refreshments are provided—and *liberally used*—in the gardens; for, in fact, it is as a tea-garden that Cremorne on its most inviting aspect.

### HINTS FOR THE STRANGER.

*Kensington Gardens*.—The position of these gardens, with reference to Hyde Park, to the Uxbridge and the Kensington roads, is shown in the plan in the previous *ber on parks*. Omnibuses constantly pass the northern and southern entrances *re gardens*.

*Botanic Gardens and Zoological Gardens*.—The plan which follows, of the Regent's *;*, will indicate the relative position of these gardens. To the *Botanic* gardens *ission* can only be obtained through the ticket of a Fellow, without payment; *as the number* of the Fellows is considerable, there is little difficulty in obtain- *such admission* to one having introductions to London society. At the Zoological *lens the entrance* fee is One Shilling, except on Mondays, when the charge is *ence*. On Sundays they are only open to the Fellows.

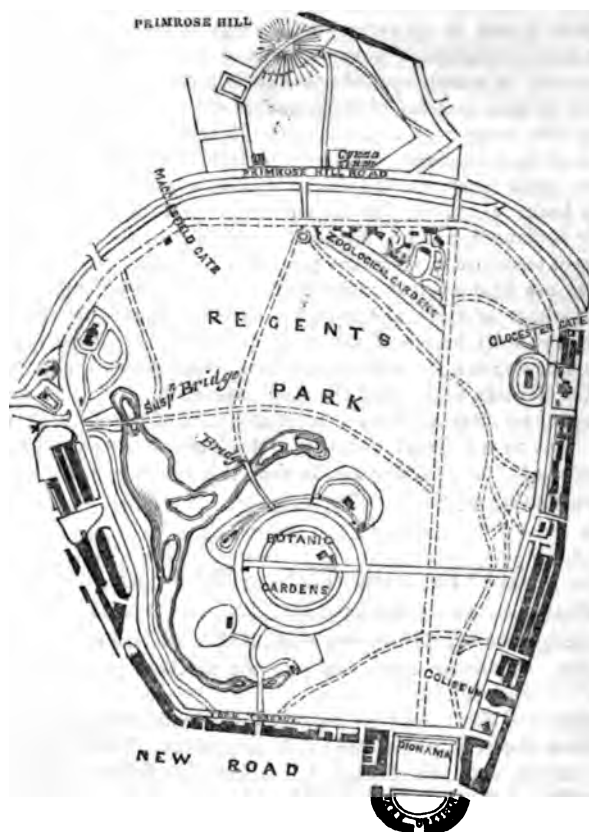
*Kew Gardens.*—The *Botanic* gardens are open every day except Sunday, without any restrictions. The principal entrance is on Kew Green. The adjoining *Pleasure* grounds, or park, are only opened from Midsummer to Michaelmas, on Sundays and Thursdays. The entrances to these grounds are on the road from Kew to Richmond. There is a branch to Kew of the Richmond Railway, and omnibuses are numerous and regular to Kew Bridge.

*Horticultural Gardens.*—On the three fête days tickets are sold under certain regulations, which are advertised. The gardens are only open to the Fellows at other times.

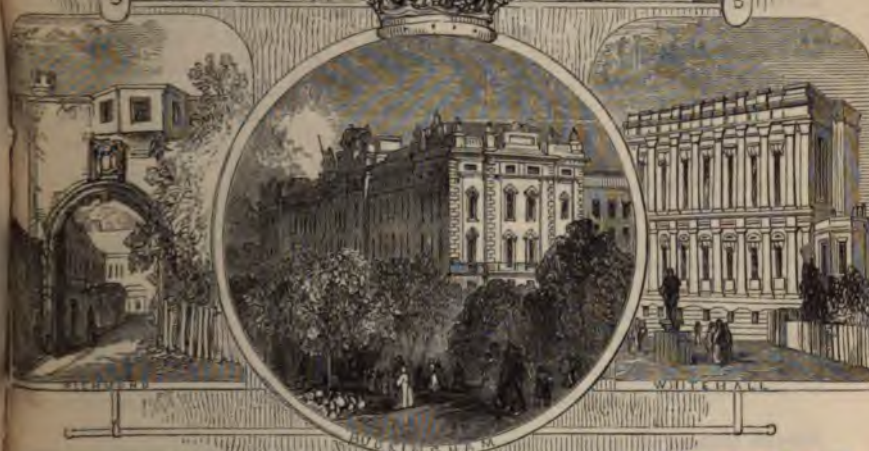
*Vauxhall Gardens.*—The entertainments and the prices of admission are regularly advertised. The gardens are near Vauxhall Bridge, and may be reached by steamboat from any of the piers.

*Surrey Zoological Gardens.*—Omnibuses, which cross all the bridges towards Camberwell, will set down at these gardens for a threepenny fare.

*Cremorne Gardens.*—By the steamboat to Battersea Bridge. The purchase of a sixpenny refreshment ticket admits.







# KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON

NO. III. ROYAL PALACES.





### III. ROYAL PALACES.

#### ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

Court of St. James's is a phrase which has been heard far and wide, and has id fear into stout hearts. A foreigner who had formed his notions of the local tion of this talismanic word from its universal prevalence and might, must at nes have been struck with astonishment on seeing it. The dingy paleness of the ure itself, the utter absence of architectural pretensions in the surrounding , and the familiar manner in which they squeezed in upon it, were anything but ated to harmonize with the high idea of the residence of the kings of the "kings le," who occupied a house of much greater pretensions—in the east, in Leaden-treet.

Hospital of St. James, founded for the reception of "fourteen sisters, maidens," gh a religious foundation, seems to have been honestly acquired by Henry VIII. year 1532 he gave Chattisham and other lands in Suffolk in exchange for the the Hospital; and when, having thus become master of the house, he turned sterhood out of doors, he had the grace to settle pensions upon them. The act of St. James's Manor House is not known, but it is understood to have been d under the direction of Cromwell Earl of Essex, and Holbein is said to have hed the plan, though this has been doubted. "Only a part," says Brayley in *ondiniana* (1829), "of Henry's building now remains, and that is in a purer f architecture than any of the other designs of Holbein. In the filling in of andrils of some of the arches the Florentine (or rather the Flemish) manner is cuous, particularly in the chimney-piece of the Presence Chamber, the orna-d compartments over the arch of which contain Tudor badges and the initials united by a knot: from this latter circumstance we may infer that the palace iginally built for the reception of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn." St. James's , with the presence chamber, and its intertwined cipher of the monarch lover is swan-like bride, is one of the memorials of the time when Henry had aban-himself to the intoxication of his self-will. The north gateway formed also a f the original building: which, for many years after its erection, stood wholly in untry.

stream of events ran away rather from St. James's during the years of Edward, and Elizabeth, but with the race of Stuarts it came to be used as a royal y. The Manor House, with all its appurtenances, except the Park and the s at the Mews, were granted, in 1610, to Prince Henry, who occupied them till mature death in 1612. He was succeeded by his brother, afterwards Charles I., stained through life a partiality for the mansion. In it was deposited the col- of statues which, with the assistance of Sir Kenelm Digby, he began to form. nost of his children were born. And in the Chapel Royal, which he had fitted it, he attended divine service before he "walked through the Park, guarded . regiment of foot, to Whitehall," on the morning of his execution. After the ation James occupied this building. It is spoken of by his contemporaries as idly furnished. One room was embellished with pictures of court beauties by er Lely. On the morning of his coronation James left this palace for White- We have now arrived at the period when the Palace of St. James's became the

principal residence of the English sovereigns: not because the Revolution dynasty thought it necessary to have a new abode of their own, in which the memory of the old should not haunt them at every turning; but because, Whitehall having been accidentally burned soon after the accession of William, St. James's was at first occupied as a temporary arrangement, protracted it may have been at first from some doubts as to the permanence of the new order of things, and afterwards from the hurry of important business, which kept men from thinking of such a subordinate matter as the proper lodging of the sovereign. It was not until the reign of William III. that St. James's became properly the royal residence—the scene of levees and drawing-rooms—the recognised seat of royalty. William resided mostly at Hampton Court, though he occasionally held councils at St. James's, and it was regarded as his town house. But Anne constantly resided there when in town; Caroline, Queen of George II., died there; George IV. was born there. "The Court," technically speaking, was held at St. James's during the whole reign of George III. (it still continues to be held there,) but the domestic town residence of that monarch was Buckingham House. St. James's is now merely the pavilion containing the apartments used on occasions of state solemnity. The period during which it was a palace of kings—a palace to live in as well as to see company in—includes only the reigns of William, Anne, and the two first Georges. The Palace of St. James's—the Court of St. James's—are phrases which belong to the Revolution era—to the time when, with the exception of one female, our sovereigns were foreigners.

It would be useless to enter into any description of the state-rooms of St. James's. They are retained only for court-pageantry, when the actors are far more splendid and more attractive than the stage.

#### WHITEHALL.

There are, doubtless, few of our metropolitan readers who have not, like ourselves, often stood by the Horse Guards to gaze on that magnificent work, the Banqueting House, opposite, and to ponder on the solemn and momentous event, the execution of Charles I., which seems (so instantaneously does the sight of the one recall the memory of the other) to be recorded in indelible characters on the very walls. They have also, we have no doubt, wondered, as we have often wondered, through which of those beautiful windows the King passed to the funereal-looking scaffold, with its central block and axe, masked executioner, and surrounding sea of faces; and reviewed, as we have reviewed, all the long train of associations connected with that act, and with the men by whose agency it was achieved. And absorbed in such thoughts, there, perhaps, have generally ended our mutual reminiscences of Whitehall. The Banqueting House only dates from the time of Charles and his father; and there are no other remains of any importance of the once famous palace to direct the attention to its earlier history. The scene is, indeed, strangely altered. The spectators of the King's execution stood where we now stand; but the present busy street was then the enclosed court-yard of the royal mansion, which consisted of an immense irregular mass of buildings, extending from Scotland Yard and Wallingford House (the site of the Admiralty) on the north, to Cannon Row and the top of Downing Street on the south, and east and west from the Thames to St. James's Park. Where we now find the Treasury and the offices of the Secretaries of State, then stood the Tennis Yard and Cockpit, carrying back the memory to their sport-loving founder, Henry VIII., and still earlier, to the times when that monarch came hither as a guest to enjoy the splendid hospitality of his great minister Wolsey. Now, however, there are no such

indications of the ancient glories of Whitehall ; and it is only when we begin to reflect upon its history that we find the multitude of recollections of the interest that pertain naturally to the spot flow in upon us. Whitehall, or the palace, for that name was unknown till after Wolsey's time, was originally the residence of Hubert de Burgh, the eminent but persecuted Justiciary of England during the reign of Henry III. He bequeathed it to the convent of the Black Friars in Holborn, and they sold it to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, in 1248. From that time it was called York House, and remained for nearly three centuries the residence of the archbishops and prelates of that see. The last archiepiscopal owner was Wolsey ; during whose reign it was characterized by a sumptuous magnificence that most probably has been equalled in the house of any other English subject, or surpassed in the case of many of its kings.

les, in his *Life of Wolsey*, says that the Cardinal built a great part of York; and the statement is strengthened by a passage in Storer's '*Metrical History of York*' (1599), in which are the following lines:—

"Where fruitful Thames salutes the learned shore  
Was this grave prelate and the muses plac'd,  
And by those waves he *builted* had before  
A royal house with learned muses grac'd,  
But by his death imperfect and defac'd."

as been supposed that among these erections a "White Hall, properly so called, erected by Wolsey, and obtained its name from the freshness of its appearance, compared with the ancient buildings of York House;" and hence the origin of the present appellation. On Wolsey's fall, in 1529, we know that the name of York was prohibited, though no other appears to have been immediately substituted except by the popular voice. Shakspeare refers to this change in his 'Henry

One gentleman is giving to two others a description of the coronation of Anne, in which occur the following lines:—

“So she parted,  
And with the same full state pac'd back again  
To York Place, where the feast is held.  
1 *Gent.* Sir,  
You must no more call it York Place—that is past :  
For, since the cardinal fell, that title's lost ;  
'Tis now the king's, and call'd Whitehall.  
3 *Gent.* I know it ;  
But 't is so lately alter'd, that the old name  
Is fresh about me.”

king made many alterations in the palace, as we learn from an Act of Parliament passed in 1536; and it was called the King's Palace of Westminster. From him, who was a universal genius, he received the design of a magnificent Gate, which he built in front of the palace, opposite the entrance into the Tilt-yard. It was removed in 1750, in order to widen the street, when it was begged by William of Cumberland, the son of George II., with the intention of erecting it at the end of the long walk in the great park at Windsor, of which he was ranger. But the plan was never fulfilled.

old Whitehall of Wolsey, Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, which had become  
highly decayed and worn out by James's time, and the Whitehall of modern times



—of Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II., of which the Banqueting-room remains to us—are essentially distinct buildings.

James had commenced the work of pulling down the old palace so early as 1604 when, as we learn from Howe's edition of Stowe's 'Annals,' the "old rotten, slightly built Banqueting House," which Elizabeth had erected, was removed, and a new one built in the following year, "very strong and stately, being every way larger than the first: there were also many fair lodgings new-built and increased." Their strength and stateliness, however, could not defend them from a destruction as sudden as it was unexpected. They were burned in 1619. We know not at what period the king first determined upon the plan of entirely rebuilding the palace of Whitehall but it is not improbable that the accident referred to may have quickened his operations, if it did not altogether suggest them. The man, too, was at hand, ready for the work. This was the famous Inigo Jones. He was appointed surveyor-general of the royal buildings, and commissioned to make designs for a new palace. These designs, imperfect as the shape confessedly is in which they have reached us, are alone sufficient to raise their author's reputation to the very highest rank; but fortunately the Banqueting House remains to us to this day, as a specimen of the style of the whole, of which it was the only part erected. The very extent of the space to be covered would have alarmed, or at least bewildered, any ordinary architect. In Jones's plan the exterior buildings measured eight hundred and seventy-four feet on the east and west sides, and one thousand one hundred and fifty-two feet on the north and south. Within these were to be no less than seven courts. The Banqueting House was commenced in 1619, and completed in about two years; its entire cost was fifteen thousand pounds.

The king's extravagance prevented the prosecution of these designs beyond the erection of the Banqueting House, and his son Charles, with full appreciation both of the work and of the author, was too busily engaged in the impossible task of building up a despotism in England to find money or time to raise palaces. So the matter rested, and Inigo Jones turned with a sigh from the contemplation of that glorious work, which would have given a new magnificence to the world, to invent new masques for a comparatively insignificant portion of it, Charles and his young consort.

The intervals of the great contest between Charles and the Parliament were not altogether destitute of events that showed how much the king might have added to the glory of his country, had he limited his notions of the kingly prerogative by due consideration of the social changes that rendered it impossible that England should be governed by the Stuarts as by the Tudors. His patronage of the arts was an honour to his memory; and we may judge, from what he did under such unfavourable circumstances, how much he would have done if his wealth and his energies had not been absorbed in the conflict with his people. "The amusements of his court," says the Rev. Mr. Gilpin, "were a model of elegance to all Europe, and his cabinets were the receptacles only of what was exquisite in painting and sculpture none but men of the first merit found encouragement from him, and those abundantly." The cabinet-room of the palace, designed by Inigo Jones for Prince Henry, which was erected about the centre of Whitehall, running across from the Thames towards the Banqueting House, and fronting westward to the Privy Garden, was perhaps the richest room in the world in works of art. To Henry VIII.'s original collection had been added a separate one, begun by Prince Henry; but Charles himself was the principal author of its almost incalculable treasures. He bought the cabinet of the Duke of Milan, then considered the most valuable in Europe, entire



for which he paid £18,000. The Cartoons of Raffaele were obtained in Flanders, through the agency of Rubens. Fresh additions were also continually made either by purchase, or by gift to the king, than which nothing could be more acceptable. The "cream" of the collection was at Whitehall, which contained four hundred and sixty pictures, including twenty-eight by Titian, eleven by Correggio, sixteen by Julio Romano, nine by Raffaele, four by Guido, and seven by Parmegiano. Rubens' introduction to Charles I. was as an ambassador, and his success in the mission which had been entrusted to him was complete and in every way satisfactory. The king, indeed, held the painter in high esteem, and commissioned him to paint the ceiling of the Banqueting House. For this work Rubens received £3000. It is with regret that we turn from these pleasant reminiscences of Whitehall and its accomplished owner to the darker events with which it is so permanently associated in our minds.

A week after Charles had attempted to seize the five members in 1642, he left Whitehall, with his queen, children, and entire court, and removed to Hampton Court. Whitehall was now seized by the Parliament; who in 1645 ordered the "boarded masque house," an immense room built by Charles for these exhibitions, to be pulled down, and that "all such pictures and statues" as were at "York House," as were without any "superstition," should be forthwith sold, for the benefit of Ireland and the north. The "last scene of all" need not here be described.

At the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament, in 1653, Cromwell resided at Whitehall, and when he had finished that extraordinary act he returned with the keys of the house in his pocket to his lodging in the palace. Here he continued to reside during his elevation; and here he died. Evelyn, under the date of 1656, thus refers to the state of the palace under Cromwell's care:—"I ventured to go to Whitehall, where of many years I had not been, and found it very glorious and well furnished."

With the period of Cromwell's death all the great memories of Whitehall may be said to cease. There is plenty of matter in the ensuing reigns to keep up the interest we feel in it, but that interest is of a lower and less absorbing character. Charles II. and James II. were its last regal occupiers. On the 10th of April, 1691, a considerable portion of it was burnt by a fire which broke out in the apartment of the Duchess of Portsmouth; and in 1698 the entire structure, with the exception of the Banqueting House, and some small portion of its buildings, was destroyed by the same element. Evelyn thus generalises the results:—"Whitehall burnt; nothing but walls and ruins left."

The interior of the Banqueting House has been occupied as a chapel since the time of George I., who granted a stipend to certain clergymen to preach in it. About twelve years ago it underwent a thorough repair and restoration; when a gallery, built for the use of the guards, was removed. The immense size and noble proportions of this room now appear in all their original grandeur. Over the door is a bust of the founder, James I. A lofty gallery runs along the two sides of the room, and across the end over the door of entrance, where there is a fine organ. But the great attraction of the Banqueting House is the ceiling, with its series of paintings by Rubens, before referred to, which, immediately the spectator enters the room, attract his eyes by their brilliant and harmonious colouring. Their great height, however, renders any close and accurate inspection impossible.

The statue behind the Banqueting House is that of James II. This is the work of Gibbons, and in every way worthy of his reputation. The attitude of the figure is easy, yet dignified; and a calm but serious and very thoughtful expression is

stamped upon the well-formed features and brow. It is a vulgar error to suppose that James is pointing to the spot of his father's execution.

#### BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

"George the Fourth," says Mrs. Jameson, "had a predilection for low ceilings, so all the future inhabitants of the Pimlico Palace must endure suffocation; and as his Majesty did not live on good terms with his wife, no accommodation was prepared for a future Queen of England." From the accession of her present Majesty Buckingham Palace has required immense alterations for the purpose of rendering it habitable.

The palace derives its name from the house that previously stood here, which was built, in 1703, by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who took the trouble to describe it at great length in a letter that has been frequently published, but somewhat unnecessarily, it appears, so far as its architectural value is concerned. Buckingham Palace was commenced in 1825, from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. Nash, and has been completed only recently by Mr. Blore. The eastern front is entirely new, having been erected in advance of the former wings. This front is occupied as private apartments. The Queen has occupied Buckingham Palace as her town residence since 1837.

On entering the original part of the palace a sumptuous hall receives us, surrounded with an extensive range of double columns, standing on an elevated continuous basement, every one formed of a single piece of veined white (Carrara) marble, with gilded bases and capitals. The steps of the grand staircase on the left are also of white marble. We have at times another addition to the architectural picturesqueness of the scene, in the vista between the pillars directly facing the entrance,—through the sculpture gallery which it crosses,—and so on through the open door of the library, or council room, with its semicircular termination, to the very windows that open on the opposite side of the building. The library, which is very large, is used as a waiting-room for deputations, which, as soon as the queen is prepared to receive them, pass across the sculpture gallery into the hall, and thence ascend by the grand staircase through an ante-room and the green drawing-room to the throne-room. The library, with the other rooms on each side of it, are furnished and decorated in a manner that happily combines elegance and luxury with simplicity and comfort, whilst their situation is truly delightful, opening directly upon a terrace, having the conservatory at one extremity, and the new chapel on the other, whilst over the balustrade, with its elegant vases of flowers, appears the beautifully varied and undulating surface of the park-like grounds,—“a mimic Arcady embosomed in deep foliage,” as it has been called. The sculpture in the gallery consists chiefly of busts of eminent statesmen, and members of the royal family, ranged on each side through the gallery, which extends the whole length of the central portion of the front of the edifice. Ascending the grand staircase towards the state apartments, we find these latter comprise—to mention the principal only—an ante-room, the green drawing-room, and the throne-room, in the eastern front of the palace; and a dining-room, music-room, and two drawing-rooms, in the western or garden front, with a picture gallery over the sculpture gallery, between the two ranges. The prevailing colour of the throne-room is crimson, the walls being hung with crimson striped satin, and the alcove with crimson velvet, both also relieved by a profusion of golden hues. The ceiling is richly carved and gilt; and the frieze below, adorned

ssi-relievi by Baily, after designs by Stothard, illustrative of the wars of the red Red Roses. The scene presented in the throne-room on state occasions is as que as it is splendid. From the throne-room we pass to the picture gallery, harms us at the first glance by the admirable distribution and arrangement ight, which is admitted by a treble range of skylights extending through the ength of the gallery. The collection is very valuable, though, rightly con- it should form but one division of a complete regal picture gallery, since it es in the main works of the Flemish and Dutch schools. The chief exceptions 'olds' 'Death of Dido,' and his 'Cymon and Iphigenia,' a landscape by rough, with a few recent English works, some pictures by Watteau, and—an ing evidence of Titian's versatility—a landscape with herdsmen and cattle, master. Of the extraordinary wealth of the collection in the schools we intioned, some idea may be formed from the enumeration of the number of y their chief artists:—three by Albert Durer, seven by Rembrandt, seven- Teniers, five by Ostade, six by Gerard Dow, nine by Cuyp, eight by Wouver- hree by Paul Potter, six by Rubens, five by Vandyke, in addition to his portraits of children, and a great number of others by masters scarcely less

Among Rembrandt's pictures, we must specially mention the 'Wise Men's ;' among Vandyke's, the 'Marriage of St. Catherine;' among Albert Durer's, ser ;' and among Rubens', the portrait of his wife. Claude's 'Europa' also the collection. The pictures belonged, for the most part, to George IV.

the pictures, we pass to the range of rooms that occupy the western or front of the same story, namely, the dining-room at the southern extremity, e music-room with its orchestra and other appropriate fittings up, next the wing-room, in the centre, so called from the semicircular projection; whilst towards the northern extremity, we find the yellow drawing-room, the most of the whole. Full-length portraits of members of the royal family, painted els on the walls, form a conspicuous feature. The private apartments of her extend along the whole of the northern front of the palace, and are there- ctly connected with the suite we have just noticed. In the gardens is her 's summer-house, decorated with fresco paintings, forming a series of subjects mus, by Eastlake, Maclise, Stanfield, E. Landseer, Uwins, Dyce, Leslie, and The mews, which contain the state carriages and horses, is behind the

#### HAMPTON COURT.

e beginning of the sixteenth century, when the order of the Knights Hospi- f St. John of Jerusalem was safe and flourishing, and its prior and brethren eamt that within forty years their magnificent house of St. John's of Clerken- uld be nearly demolished, to build up a palace for a proud lord and semi-king ts fallen towers,—at that period, a district of some thousand acres, through he Thames flowed from Ditton to Walton on the Surrey shore, and from Ted- to Hanworth on the Middlesex bank, was a large manorial property belonging reat order of military monks; and in the heart of this property of Hampton as a manor-house, and a chapel of the manor. Here, in this wide sandy level, he wintry floods of the Thames inundated and fertilized—where little corn wn—where rabbits were the chief habitants—lived a priest and a few of the r brethren of the order, with no great store of the riches which made some of id Preceptories objects of envy to barons and burghers. The great Wolsey, in



the most palmy days of his influence—before the passions of his master had developed the fierceness of his will, and the growing tyrant “was young and lusty, disposed to mirth and pleasure, and to follow his desire and appetite”—made a bargain with the Prior of St. John for the manor of Hampton Court. This was in the year 1514. The Lord Archbishop of York very soon changed the character of the place. The poor manor-house was swept away; the rank meadows which skirted the Thames were transformed into curious knotted gardens; a great palace arose, as if by magic, at the bidding of the profuse and tasteful Cardinal; and here, within two years of his purchase of the place, did he surround himself with the pomp of kings, and maintain a state which even the most absolute king has rarely practised. Another master soon claimed the fair galleries and the sweet gardens and the garnished chambers of Hampton Court. Henry grew jealous that a subject should have a nobler palace than himself; and, in 1526, the Cardinal surrendered the manor and all its grandeur to the King. From 1531 to 1535 the Hall of this palace was in course of erection by its new master. An old Hall was removed; the present magnificent Hall sprang up. The regal pile saw strange mutations of fortune within its walls. Here Lord Rochford the unhappy brother of Anne Boleyn, in 1531, was winning forty pounds of his loving sovereign; in 1536 the same kind master sent him to the scaffold. In 1533 his idolised Anne here sat in her estate, and revelled in rich masks and disports, with interludes and banquet; in 1536 she gave her “little neck” to the axe of the headsman. Jane Seymour, in 1537, was here released from the fears which must have always haunted the bed of a wife of Henry, when she gave birth to Edward VI. Anne of Cleves, “the Flanders mare,” here found a stall during the preparations for her divorce; and then when she was removed to Richmond, and had no dread that a sharper process might separate her from her lord, Catherine Howard was exhibited at Hampton Court in holiday-pageant or two, and was in due time conducted to the block and the saw-dust. At last came Catherine Parr; and Hampton Court saw her marriage. The tyrant now grown bloated and unwieldy, and unable to hunt the stag in the forests of Hainault or Windsor, made the country round Hampton Court a royal chace, after the old Norman fashion of depopulation. Here he rode and feasted for a short year or two. Here Surrey, at the dangerous festivals of the last of six queens, saw Geraldine, if we may believe his amatory verse;—

“ Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine.”

*He* was not lucky enough to escape the scaffold by that death which freed his father. Surely there was a shout of joy in Wolsey's halls when the most hateful of English kings died in his pious blasphemy,—infamous for all ages.

In the succeeding reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, Hampton Court was not associated in any remarkable degree with the regal history. The usual court ceremonies were here enacted, whether the meek Boy-King, the Bigot-Queen, or she of “lion port,” was the presiding genius of the place. Each reign added something to the original splendour of the palace.

With James I. Hampton Court is more identified than with the son and daughter of Henry VIII. Sixty years had passed since the pearly sensualist stalked about these halls, and marked down his victims, even while the banquet and the dance showed like the summer calm before the sudden thunder-cloud. Here is now a man who has slid into the throne of the self-willed Tudors, and is going to rule the world by the rod and ferule. See him in Hampton Court at the famous Conference on religion. On New Year's Day of 1604, Shakspeare's company have been performing before the King in the Great Hall. On the 14th of the same month he is the great

former himself in his Privy Chamber. Little did he allow the Divinity professors say; and when he was exhausted with his own harangues, he exclaimed that if he had disputed so lamely in a college, he would have had them up and flogged for idleness; and that if that was all they could say he would have them all conform, or drive them out of the land, or do worse for them. "I peppered them soundly," said the conceited pedant; and he shuffled about in his padded trunk-hose, and chuckled and winked, as the Bishop of London went on his knees and protested that his heart melted with joy, and acknowledged God's singular mercy in giving them such a king. In the first year of the reign of Charles I. we find him at Hampton Court, with his young Queen. In 1636 he is here keeping Christmas, with constant performances of plays in the Great Hall. From the 17th of November to the 24th of January, 1637, we learn from the 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court,' published by Mr. Peter Cunningham, there were fourteen plays thus represented. The period arrived when Beaumont and Fletcher, being more recent than Shakspeare, were in no degree more popular; but it is satisfactory to see, that while 'The Beggar's Bush,' and 'Philaster,' were amongst the favourites of the Court, that dramatist who, as we are told by Milton, was the chosen companion of Charles in his solitude and sufferings, was not neglected in these days of his prosperity. 'The Moor of Venice' and 'Hamlet' were performed at Hampton Court, at this festive time of 1636-7. But in little more than ten years what a change has come over these royal halls! Separated from his family—allowed only occasionally to see his children, who were under the guardianship of the Duke of Northumberland at Sion House—Charles I. here to apply the full force of his abilities to circumvent the enemies by whom he was surrounded on every side. Well had it been for him if his abilities had been such, so that his opponents might have abated somewhat of their fears,—or had been pre-eminent as to have dispensed with the craft of common minds. In his dissimulation he perished—a man who commands many of our sympathies; one who would have been deserving of all honour had he been cast upon happier days. Another ten years,—and the great Protector is lord of Hampton Court. Here was wont to walk up and down the long gallery, and listen to the organ which had been forcibly taken from Magdalen College. Here was his daughter, Mary, married to Lord Falconbridge. Here he shed agonising tears over the lifeless body of his favourite child, Mrs. Claypole. That man—that great Englishman—in many respects truly "the first of men"—he who loved his country with an intense love, whatever might be his personal ambition—was succeeded by one as selfish and voluptuous as the bluff Harry, though not quite so unscrupulous. Like most voluptuaries, Charles II. was what is called good-natured. Whether he sold Dunkirk to the French king, or set off Lady Castlemaine or Mrs. Nelly for a new mistress, or fed his ducks in St. James's Park or Hampton Court Gardens,—he was equally merry and heartless. Spry is a good authority for his Hampton Court doings. One sentence is enough:—"June 30th. This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court." Another convulsion—and the last of the Stuart kings is hurled from his throne. Then comes William III., who chiefly made Hampton Court what it now is. We have no violent love for William, certainly no fierce dislike; and assuredly we have kindly sympathies for the great Christopher Wren. But if the truth were told, we would rather have seen the Palace as Hentzner saw it, before the huge mass of square brick-work, with its formal quadrangle, was built upon the ruins of two of the olden's Gothic courts. The union of two such dissimilar styles of architecture is somewhat incongruous. However, we will not quarrel with the hero of the Revolu-



tion : what he did here he did well, as far as solidity and a Versailles-emulating magnificence in little are concerned. The Cartoons of Raffaele, which Cromwell—honour to his taste and patriotism—saved from foreigners, were here brought to a gallery which William especially built for them. The gardens which he improved—some call them in Dutch taste—we regard as something exquisitely beautiful,—rescued from the grasp of the so-called picturesque landscape gardeners, to teach us the difference between a work of art and a paltry imitation of nature upon a small scale. Here, in Hampton Park, the horse fell which carried the just and wise, but cold and unpopular William III., and here he died, from the effects of the accident.

Queen Anne kept her court at Hampton. Pope is the best local historian of this age :

“ Close by those meads for ever crown'd with flowers,  
Where Thames with pride surveys his rising towers,  
There stands a structure of majestic frame,  
Which from the neighbouring Hampton takes its name.  
Here Britain's statesmen oft the fall foredoom  
Of foreign tyrants, and of nymphae at home;  
Here thou, great Anna ! whom three realms obey,  
Dost sometimes counsel take—and sometimes tea.

“ Hither the heroes and the nymphs resort,  
To taste awhile the pleasures of a court ;  
In various talk th' instructive hours they past,  
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last ;  
One speaks the glory of the British Queen,  
And one describes a charming Indian screen ;  
A third interprets motions, looks, and eyes ;  
At every word a reputation dies.  
Snuff, or the fan, supply each pause of chat,  
With singing, laughing, ogling, and all that.”

RAPE OF THE LOCK, CANTO III.

The last historical records of Hampton Court are thus connected with the first and second Georges. Of the first, we have little to remark. In the reign of the second, Queen Caroline here winked at her husband's infidelities, and gave him the support of her capacious and vigorous mind. Here went forward the usual routine of court amusements and court dulness. The old hall was fitted up as a theatre, with dirty scenes, and a lumbering stage with greasy foot-lamps.

During the reigns of George III. and George IV., Hampton Court was utterly neglected. Nothing flourished there but the vine, and the dowagers who retired upon pensions to its quiet upper rooms. The yew-trees were cut into shapes of dragons and peacocks ; the ponds were stagnant ; the lawns were unmown ; the walks unswept. No roses were trained in regulated luxuriance ; the heart's-ease flowered not in spring, nor the dahlia in autumn. All was dreariness—and at every step through which the people advanced to look upon a deserted palace, a shilling to pay. Things happily are changed.

In November, 1838, the noble example was first set of throwing the doors of Hampton Court Palace wide open to visitors of every age and every rank. The gardens and grounds are open daily after seven o'clock in the morning ; the state apartments are open every day of the week except Friday, from ten to six in the summer half-year, from ten to four in the winter. Here may we see little happy

parties, without the slightest restraint, pacing the velvet lawns and gravel terraces, muntering beside the gay parterres, or feeding the gold fish and the swans in the lily-covered basins. In the apartments we may linger from morn to eve, without any ignorant conductor to hurry us forward, and bore us with the old parrot gabble of "Duns Scotus, who translated the Bible without eating or drinking, and died in the last page." In the first year after the free opening of the palace, a hundred and fifteen thousand visitors availed themselves of this privilege, so new to England. In 1849 there were a hundred and seventy thousand. The greatest number, as might be expected, come from May to August. As many as twelve thousand persons have passed through these rooms in one fine week. They come in every variety of conveyance, from the coroneted britska to the covered van. The steam-boat duly lands its merry cargo at Hampton Bridge; the train sets them down on the opposite shore; and omnibus after omnibus delivers its load at the palace gates. The merriest parties—for holidays with them are rare things—are those of the vans. In districts well known to the handicraftsmen of London, these capacious conveyances are constantly ready to start to every place of public resort within eight or ten miles; and, with proper foresight, places may be engaged for going and returning at a small price. But in many cases these vans are hired for a summer by subscription; some thirty or forty heads of families engaging the conveyance, and apportioning the days in which each family is to have the holiday. This is one of the many examples of the growing spirit of co-operation amongst the working-classes, by which they secure comforts and enjoyments which the individual rich man, some years ago, scarcely dreamt of attaining.

The true way to enter Hampton Court is by the west, from Hampton. The north entrance from Bushy Park plunges you at once into a charming wilderness of noble trees and broad walks; but you come suddenly upon the modern palace, and the associations with William III. take the precedence of those of Wolsey. Pass, then, through the great gates by Hampton Bridge, and, in crossing the green, pause to look upon the great western front,—a noble specimen of the palatial architecture of the early part of the sixteenth century. Good taste is once more at work here, to obliterate the barbarous alterations of the Georgian era. The beautiful twisted chimneys, of which Wolsey left so many models, are being restored; the square sash-window is being replaced by the Gothic mullion and lattice. The whole front is fast growing harmonious and picturesque. We pass through the gateway into the first court-yard. This is a noble quadrangle, reminding us of some of the finest of our colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. It is in perfect repair, with few modern incongruities; and it shows us how well calculated was this style of architecture—with court succeeding court, in which were lodged the family and the guests—to accommodate even the three hundred visitors whom Wolsey is said here to have lodged in silken beds. If we choose, we may thread the passages behind these quadrangles, and see how conveniently the officers of the household were disposed—how kitchen and buttery did their needful work beneath the shadow of hall and presence-chamber. We go forward towards the second court; but our progress is arrested under the groined roof of the second gateway by a broad flight of steps, which invite us to enter the Great Hall. This splendid room has been restored—that is the phrase—within the last ten years. The lumber with which it was deformed has been swept away; tapestries, which are as old as the days of Henry VIII., have been hung upon its walls; its noble roof has been cleaned, and gilt, and coloured; gay banners float beneath its corbels; the windows have been filled with modern painted glass. Mr. Cole (Felix Summerly) has given, in his 'Handbook to Hampton

Court, some very curious extracts from the original accounts of works here executed in the time of Henry VIII. One of the entries is as follows:—"Paid to Galyon Hone, the Kynges glasier,—In the two great wyndowys at the ends of the haull ys two great armys, with four beestes in them, at 6s. 8d. the pece. Also in the said wyndows in the haull is 30 of the Kynges and the Quenys armys, price the pece 4s. Also in the wyndows in the said haull ys 46 badges of the Kynges and the Quenys, pryce the pece 3s. Also in the windowys in the sayd haull ys 77 scrytors, with the Kynges wordes, pryce the pece, 12d." The thirty pieces of the King's and the Queen's arms, and the forty-six badges of the King's and the Queen's, were set up by Galyon Hone, the King's glazier, in the 25th and 26th years of Henry VIII., when Anne Boleyn was Queen; and here, no doubt, they stood for the consolation of his succeeding queens, who might see that their blazonry would not perish quite so soon as the tenderness of their dangerous lord. But Mr. Willement has satirically set forth the pedigrees of the six wives of Henry VIII., in six alternate windows; and in the intermediate windows, seven in number, are the heraldic badges of the great woman-slayer himself. The west window is filled with the same description of heraldic record. Mr. Cole says, "This window is quite a chapter in English History for all to read who please; a little study of it will fix in the mind all Henry's Queens and his offspring." We had rather not. We would turn in preference to the more intelligible morality of the fine old allegorical tapestry under the Music Gallery, in which the seven deadly sins are associated with seven symbolical animals; and the bearded goat, and the filthy swine, and the ravenous wolf, tell a clearer story of the builder of this hall than the fleur-de-lis and the Tudor rose; and we are not betrayed into reading the labels of the windows, "Dieu et mon Droit," and "Dne. Salvum Fac. Reg." The tapestries around the hall represent incidents in the history of Abraham. They are for the most part of a high order of merit. Beyond the hall is a very fine room, called the Presence Chamber, which is also hung with very ancient tapestry.

The second quadrangle, into which we pass after descending the stairs of the hall, is somewhat smaller than the first. The external architecture was barbarized by the improvements of Kent, in 1732. The northern side is wholly occupied by the length of the hall; and on the opposite side is the incongruous Ionic colonnade of Sir Christopher Wren. This is commonly called the Clock Court, from the very curious face of an astronomical clock which is over the gateway leading from the first court. In the small towers of this court are six remarkably fine busts, in terra cotta, of Roman emperors, there being four similar busts in the towers of the first court. They are said to have been presented to Wolsey by Pope Leo the Tenth. The Chapel is entered by a passage leading from this court. The splendour of its crystal windows and stained glass are gone; and since its original ornaments were swept away in the days of the Puritans, we have the daubs of Verrio and the carvings of Gibbons, open pews and marble floors,—the patchwork of successive beautifiers. Crossing to the south-eastern corner of the second court we are at once upon the grand staircase of Wren's Palace—the entrance to the state apartments.

The general effect of this staircase is grand and imposing. The details of Verrio's wall-painting are execrable. He had filled Windsor Castle with every scoundrel of the mythology, in the glorious days of Charles II.; and upon those walls Neptune presents his trident to the man who let the Dutch fleet come up the Medway, and Jupiter gives his thunderbolts to him who sold Dunkirk. The conceited Italian wrote upon the walls of St. George's Hall, that he had decorated that palace "*felicissimâ manâ*;" and living on to the time of William and Wren, the assertion was believed. He was sent for to paint Hampton Court. A staunch Roman Catholic, he objected to



work for the Protestant King who kicked out James II. But William overcame his doubts; and he seems to have compromised the difference between the old and the new religions by a prodigious piece of neutrality,—making Julian the Apostate the chief hero of this staircase. We at one pass into the state apartments, which form the great suite of William the Third's Palace.

Until the days of George the Fourth, when Sir Jeffrey Wyatville changed the character of many of the state apartments at Windsor, there was slight difference between the show rooms of that palace and Hampton Court. Each had its own familiar names of Guard Chamber and Presence Chamber, and King's Bedroom and Queen's Bedroom; each had its slippery oak floors, and its gaudy painted ceilings; each was filled with pictures, some first rate, some good, some indifferent, and some execrable. Hampton Court has now an enormous collection of paintings,—above a thousand. Many of these have been rummaged out of lumber rooms; some have been brought from other palaces; and a few retain their old positions. As far as the public taste is concerned, it is a matter of regret that the collection is so large. In this palace are the world-renowned Cartoons of Raffaele, and the rare and curious Triumphs of Cæsar by Andrea Mantegna. Here, also, are several fine heads by Titian, and a wonderful collection of portraits by Holbein. Two of the most ancient historical pictures in existence, the Battle of Spurs, and the Field of the Cloth of Gold, may fix the attention of the antiquary for hours. There is always an interest—the interest of local association—in seeing upon the walls of an historical building the portraits of those who have played their parts upon that stage. The Hampton Court Gallery has an unusual amount of this source of attraction. There are several portraits of Henry VIII. by Holbein; but the most remarkable picture of this character, and one of unquestionable authenticity, which was at Whitehall in the days of Charles I., is that of Henry and his family (No. 511). The bluff king sits in the centre, with his Queen (Katherine Parr, we presume) and his son Edward on one side; and his daughters Mary and Elizabeth on the other. Coming in at a door is the Court Fool, with an ape on his shoulder. Of Will Somers, the famous jester, there is a portrait (513). This in the family group is an older and sterner looking man—a melancholy fool. We might believe that it was Wolsey's poor Fool, Patch, grown old. Here is one of Henry's victims, the Earl of Surrey (No. 306), also painted by Holbein. He is a queer strutting unpoetical figure, clothed from top to toe in "one red." Francis the First of France (No. 340) here also figures, with a gross animal face that scarcely makes us regret that he was vanquished at Pavia by the intellectual Charles the Fifth. The three celebrated pictures, the Battle of Spurs (No. 517), the Embarkation of Henry VIII. from Dover in 1520 (No. 516), and the picture of the Meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. in the Field of the Cloth of Gold (No. 518), used to hang in Queen Elizabeth's gallery at Windsor. They were then lent to the Society of Antiquaries (the loans of kings ought to be gifts) and reclaimed, to be placed in their present position. There are very few pictures, indeed, of equal historical interest with these three. They have an air of literal truth about them which brings the scenes and the personages completely before our view. We care not for perspective whilst we have accurate costume. Of the same exact class is the portrait of Queen Elizabeth when she was young (No. 282). It is pleasant to compare the later portraits which we here find of the stern, wrinkled coquette, who had a fancy to be painted with no shadows on her face (Nos. 283 and 285), with the representation by Holbein of the meek-looking, diffident girl, with book in her hand, and her crimson gown without ruff and furbelow. It appears from an inventory that this picture was at Hampton Court at the time of Edward VI.

Those who feel—and who does not?—a melancholy interest in the history of Charles I. connected with Hampton Court, will be abundantly satisfied with Vandyke's noble picture, so often repeated by him. The grave melancholy face is never to be forgotten (No. 80). The character of his son may be read in the collection of the beauties of his Court (Nos. 173 to 191). It was a queer fancy of Queen Mary to set up Kneller to rival Lely, by painting the beauties of her Court (Nos. 20 to 27). Like Lely's Beauties, these are all very much of a character; and look as uniformly dull as those of Charles are uniformly impudent. There must be something beyond the mannerism of the painter to account for this similarity in two such remarkable instances. As flowers take their colour from a soil, and breeds of cattle some of their peculiarities from the pasture on which they feed, so we suppose are faces moulded by the Court habits, which allow no individual development, and subject all alike to the régime which prevails, whether of licence or decorum, of frivolity or dulness. William the Third himself here figures in a wonderful allegorical portrait by Kneller, in which Neptune comes out of the sea, and welcomes him—like a tortoise out of his proper element.

We have here a room full of pictures by West. The most interesting is that of the Death of General Wolfe, which everybody knows through Woollett's fine print, in which the dull leaden colour of the original is translated into beautiful black and white. George the Third never resided at Hampton Court, but as if to make amends for his neglect of the place, while his family were stuffed up in the little Palace at Kew, or in a lath and plaster Lodge at the foot of his own Castle at Windsor, we have the King, and his Queen, and his children, in every variety of age and costume.

If Hampton Court were not remarkable for anything else, it would be celebrated through the world as holding the Cartoons of Raffaele. These wonderful productions were designs, as most persons know, to be copied in tapestry. They are drawn in chalk on strong paper, and coloured in distemper. The Cartoons were finished in 1515—the tapestries in 1519. Originally there were eleven executed for the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. These extraordinary drawings long remained neglected and dilapidated in the warehouse of the tapestry maker at Arras. Rubens knew of their existence, and advised Charles the First to purchase them, to be used for the same species of manufacture for which Leo the Tenth had employed them. The seven now here were thus saved. There is the following entry in the catalogue of King Charles's pictures: "In a slit wooden case some two cartoons of Raffaele Urbino's, for hangings to be made by; and the other five are, by the King's appointment, delivered to Mr. Francis Cleyne, at Mortlake, to make hangings by." It appears that they had been cut into long slips about two feet wide, for the workers in wool and silk more conveniently to imitate. At the sale of Charles's pictures they were bought by Cromwell for three hundred pounds. Charles the Second was about to sell them to Louis the Fourteenth, when the Lord Treasurer Danby remonstrated so vigorously against the completion of the bargain, that they were preserved to us,—to be again neglected. They were fortunately rescued from the lumber rooms of Whitehall by William the Third; and at Hampton Court he built the gallery in which they now are for their especial reception. The slips were carefully pasted upon linen cloth, and then took the form in which they came from the hand of the great master. They have sustained sundry removals from Hampton Court to Buckingham Palace,—from Buckingham Palace to Windsor, and from Windsor to Hampton Court; and there can be no doubt that in all their various mutations of fortune, they have been considerably dilapidated. But it is remarkable, considering of what fragile materials they are made, that they should remain as perfect as they are. The gallery is perhaps not



all constructed for their exhibition; but assuredly the notion, which has sometimes been zealously advocated, that they should be removed to London, is a very mistake. It is said that artists cannot readily see them here. If there be any artist so devoid of enthusiasm as to grudge a pilgrimage of some dozen miles to gaze upon these greatest productions of the human mind in comparative quiet,—to copy whenever he pleases without obstruction,—we should say that he is not very likely to contribute any very striking performance to the English historical school. Of the larger number of the chance visitors to Hampton Court are not exactly fitted for their due comprehension. Their colours are dull, their shadows are not very deep, they have something higher about them than the realities of common life, and are, therefore, thought unnatural. It is said that Garrick objected to the truth of the figure of Elymas the sorcerer struck blind, who appears as if his very eyes were endeavouring to see; and that Garrick was told to shut his eyes, and in this way in perfect darkness. He did so; and the figure of Elymas was repeated in the same great posture-maker. It is the characteristic of the very highest works of art, that they do not at first strike the common observer as much as inferior productions. They are not at something much nobler than the production of surprise. It is the same with the highest poetry. Admiration slowly grows out of a perfect knowledge of such things. The cartoons by Andrea Mantegna require the same careful attention.

There is one room at Hampton Court which is peculiarly appropriate to a national gallery—a room of sea pieces. The embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, which we have already mentioned, shows us the construction of the English ships in the sixteenth century; and here we have various battle pieces, from the time of the Dutch Charles the Second, to the victory of Trafalgar, in 1805.

As we pass through the cloisters, and stand in the great eastern entrance of Wren's church. The prospect before us, especially when seen for the first time, is singularly grand, indeed, as a work of art,—beautiful in the finest characteristics of the art of gardening. A broad terrace is immediately before us, bounded by velvet lawns interspersed with parterres of the gayest flowers; the view terminated on each side by a quadrant of lime-trees, and an inner quadrant of fine old yews; and leading to three superb vistas, each of which is commanded from this central spot. Directly before us is a long avenue of elms planted on each side of a large sheet of water. To the south is a second avenue of the same character of trees; and, to the north, a third, which is terminated by the tower of Kingston church. In the fullness of their summer foliage, it is difficult to form an adequate notion of the beauty of these vistas. Satisfied with this view,—and we may gaze upon it long,—we descend down the broad walk opposite the entrance, towards the basin, where a mischievous mountain is toiling to throw a few sputtering drops into the sunlight. Green lawns are around us with empty pedestals on which statues once were, and ought again to bear some classic burden. Alleys of the smoothest turf stretch to the south, where we may lounge away a summer afternoon upon welcome seats and boughs which are not “melancholy.” At the south-west corner is the garden to what is called the Private Garden,—a very curious specimen of the old-fashioned, long-neglected, but now appreciated garden of a past age, with its raised beds and formal flower-beds, and long arcades impervious to the noon-day heat. It calls the arcade here “a cradle-walk of Horn-beam.” In this garden is the old Vine, the largest in Europe, as we are told.

The “trim gardens” of Hampton Court, “park-scenery” is extensively associated with the Court. Hampton Court Park contains the three noble avenues, which we have described as such a remarkable combination as seen from the eastern front of the palace.

Passing out of what are called the "Lion-gates," to the north, we cross the river and are in Bushy Park, whose noble chestnut avenues and ancient thorns (from which probably derives the name of "Bushy,") we have described in our paper on 'Hampton Court.'

Very many features of the old decorations of the "trim gardens" of Hampton Court have now vanished. Evelyn tells us of "a rich and noble fountain, with statues cast in copper by Fanelli," as being in the Private Gardens. An old engraving of the time of Queen Anne shows twelve fountains playing before the eastern front of the Palace. The place was gradually neglected. The fine old yew trees, which grew into hideous shapes; the fountains ceased to play; the statues were removed from their pedestals. But the old features of grandeur could not be destroyed. When we consider the flat surface of the large area with which the landscape-garden at Hampton Court had to deal, we cannot but admire the taste with which, in the face of all obstructions, the grounds have been formed into what they are. The flat surface has been made picturesque by vast avenues, which carry the imagination out to the distant distance of the horizon. The ornamented parts are so gay with lawns and flower-beds, with terraces and trees, that we surrender ourselves to the charm of decoration, and sigh not for natural features of wood and water. We people the sunny glades with such groups as Watteau painted; or, what is quite as good, we see them peopled with happy children, and smiling women, and assiduous swains in the latest day dresses, rejoicing in the elegance around them. It is to be lamented that so much has been done for the decent ornament of the gardens, of late years, that there should still so much remain to be done. The old copies of antique statues have been removed from their pedestals. Nearly two hundred thousand people come to see the gardens every year, with minds open to external impressions. It is a place fit for the amusement of our British worthies. When the people really take pleasure in a particular amusement, and it becomes a standard enjoyment to large masses of the population, it is the duty of a government to consider how the real education of the people, as well as their happiness, can be promoted by judicious associations with the scene of their recreations. Do not fear that the people will mutilate or injure the very works of Art. We feel that there is at length in England some respect for the monuments of the past. The very inscriptions here, that used to threaten the trespasser, now use the language of courtesy: "It is expected that the public will protect what is intended for their enjoyment." Happily there is now no need of protection. Treat the people with confidence and they will not abuse the trust reposed in them. Here they are unmolested and unmolesting. They leave the more frequented walks, and stroll freely by the side of the Thames, upon the raised Terrace which skirts the river for half a mile. They thread all the cool paths of what is called "The Wilderness," where no obstreperous noises break the charm of its solitude. Sometimes a heart bursts out from the close hedges of "The Maze," and joyous is it to hear the merry voices of harmless fun, telling of cares forgotten.—of youth and hope.

#### WINDSOR.

The true way to approach Windsor is by the Long Walk, the magnificent avenue which now leads direct to the Castle gates, a distance of more than three miles, is, indeed, a wondrous approach to a noble pile. Five-and-twenty years ago the avenue was without an object. Shabby houses interposed between its commencement at Windsor and the Castle; now it leads direct to the gateway called after Henry IV., and thence to the grand entrance of the state apartments.

But the visitor of a day will doubtless enter Windsor by one of the railroads. That which passes through Staines and Datchet proceeds immediately under the north side of the Castle, and nothing can be grander than this approach. The Great Western Railway crosses the Thames above Eton, and then the river and the eastern side of the noble pile are before us. Each entrance is of surpassing beauty, coming by either railway.

Let us pass up the street of Windsor to the point where four streets unite—the old site of a market-cross. The whole south front of the Castle is now before us, and the general effect is truly imposing. Through a gateway with two towers, erected by Henry VIII., we enter the Lower Quadrangle. St. George's Chapel—that exquisite gem of our florid architecture—is immediately before us. To the west of the gateway we see that improvement has been at work. A row of houses, known as the lower foundation for the Military Knights, has been pulled down. What is to replace these houses is not quite apparent. If a terrace, it is unfortunate that the houses in the town perk up their garrets and chimneys, and shut out the noble view of the green hills of the Great Park. We can scarcely expect that the whole of this quarter of the town should be removed. It is some satisfaction to behold the paltry tenements that stood on the edge of the ditch of the old Western fortress being gradually cleared away; and we may hope to see a new town arise, at no very distant day, more in harmony with the Castle—at any rate, less obstructive and deforming. When Swift visited Windsor in the reign of Anne, he wrote: "Windsor is a delicious situation, but the town is scoundrel." (*Journal to Stella*.) But not only was the town "scoundrel," but within the Castle walls were many wretched deformities, some of which still remain.

The interior of St. George's Chapel has been recently the object of judicious improvement, arising out of the more accurate taste of our day in minute points of ecclesiastical architecture. When, some seventy or eighty years ago, George III. rescued this chapel from the neglect of a century, it is remarkable how much was effected in harmony with the general character of the building. The organ-screen, for example, which was then erected, though defective in some particulars, is not incongruous. Of the painted windows then produced in the historical style, we are scarcely competent to speak. Although we may doubt their strict propriety, we should not patiently endure their destruction to make way for modern imitative ornaments of stained glass—saints, kings, and bishops, row upon row. The west window has recently been thoroughly refitted. It was formed, at the great reparation of the Chapel, out of glass collected from various parts of the building. Much, however, of the old glass was carried off; some may still be found in the fine Church of Saint Cross, at Winchester. This window is now made perfect and secure. The changes in the choir are also most judicious; and the clustered columns, cleansed of their atrocious whitewash, are now as fresh as when they came from under the tool of the sculptor.

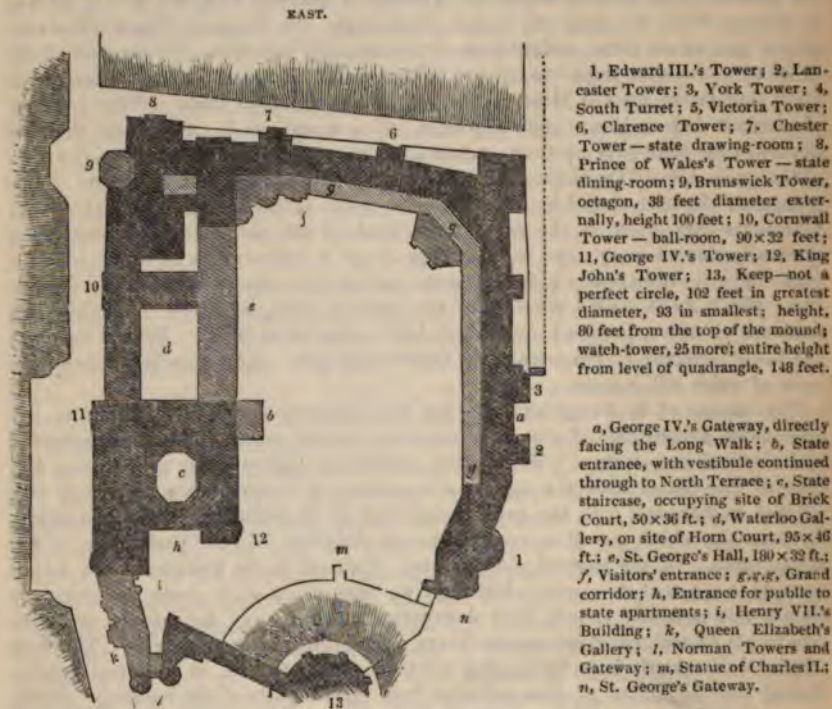
To the east of St. George's Chapel is the Royal Dormitory—a building erected by Wolsey for his own tomb; desecrated and neglected for more than a century, and then applied to the purpose of a mausoleum by George III. The interior has been completely repaired only within a few years. The royal tombs were long beneath a floor of rubbish. We pass on, and look down into the garden in the moat of the Round Tower, out of which the mound rises, with the great keep towering up in the old feudal grandeur. In the low wall of the Terrace opposite the moated garden is an arch through which we see Eton and the distant country. The effect is magical.

To form some adequate notion of the vastness of the Castle itself, we ought to look



down upon its roof from the leads of the Round Tower. The interior of the Tower is not now exhibited. The panorama of the country around Windsor is very remarkable, from its extent and variety. But these bird's-eye prospects are anything but picturesque.

The annexed block plan will show the general external plan of the Castle, and the relative position and magnitude of the buildings and towers composing it; and it also shows to what extent the Castle has been enlarged, since 1823, by the addition of the parts cut in a lighter tint than the rest.



**The State Apartments!** It is a matter of congratulation that these are now shown without payment. Tickets must, however, be procured either at London or Windsor before the stranger is admitted. This may be well; for those who make a journey to Windsor for the purpose of seeing the Castle will not think much of calling at a London printseller's for a ticket. But if a stranger arriving from London without a ticket should apply at the proper office at Windsor, he would be refused; if he come from any other region than the metropolis, he is admitted. Surely this is an absurd and mischievous regulation, of which foreigners especially have a right to complain. However, when the ticket is presented, there is that politeness from the attendants which well befits the atmosphere of a palace. The visitor inscribes his name in a book;—he is shown his proper entrance, he is waited upon by a man of some intelligence, not to hurry him along, nor to disgust by his ignorant jargon, but to name the objects of curiosity, quietly and unobtrusively. How different are those objects now from

those of a quarter of a century ago! Then were to be seen the State beds, whose faded hangings had been carefully preserved from periods when silk and velvet were the exclusive possessions of the high born; chairs of ebony, whose weight compelled the sitter to remain in the place of the seat; and tables of silver, fine to look upon, but worthless to use. Then we cast up our eyes, through many an interminable length of King's Presence Chambers, and King's Audience Chambers, and Queen's Presence Chambers, and Queen's Audience Chambers, and State Bed-rooms, and Guard-rooms, and Ball-rooms, and Banqueting-rooms,—upon ceiling after ceiling, where Charles II. and his queen were humbly invited to their banquets by Jupiter and Neptune, and Mercury and Bacchus. Truly his Majesty was a fit companion for the scoundrels of the Mythology! But there were better things than these to be seen—ay, better things than even king Charles's Beauties, which are now banished. There were the 'Misers' of Quentin Matsys; the 'Cleopatra' and 'Venus' of Guido (now in the National Gallery); the 'Titian and Aretin' of Titian; the 'Silence' of Annibal Caracci. The State Apartments now shown are few in number. They consist of 'The Queen's Audience Chamber,' with one of Verrio's ceilings and magnificent hangings of Gobelin tapestry; and 'The Queen's Presence Chamber,' with a similar ceiling, and a continuation of the same tapestry—the story of Queen Esther and Mordecai. The Vandyke Room is alone worth a pilgrimage to Windsor. The noble portraits which fill this room used to be scattered about the Castle. Brought together they not only show us the greatness of the painter, but they fill the mind with the memory of that unhappy prince, whose fate seemed written in his pensive face—he, to whom Windsor was the last prison ere he walked to the scaffold out of the window of Whitehall. Here is one of the three grand pictures of Charles I., with his equerry, D'Epernon—of which the Middle Temple Hall and Warwick Castle can also boast. Here is the celebrated head, in three points of view, painted for Bernini the sculptor; several portraits of Queen Henrietta; and that noble composition of Charles's children, with their great mastiff. What a head, too, is that of Vandyke, by himself! Shall any one look at these pictures, and doubt whether Portrait be a high department of Art? We proceed through what is called 'the State Ante-room' to 'the Grand Staircase,' and so to 'the Grand Vestibule,' and 'the Waterloo Chamber.' The Staircase, the Vestibule, and the Waterloo-room, are amongst the most conspicuous of Sir Jeffery Wyatville's improvements. Of Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection of portraits in the Waterloo Chamber it would be easier to speak in terms of enthusiasm if we had not so recently been gazing upon the noble groups by Vandyke. With some striking exceptions, the portraits of Lawrence want solidity and grandeur. There are few heroic heads amongst them. Pius VII. is, perhaps, the finest of the series; George Canning, the most disappointing, because unlike him in "the social hour." However, it was a fine idea to bring together the portraits of the men who were more or less agents in the pacification of Europe, after the final defeat of the arch-impostor of the Revolution; and no one living in the time of Lawrence could have carried out the plan with any approach to his success. From the Waterloo-room we go to the 'Ball-room,' glittering with burnished gold, and bright with 'Gobelin tapestry,' and thence to 'Saint George's Hall'—an oblong room, 200 feet in length. This is the great Banqueting-room, when the sovereign holds high festival. The 'Guard Chamber' closes the apartments upon which the crowd may look—with shield, and banner, and complete mail. The pedestal of Nelson's bust, formed out of a block of the mainmast of 'The Victory,' is worth all the swords and pikes which gleam on these walls.

In the days before George III. occupied the Castle, the State Apartments exhibited to the public were of much greater extent than the present suite. They ranged from



the gallery called after Queen Elizabeth, at the west of the Upper Quadrangle, to St. George's Hall on the east; and included most of the rooms looking on the North Terrace and into the Great Square. No doubt these apartments were the actual dwelling-rooms of former sovereigns. We have little to trace the Edwards and the Henries in their sojourn here; but their ancestors have left the marks of their footsteps. It was not only in some of the larger rooms—perhaps in her own Gallery—that Elizabeth listened to the 'Merry Wives of Windsor;' but in some of the smaller chambers the learned queen sate translating Horace's 'Art of Poetry;' and anon descended by a private staircase to pace with stately step the Northern Terrace which she had raised. Here James I. fidgeted about in his trunk-hose, and solaced the hot evenings of the dog-days of 1621 with the learned slang of Ben Jonson's masque of 'The Gipsies Metamorphosed,' and looked knowingly about him as the new language, which contained such words as "gentry coves" and "rum morts," required explanation. Here walked his successor, in solitary gloom; great in misfortune—a loveable man when danger surrounded him on every side—a true king when a fated prisoner. Here the uncrowned mighty one who struck him down, kept state with his 'Ironsides.' The restored Stuart here brought his French tastes in building, and turned the old fortress-palace into an incongruous Versailles. Anne here spent her summer months—sometimes "hunting in a chaise with one horse, which she drives herself, and drives furiously like Jehu,"—and sometimes, according to the same authority, the Dean of St. Patrick, having a drawing room, "but so few company that the queen sent for us into the bed-chamber, where we made our bows, and stood about twenty of us round the room, while she looked at us round, with her fan in her mouth, and once a minute said about three words to some that were nearest her, and when she was told dinner was ready, and went out." The first two Georges left Windsor to decay. The third had the good taste to know where an English king should have his chief palace; but the Castle was deemed uninhabitable for a growing family: so the king lived for years in a whitewashed house at the foot of his palace, and only used the Castle on great occasions,—always except for morning prayers in the Private Chapel. About 1804 the king and his family migrated to the Castle; and the lath and plaster of Sir William Chambers was abandoned to the equerries and chance visitors of the Court. A few years of excitement, such as the spirit of the country lighted up in the heart of the brave old man when invasion was talked of, and the Castle became to George III. a prison, under the most painful circumstances that can attend the loss of liberty. After his death Windsor Castle was remodelled. Here in these splendid chambers, have two kings held their state, and here twice has the lesson been taught, that

"The glories of our blood and state  
Are shadows, not substantial things."

The Court routine of Windsor is now hallowed by duty. It is not for us to attempt to unveil the inner life of a Queen and a Mother.

Those who really desire to see Windsor, and to have its beauties impressed upon their memories, should not be content with a few hours at the Castle, and a few hours in the parks—a whirl of trains and flies. If the tourist will listen to us, we would say, spend two summer or autumn days "under the greenwood tree," and one, at least, in Windsor itself. To Eton and its surrounding associations, another day should be given.

It is usual however, for even the day-visitor of Windsor to see something of the Great Park, and especially Virginia water. We therefore add a short notice of that celebrated lake; and a few words about the park.

Shenstone has said with great truth, "The works of a person that builds begin directly to decay; while those of him who plants begin directly to improve. In planting promises a more lasting pleasure than building." Shenstone's own *Windsor Great Park* is a striking example of the truth of his maxim. His temples and urns are to ruin; his sapling oaks and beeches have grown into magnificent trees. It is the same at *Virginia Water*. In 1746 Duke William of Cumberland was rewarded, for his services at Culloden, by the rangership of Windsor Great Park, and the official residence since known as Cumberland Lodge. Not far from this residence was a wild, rocky district, whose waters drained into a basin of considerable dimensions, and flowed on to the Thames at Chertsey. The Duke wanted occupation in this his leisure. Tradition says that some of his amusements were not of the most creditable kind, and that a paltry Chinese temple, which still stands at the head of the lake, was wholly dedicated to "Contemplation, heavenly maid!" The royal "butcher," however, was not entirely sensual or cruel. His vices were, probably, as much exalted by political hostility and popular scandal as his personal appearance. We do not think pleasantly of the memory of Duke William of Cumberland; for this beautiful *Virginia Water* was unquestionably his creation. He had the merit of seeing the use of Paul Sandby, whom he patronised as a draughtsman when Sandby was a young boy. Sandby was the landscape gardener of *Virginia Water*. He had large talents to deal with, and he used them with a bold and masterly hand. The name of the place was an ambitious one. The little lake and the gentle fir-clad banks have no associations with the boundless forests where the first adventurers of the Anglo-American stock carried the power of civilization. We receive the name simply as expressive of silence and solitude, amidst woods and waters. If we surrender ourselves to the genial influences of nature, we may find as deep enjoyment on the margin of this artificial lake and the "alleys green" of these woods, as the wandering traveller experiences on the banks of the Potomac, or in the passes of the Appalachian hills. "Great princes have great playthings." George IV. and William IV. here amused themselves with little playthings. That Chinese fishing-temple, which the genius of gruity stuck up here in the very prettiest nook of this water, is out of place in the solitudes. The baby brig, which the Sailor King built to guard this miniature of another inharmonious toy. And last of all, the ruins! Grecian capitals on Egyptian shafts; the spoils of the Nile and the Ilyssus huddled together in a forced companionship! *Real* ruins, removed from the sites to which they belong, are the species of exotics. The tale which they tell of their old grandeur is quite out of harmony with their modern appropriation. We can look with an antiquarian pleasure upon a capital in a cabinet; but a shaft or two perched up in a modern pleasure-ground produce a ludicrous struggle between the feeling of the true and the artificial, a sort of pitiable scorn of the petty vanity of the living, which snatches the ruins of the dead from the hallowed spot where time or the barbarian had crumbled them into nothingness, to administer to a sense of what is pretty and *merely* picturesque. A *real* ruin is a solemn thing, when it stands upon the site where it has defied the elements of centuries in its pomp and glory; but a mock ruin—a fiction of plaster and paint—a collection of fragments brought over sea, to be joined together in something like imitation of their awful decay, are baubles.

*Windsor Great Park* is full of beauties; although, during the last quarter of a century, the great principle of utility has been asserting its irresistible claims to the large district. The Crown obtained a fourth of the unclosed land which was reserved by the Inclosure Act, and some six thousand acres have been thus added to the former bounds of Windsor Great Park. The office of Woods and Forests has

not let these lands lie neglected. Vast plantations have been formed of oak and fir; plains, where a large army might have manœuvred thirty years ago, are covered with hundreds of thousands of vigorous saplings; heaths, where a few straggling hawthorns used to be the landmark of the traveller, are now one sea of pine. Satisfactory as this may be as an accession to the national riches, we cannot help lamenting that utility went about its work in such a roughshod fashion. Earth-works, which unquestionably showed where the Roman had encamped, have been planted over or levelled. Old giants of the wood, beautiful and almost sublime in their decay, have been ruthlessly cut down. Many an old tree, with a thirty-foot girth, into whose hollow we have crept from the passing shower, and thought of the Norman hunters, is gone. We will not say with the querulous old man in Crabbe,—

“ Here ’s nothing left of ancient pride,  
Of what was grand, of what was gay :  
But all is changed, is lost, is sold —”

It is not so. There was some rash innovation some twenty or thirty years ago; but we see that it is repented of. Some of the old oaks are now duly honoured, and have pleasant grassy spots cleared around them, so that the crowd of youngsters, with their slight and shivering stems, may keep at a respectful distance from their venerable progenitors. There are pleasant walks, too, among these new plantations; and, what is pleasanter than even the pleasant walks themselves, the rude voice of authority does not scare the wanderer, as in the days of “the first gentleman of Europe.”

### HINTS FOR THE STRANGER.

*St. James.*—In the ‘Colour Court’ of the Palace the band of the Guards plays every day at eleven. The choral service at the ‘Chapel Royal’ is of the first order. The Queen’s Levees and Drawing Rooms are always announced some days previous.

*Whitehall.*—Service is performed in the ‘Banqueting House’ every Sunday.

*Buckingham Palace.*—Tickets to see the chief apartments during the absence of the Court are issued by the Lord Chamberlain. The stud and carriages in the stables may be inspected by an order from the Master of the Horse.

*Hampton Court.*—The days of admission to the State Rooms are every day in the week, except Friday, from ten to six in the summer months, and from ten to four in the winter. Steamboats run through the summer; and trains from the South-Western Railway throughout the year.

*Windsor.*—The State Apartments are shown (except when under repair) by tickets, to be obtained of Messrs. Colnaghi, Pall Mall East; Ackermann, Strand; and Moon, Threadneedle Street, on four days in the week, viz., Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, from eleven to four during the months from April to October, and from eleven to three in the rest of the year. At St. George’s Chapel there is a choral service every morning at half-past ten, and every afternoon at half-past four. The North Terrace is constantly open, and the Eastern Terrace on Saturday and Sunday









## 7. NEW PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

To attempt a description of the new Seat of British Legislation, called, in connection with the monarchy, the New Palace of Westminster, let us notice some of the interesting objects. And first let us glance at the line of buildings immediately adjoining Westminster Abbey, stretching along Margaret-street, and shutting out for the view of the land front of the new pile. It consists, first, of the Law Courts, with its public entrance into Westminster Hall at the back; next, of the House of Commons, that have been used since the fire of 1834, for the sittings of the Lords and

A strange medley this line of exterior here presents—bald looking Tudor architecture—private looking doors, opening into apparently unimportant private chambers—old decayed brick-work—wooden erections towering up, and running in various directions—and over all the gorgeous architecture of the new pile stretching forth its bulk, preparatory, as it were, to thrusting the whole out of its way. That House of Lords, which has so lately ceased to be used, portions of the walls of the chamber in which Edward the Confessor died, and possibly from that circumstance was first named St. Edward's chamber. Subsequently it was called the Painted Chamber, under which name it will be remembered as after the last vestige of it shall have disappeared. It was in that chamber that the warrant for the execution of Charles the First was signed. There all parliaments for several centuries used to be opened—though not subsequently used by them for sittings. There oil painting was in use two centuries before Van Eyck, as we think, discovered the art. It was long a matter of wonder what the name "Painted Chamber" could mean, until, on the removal of some old tapestry in 1800, and window-jambs were found to be covered with pictures representing the life of the Maccabees, incidents relating to the life of Edward the Confessor, and other subjects. The accounts of the payments made for mending these paintings are extant, and are contained in a roll of the 20th of Edward the First's reign. This is not the original House of Lords. That building was taken after the fire of 1834 to make the present House of Commons. In looking then upon this latter building which will also soon disappear under the advances of the new pile, we look back upon those historical events which have been indissolubly connected with the history of the Upper House.

As to its destination to that purpose, it had been used as and was known as the Court of Requests, because there the masters of the court received and read petitions or requests for justice from all parties. Going back still farther into the depths of the past, we find the same chamber called the White Hall, also the Hall, and lastly, probably originally, the Hall simply, or the Great Hall, supposed to have been the original hall of the Confessor's palace, and to have taken the position and name of the Lesser Hall when Rufus built his new hall—that which has since been so famous as Westminster Hall.

Which, then, is the old House of Commons, we naturally ask, on finding that the houses raised since the fire of 1834, was originally used by the popular representatives? If, standing by the base of Henry VII.'s Chapel, and with the Abbey House behind us, we look directly opposite, we see before us, over the houses we have been speaking, the gorgeous magnificence of a kind of wing transept

that projects from the centre of the new pile. Within that transept, which extends up to the central tower, and is lighted by magnificent cathedral-like windows, we find St. Stephen's Porch, and beyond that St. Stephen's Hall, the latter being on the site of St. Stephen's Chapel—the old House of Commons, which was utterly destroyed by the fire of 1834. It is supposed to have been founded by King Stephen in honour of the proto-martyr, and was rebuilt and sumptuously decorated during the reigns of the first three Edwards. The college being suppressed at the Reformation, St. Stephen's Chapel was turned by Edward VI. into the Commons' meeting-house; who then ceased to be indebted to the Abbot of Westminster's uncertain hospitality; and so matters remained until the fire of 1834. The pictorial wealth of its walls remained long unsuspected; but on the Union with Ireland in 1800, alterations were made which led to the discovery that the internal walls had been most gorgeously decorated with sculpture, paintings, and gilding; that the exquisite tracery of the windows had been filled with stained and painted glass; and that in a word, the whole interior had been of the most sumptuous description.

Turning from these vestiges of the past, and which will for the most part soon cease even to be that, we turn to one and unquestionably the most magnificent feature of the old palace, one filled to overflowing with those great events which nourish the national intellect and aspiration,—we turn to Westminster Hall, which happily belongs to the future pile, as indissolubly as to the past. Let us be grateful that the fire spared that. Rufus, it is well known, built this hall.

The very uninteresting-looking Law Courts suggest on such a site extremely interesting reminiscences. Here law has grown up, like the parliament, from a state of entire dependence into a very vigorous individual strength; both were nothing more than separate records of the king's will—the one dealing with the moneys he wanted—the other with the law he was obliged to dispense, and which originally formed no slight personal exaction, when he sat himself on the bench, and might be appealed to by all comers.

We may here briefly mention that the Law Courts comprise the Queen's Bench, the Court of Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas, the Lord Chancellor's Court, and the Rolls Court. They are at once uninteresting in their appearance, and fortunately they are temporary: they will all be removed in the progress of the new pile.

Upon that work we now commence our survey in New Palace Yard, which at present is open to Margaret-street on the west side, and bounded by the houses in Bridge-street on the north. But if we look upon the New Clock-tower in the corner near the bridge, we see indications of what is intended with regard to this space. An immense blank, suggesting the shape and size of a cathedral window, is filled up with brick-work in the lower portion of the tower, and contrasts oddly with the finished elegance of all other parts of the structure. That is the future opening to a wing which will start from the Clock-tower, displace all the houses on that side of Bridge-Street, extend up to Margaret-street, there cross to the corner occupied by the law courts, and then return to the side of Westminster Hall; thus inclosing the whole area. On the other side of Westminster Hall the same line of enclosure will be continued to the new façade of the west front. Here, there will be arches of ingress and egress to and from the Star Chamber Court, where will be the chief entrance for Members. A similar arch, but of greater magnificence, will connect this quadrangle with the world of London without, at the angle of its north and west fronts, in Margaret-street. It is proposed to use some portions of these new buildings as public refreshment and meeting-rooms, and also for offices connected with parliamentary business.

The west or land front of the New Houses will ultimately be the most picturesque



and rich, because the most varied in its surface, of all the fronts. Two different aspects of it may be briefly noted as peculiarly fine. The one is from a point nearly opposite Westminster Hall, with the Clock-tower, and the first or level portion of the façade on the left, and from which point you look between the Hall and the façade, over the Star Chamber Court to the building that emerges crosswise from the central tower, looking like what it will in part be, a National Valhalla. The second is from Henry VII.'s Chapel, and commands the end and a side view of St. Stephen's Hall and Porch. A vast high-pitched gable, enclosing a window of the grandest dimensions, with slight tall square pinnacles on each side, and large turret towers on each side of these again, while to the right rises the grand bulk of the Central Tower, stage after stage,—these are the first features that arrest the eye on looking at the side (or southern front, it may be called,) of the wing in question. Then, looking more closely, to understand the general impression of wealth, amounting to lavish profusion, that is conveyed to the eye even in the first glance, we find these tall square pinnacles contain two statues—Edward III. and Henry VII.; that the top of the gable comprises three, namely, William Rufus, Richard II., and William IV. in whose reign the edifice was commenced, all these statues being as magnificently environed as art can make them; that the triangular space between the windows and the gable-roof above is filled with the arms, badges, and cognizances of Richard II. in high relief, under canopies; that the turret-towers, at each corner of the end of the wings are pierced through and through, so that the light reveals—while, as it were, helping to create a part of—their structure; and, lastly, that every portion of the stone seems moulded or pannelled on the surface, and crocketed or indented on the edges. Beyond this part, the Old Houses yet occupy the space that properly belongs to the continuation of the level part of the façade, until we reach Victoria Tower, which forms the termination of the land front in the southern direction. The Central or Octagon Tower demands a few additional words. Looked at in its future completed shape, it presents, first, one great lantern or stage, three lights in height, with flying buttresses, pinnacled. Above that rises a second story, two lights high; and finally, over all, a Gothic spire, richly crocketed. The entire height is 240 feet.

The architecture of these level portions may be described thus: first, the basement story, even with the ground, is lighted by a row of double flat-pointed windows, within square moulding, modest-looking as becomes a basement, but handsome enough to harmonise with the splendour above. That consists, one might almost say, of nothing but windows from end to end, and from roof to basement of the façade, divided, for convenience, into innumerable elegant divisions of various kinds, vertical and horizontal. But as we fear that would hardly be a sufficient architectural description, we must say then there are three stories of windows, divided horizontally by rich bands of sculpture, and perpendicularly by buttresses, the sumptuous character of which may be judged, when we say, each contains three statues beneath niches, one above the other, terminating at top in most elegant light pinnacles, rising high above the line of roof, and at bottom in crocketed canopies, with large crowns beneath. These buttresses occur after every two windows along the whole façade. Over each triple tier of windows rises a terminating niche, set in a kind of battlement, also above the line of roof but not so high as the pinnacles; consequently there is a kind of undulating crocketed line of roof suggested to the eye, above the actual line. Of the general style of the architecture of the New Palace it is difficult to speak in precise words. Mr. Barry has thus negatively described his original intention:—"It has been my aim to avoid the ecclesiastical, collegiate, castellated, and domestic styles, and to select that which I consider better suited to the peculiar appropriation of the buildings." He

would, perhaps, use the word *Palatial* in preference to any other, if he did seek to denominate the style. "Elizabethan," or "Gothic," were the words used by the Commissioners when they announced the competition which resulted in the choice of Mr. Barry's design.

We will now enter the temporary enclosure that has been drawn round the works, and pass under an arch by the base of the Clock-Tower, towards the north front,—the part seen from the Westminster end of the bridge, and which keeps there a tolerably constant succession of admiring gazers. But let us first say a few words upon the materials scattered about in such profusion—and, to our eyes, confusion—in every part of the basement of the growing pile which feeds upon them. There are great masses of stone from Anston, in Yorkshire; which place was selected, after a most elaborate scientific research by various commissioners, as affording the best that England possessed. It is a magnesian limestone—warm and beautiful in colour, and so durable as to be worthy of being hewn and carved into shapes that the world would not willingly see decay. This is used for the external masonry. The River Terrace wall required a different kind of structure, one capable of resisting water, and was built of Aberdeen granite. The bricks lying about among the stone are used for internal linings. The main-beams and joists are everywhere iron:—so that, on the whole, we may reasonably hope we have secured ourselves at last from the enemy that has so often destroyed the structure here that our kings have delighted to raise and to adorn with their utmost means. Thus, there was a fire in Henry III.'s time, which burned the Palace of the Confessor, and which Henry rebuilt in the same spirit of magnificence, and with the same lavish recklessness of expenditure, that he exhibited in his works at the abbey adjoining. During the reign of his son Edward I., occurred a second great fire, the ravages of which were repaired in 1294. A third occurred in 1298, which seems to have been so extensively injurious that many years elapsed before the work of restoration was commenced. But at last the works were taken up in earnest during the reign of Edward III.; and from 1330, for a considerable number of years, elaborate reparations and improvements were carried on. This was the time that the Painted Chamber and St. Stephen's were raised to the climax of their splendours; and when the poet Chaucer was clerk of the works. Again, in the time of Henry VIII., the enemy renewed the struggle, and the Palace was almost destroyed; and then royalty succumbed. Henry went to Whitehall; and so ended the history of Westminster as a royal residence. But the Parliament remained; and this was burnt out in 1834. Like many other terrible scourges—cholera, to wit—fires are probably often only salutary lessons that we will not listen to until we are compelled. We have learnt the lesson here, at all events;—the new pile is to be fire-proof. The last material we have to mention is also the only one that can in its nature in any way affect the safety of the Palace—the oak wainscot which covers so large a portion of the wall surfaces of the interior; but the precaution taken in every part affords, we believe, full security.

Passing now through the Arch by the base of the Clock-tower, and looking at the stone groins above, which seem to say, "We build here for the future," we find on the left, within the Clock-tower, a place bearing the ominous name of the Prison; intended, we presume, for those who in any way oppose the order of the omnipotent Houses; also for refractory M.P.'s who *will* fight duels,—if not prevented. Beyond this archway we find the north front; and turning, we have before us, the best view of the lower part of the Clock-tower,—which, tall as it already is, has not yet arrived at those stages of maturity, which are considered sufficient for it to have the future clock yet placed upon its Atlas-like shoulders. That clock will become one of the



curiosities of London. It is to be constructed under the superintendence of Airy, the Astronomer Royal, will be an eight-day clock, will strike the hours weighing from eight to ten tons, chime the quarters on eight bells, and show on four dials, occupying respectively the four sides of the Clock-tower, each very nearly twice as large as that of St. Paul's, which is eighteen feet, and will be nearly thirty feet in diameter. The tower itself is a very solid-square-shaped, yet stately structure, pierced only with very long and very high windows, tolerably close together, in successive tiers, the whole of the intervening spaces elegantly panelled to correspond. Rich bands cross horizontal intervals, and the surface is further decorated with scrolls, mottoes, &c. A turret at each corner, rising from the base to the top of the Tower, imparting an additional effect; which is further enhanced by an apparent slight excess of these buttresses up to a certain height, suggesting at once additional grandeur and picturesqueness of form. The Tower, we may add, measures forty feet high. The Clock-tower is a name familiar to the site; and it is a valuable merit of Mr. Barry's design that so much has been done by him to preserve old associations, as far as possible, in connection with the old sites of the palace. This Clock-tower, we may add, stands not far from the spot where stood the old clock-tower of the ancient palace.

The north front extends from the Clock-tower (which stands out from its line at its northern extremity) to the edge of the Thames, where it is terminated by one of the towers that decorate that end of the river front. Nothing can be more noble or pure in its own peculiar style, than the effect of this sumptuous façade. It is the same kind of basement-story as in the west front, but above there are two stories; consequently the windows are individually more magnificent. The spaces between the windows are far richer and more elaborate. Between every window occurs a buttress (part of a hexagon), richly worked all over; and the windows that are enclosed between these chief divisions are again divided by a regular series of statues and niches, four in number, one above another. Usually the two stories of windows are divided by a broad massive band, covered with shields and crowns: beneath this band runs a continuous line of inscriptions along the entire front, in black-letter Latin, showing the names, dates of the reign, and of the close in death, of the sovereigns whose statues are placed above. This long line of kings commences with Hengist, and ends with the last of the Saxon monarchs of England. Of the statues are purely ideal: no materials exist for attempting likenesses, &c. Leaving the north front, one cannot but take a parting glance at one of its most but not least charming features,—the lace-work in iron that marks out, in an delicate fairy-like way, the line of roofs.

The river front is at present, on account of its magnitude (nine-hundred feet in length) and its completed state, by far the most magnificent portion of the new pile; but its very magnificence has led to the frequent repetition of the complaint,—What cannot be better seen; What a pity that so much exquisite work should be lost on the desert air of the Thames! But this complaint, it seems to us, has been like most others we have heard on the subject of this grand structure, in its essence that everywhere we look as yet but on *parts* of the intended whole, and therefore, continually judging the architect while lacking some of the most implements of right judgment. We can speak from our own experience in this again and again, in walking through the pile, we have said, "This part certainly looks tame," till we have remembered that a grand tower was rising just

beyond the walls we gazed on, altering the entire effect—or that façade was too much like this façade, till we noticed some *budding wing* just pushing forth. Even this apparently finished river front, looks, we own, as though more additional shade was wanted—more projection in the centre to interrupt the long level surface; but when we remember that three towers of cathedral-like dimensions will be seen at different altitudes towering over it, we cannot tell whether we may not, at last, find ourselves satisfied as regards the something wanting, and congratulating ourselves on the deep sentiment of *repose* here suggested, and with which the broad placid waters of the Thames so happily harmonise. But as to opportunity for examination of this front! Well, first, we do not know what will be done about Westminster Bridge, beyond the fact that it *must* be rebuilt at no remote day. Probably we shall have a fine view, and varying as we move, from a high comparative level of the new bridge. From the opposite side of the river (which will surely be one day embanked after all this endless talk, and continual evidence of the necessity of the proposed work), we shall have a view from a level corresponding with the basement of the front. Lastly: on the terrace of the front itself there will be afforded full opportunity for the closest examination of the details. This front may be described as divided into five clearly distinguishable parts;—thus, commencing from the south corner, there are two square towers standing boldly out beyond the general level; then a level portion; then two other central towers rising up, but not breaking the level of the front surface: and beyond this the level portion and the double projecting towers repeated, to correspond.

The only statues in this front are in the wings formed by the projecting towers towards each of its extremities. These are six in number; namely the four patron saints of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales,—representing, of course, the different nationalities that make up this one glorious British nationality,—and the two patron saints of the two great metropolitan churches, St. Paul's, and St. Peter's (Westminster Abbey). The sculpture of the chief portions of this façade consists mainly in a work of great artistic elaboration, a complete, and of course accurate, series of the arms of the sovereigns of England, from the Conquest to the present time: and as there were no heraldic supporters up to the period of Richard II., emblematic figures are introduced in connection with all those earlier monarchs. The white hart of Richard was the first supporter to royal arms. From his time the supporters continually vary down to the period of James I., whose lion and unicorn became thenceforth the sole regal and national supporters. Names, dates of commencement of reign, and of death, are given here as before. Each side the arms are sceptres, scrolls, and foliage, appropriate to each sovereign. All this sculpture is comprised within the band of division between the two tiers of windows. The towers nearest the bridge include the residence of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the towers at the other extremity the residence of the Usher of the Black Rod, and the Librarian of the House of Lords; while the north front gives a local habitation to the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the south front to the offices of the Lord Great Chamberlain.

Before quitting the river front, we notice certain semicircular brick projections, inclosing the lower parts of all the windows of the basement story, and are surprised to find they are to keep out the flood: a somewhat too vivid illustration of the worst feature of the site of the New Houses—its lowness. During a recent winter the vaults were all under water. In addition to these semicircular defences, a temporary mound has been raised on the edge of the stone terrace, by the river. These occasional interruptions of the Thames form a part of the gossip-history of the Old Palace.

As with the fire genii, so with the water; both are believed to be effectually ex-



cluded evermore. A parapet wall is to be erected, having pedestals opposite to each one of the long series of buttresses in the river front, and upon the pedestals will be statues of animals. The terrace itself, we understand, is now six inches higher than any tide on record.

As the south front corresponds with the north, there only remains for us to notice, on the exterior, the Victoria Tower. How shall we do justice to this work? How describe it? Can those of our readers who have seen the exterior of the main tower of Lincoln Cathedral, and who have also stood beneath it, within the pile, and gazed upward in astonishment upon the stupendous arches that support it, can they imagine some such tower as this placed at the corner instead of in the centre of a vast structure corresponding with it in magnificence, so that two of the four arches open on two sides direct into the street? If so, they will have a not very unsatisfactory idea of the general character and position of this, the grandest single feature of the New Palace. The other two arches open respectively into the Royal Court, and the Royal Staircase. It is no easy matter, standing near the tower, to look upward, for any length of time, high enough to compass its whole present bulk; and it is yet scarcely more than a third of its proper elevation, which is three hundred and forty feet. It is, indeed, a stupendous work; and we cannot but honour Mr. Barry's courage in proposing such a thing to men of the nineteenth century. Fortunately for us, he has not only proposed but succeeded. And so by almost insensible degrees the giant lifts his bulk up towards the heavens, in order to give the weary earth time to concentrate its powers of endurance beneath such a Cyclopean structure. That endurance has been most scientifically gauged, and thirty feet a year is supposed to be about what additional burden the soil will patiently, unyieldingly, stand—until the whole is fixed on it. Two gigantic heraldic lions, with crowns on their heads, flank each entrance archway, seeming to intimate kings and queens only pass here. For them too, and for them only, the architect seems to have flung his mighty garland of enormous Tudor crowns and roses in stone all round these vast pointed arches, between the clustered columns of which the arches are composed. Six-sided buttresses, or turrets, rise at each angle of the tower, and accompany it upwards. Over the arches, which are sixty feet high, we look first upon a range of colossal niches for statues, side by side, eleven in number. Those over the southern arch are to be devoted to the reigning sovereign and her nearest relatives,—including her father, and George III. and his queen. The statues over the western arch are not, we believe, yet determined. Above this superb range commences the first stage of the tower, consisting chiefly, on each of its four sides, of a vast window in three divisions, surrounded in the spandrils, &c., by the varied regal arms, and surmounted by a fresh band of sculpture preparatory to the commencement of a second stage: for there the tower at present stops. To complete such a view of the stupendous character of this tower as dimensions can give, we subjoin its breadth—seventy-eight feet.

Looking across from one entrance upon the arch of another, it is interesting to study the mode in which such peculiarly rich effect is given to the arch itself—we mean that portion which really forms the (pointed) arch shape. We see, then, thus steadily looking, in order to pluck out the heart of the architect's mystery here, that there is, first, an infinity of slender pillars, each rising and forming its own individual arch—then bands of these delicate arches congregate together to make still more decided arches, and, lastly, these bands or groups form one grand whole—the *Arch*—worthily so called.

Supposing we now grope about the foundations and basement of the new edifice.

and learn somewhat of its internal plan and domestic arrangements, before we ascend into the more public and important parts. We return therefore to the north front, and pass through an archway in its centre, and an almost interminable vista extends before us—through court after court, and through the groined archways or short passages that connect and divide these courts from each other. First there is the Speaker's Court (in which we now stand), then next, beyond, comes the Commons' Court, then the Commons' Inner Court; and there we reach the centre of the pile and pass on to the corresponding courts beyond,—the Peers' Inner Court, the Peers' Court, and, lastly, the Royal Court,—from which we emerge, still in the same undeviating straight line, on to the south front. Of course the names of all these courts are derived from the buildings that look into them, and to which they give light and air. Very interesting and novel are, or rather will be, the architectural effects seen in a walk through these courts; produced chiefly by the variety of aspects in which the numerous towers present themselves over the roofs of the buildings that form the courts. Thus the gigantic Central Tower is seen soaring upwards at the corners of the two "Inner" courts we have named; the Clock Tower is seen over the roof of the Speaker's Court; one of the south-east towers of the river front gives additional dignity to the Royal Court; where, too, we presume, the magnificence of the Victoria Tower will also be visible, when it rises to its allotted height. And then there are other smaller towers visible at various points, giving to the courts, as a whole, a continually varying but always picturesque and occasionally grand architectural effect.

The groined passages leading from court to court are, of course, under the chief buildings. From them extend, right and left, other passages of greater or less architectural pretensions, by means of which every portion of the chief stories of the pile are reached from the basement. There will be eventually a second and parallel series of courts and passages, to the right of the one we are describing, that is to say, nearer to the land front; of which the Star Chamber Court, lying between Westminster Hall and the level part of the façade of the west front, forms the first, commencing from New Palace Yard. With a few words more, we may conclude this brief view of the skeleton, so to speak, of the New Houses. There are in all five distinct stories;—one consisting of cellars or vaults, which extend almost everywhere beneath the Houses—the second being the basement, level with the ground, containing all sorts of offices, &c.; the third, comprising the chief portions of the pile, such as the two Houses, with their Lobbies, Halls of Approach, Galleries, &c.; the fourth, extending over all the external parts of the edifice, and containing the Committee Rooms; and the fifth, which is much more restricted in its extent, being chiefly confined to the space over the river front, contains rooms for Records, &c.

Let us now enter the Speaker's house, the front of which forms the chief feature of the court named after him. The entrance-vestibule is unfinished, but promises to be interesting: it has a pierced screen in front, and on the left side; revealing, in the former direction, the ascending grand staircase beyond, and in the latter a kind of ante-room, connected with a corridor, which extends all round a small inner court, and into both of which open various domestic offices, kitchen, &c. On the chief story above are various rooms of magnificent dimensions, looking out upon the Thames—unfinished, but evidently fast becoming worthy of one of their most important future uses, that of receiving the flower of the English gentry (as brought together in Parliament) on those occasions when the Speaker gives his official dinners. But the Speaker's house is chiefly interesting to us for its corridor, which is by far the most graceful and most richly-beautiful thing of the kind we ever beheld. One



le of the corridor consists of a series of graceful windows, looking into the little court, and the other of the wall, which seems scarcely less full of light and beauty from the architectural grace shed over it by arches, pannellings, and mouldings. In the centre of the roof, at intervals of every few feet, are round open spaces, enhancing to a very remarkable degree the general effect of the roof; over these, on the outside, at some elevation, are glass domes, to protect the corridor from the inclemency of the weather. This corridor is of course connected with the head of the grand staircase, which contrasts boldly with it, and has a very marked individual aspect that is always interesting, and nowhere more so than in architecture. The arched oblong skylight, or lantern, in the centre of the oak-ribbed roof, sheds a mild, subdued light, as though more effectually to startle the visitor by the unexpected loveliness of the corridor, upon which he immediately enters; and which itself again prepares no other surprise—the height and breadth of the magnificent apartments beyond. The Speaker's house stands on the precise locality occupied by the Speaker's house in the old pile,—although that official is no longer accommodated with a garden, as before. This garden, fronting the Thames, and now covered by the river front, was probably the old palace garden of royalty. Winding round to the left, from an entrance into the next (or Commons') court, we pass a window, looking very like a bar, which opens into a place that is unmistakably a kitchen; with a long, low section, faced with polished metal in front, beneath the windows, devoted to a series of stoves of gas and charcoal, hot plates, and washing dishes. This is the kitchen of the Commons of England; and this, and the similar place for the Lords, are all that remain to recall the old culinary glories of the palace, when Westminster Hall was the dining-room, when thousands daily sat down to meals, when no less than three hundred master cooks, as in the reign of Richard II., and some three hundred "servitors," were required in the kitchen.

Round the kitchen cluster various apartments for the custodians, and also some very nice little snug rooms for M.P.'s to come with a friend, for a quiet snatch of food and talk, apart from the more public refreshment-rooms on the upper story. Here, too, we find the Smoking Room,—the only apartment of any pretension about this locality.

The ventilation of the entire pile (with the exception of the House of Commons), may be here described in a few words. The air is brought down from the very skies, or above all danger of contamination from the smoke or odours of London, through the Victoria Tower; then drawn to the centre of the buildings by steam-power, then rained and tempered by iron surfaces, carried by steam, and driven, thus prepared, through the remotest apartments of the palace, by all sorts of contrivances, each adapted to its peculiar place: and thus half the business is accomplished. As to the remaining half, the air, as it becomes vitiated, is drawn off again from every part, through the ceilings and cornices, by similar power, and carried through shafts in the various light towers that rise over the roofs, and also through the great central Tower; and thus finally is discharged into the grand purifier and reservoir, from which it was drawn, the all-embracing atmosphere.

Let us now ascend to the upper story, where first we enter upon the Commons' refreshment Rooms; two noble apartments, *en suite*, with beautifully-worked wainscot walls, large suggestive-looking blanks for future oil paintings, and sumptuous replaces, where the delicate blue and variously-coloured tiles attract one's eye. Suitable subjects being chosen, this is in some respects a peculiarly advantageous position for pictures, as affording opportunity for calm and loving investigation—without hurry, or formal visit-making; nor do we see why soul and body may not

thus feed together to the advantage of both. We have used the words "suitable subjects," and we find the idea involved in them has not escaped the attention of the Commissioners; who propose, for the Refreshment Rooms of both Lords and Commons, that the decorations shall consist of views of our most important cities and places in the United Kingdom, India, and Colonies; also of subjects connected with rural scenery, and the harvest, the chase, &c. The two rooms in question are divided by a double screen, forming between them a small darkened picturesque vestibule, inclosing on each side a still smaller nest, called and intended for a *bar*: and it is in connection with one of these, that machinery ascends and descends to and from the kitchen, for the supply of the corporeal necessities of the hungry legislators. This kind of artistic shade between the two lights of the refreshment rooms—this sort of sudden contraction and expansion of the space, in passing from room to room, is very charming: and is greatly enhanced by the open screen-work, which encloses the entrances, and that of the bar, on each side. There is a third refreshment-room connected with these, but smaller. The Library, for the use of the Commons, occupies an adjoining suite of four rooms, with their walls entirely covered with ornamental wainscot from top to bottom, and formed into tall narrow divisions for the books; which are thus in their detail kept artistically subordinate to the decorative character of the room, while their number as a whole effectually suggests the idea that all these accessories are but for them: it is a library we look on, and not merely rooms containing books. Valuable documents are kept in fire-proof cupboards, with handsome-looking white metal chasings on the exterior. These rooms extend parallel with and open into the Commons' Corridor, on one side of the latter, while on the other is the House of Commons; toward which we will not yet direct our steps or our thoughts. This corridor extends from the wall of the Speaker's Corridor (before mentioned), under the various names of the Commons' Library Corridor, the Commons' Committee Corridor, the Peers' Committee Corridor, the Peers' Library Corridor, right through the entire length of the pile, to the Black Rod's Corridor, corresponding at the southern extremity with the Speaker's Corridor at the northern. Stately screens of division occur at intervals, in each corridor, and still more complete divisions occur in the centre, marking out the respective domains of the Lords and Commons.

Between the libraries of the two great Estates are a series of rooms, likely to be interesting to future historians should stormy days again shadow the political horizon. These rooms form two sets, corresponding exactly with each other: first, we find next the library a very beautiful waiting-room, with a large oriel window opening upon the river-front; then two rooms for Select Committees; and then the *Meeting Room*, or Conference Room for both Lords and Commons; to which evidently the others, extending right and left, are but accessories. These rooms are all connected by doors with each other, as well as with the corridor outside, so that the marchings and counter-marchings remain all unseen by any eye. These oriel-rooms are very handsome, and the sense of pleasure excited by the form and effect of the windows on entrance, is more than repeated as we turn and perceive the beautiful screen, beneath which we have passed. The walls of both will be nearly covered with oil paintings; though each individual painting will, at the same time, have its own appropriate framework or setting, formed by the divisions that ascend at intervals over the walls, from the rich wainscot below. The Conference Room, or Painted Chamber, as it will probably be called, in perpetuation of another time-honoured association of the Old Palace, is worthy of its high uses. This is magnificently lighted by the three central windows of the river front. There are in it no less than thirteen spaces for paint-



Subjects proposed by the Commissioners are curiously infelicitous *here*, in themselves. The principle of selection is, that the subject shall be to the acquisition of the countries, colonies, &c., constituting the empire. These subjects are *Ireland* and the marriage of Strongbow and Eva, Dermot, King of Leinster; *Wales*, and Edward I. presenting his infant elsh, as their prince; *Scotland*, and its James VI. (our James I.) receiving the death of Elizabeth; *Hindustan*, and Clive's victory of Plassey; Penn's treaty with the Indians; *Australia*, and its colonization; *China* and the treaty of Nankin; *Nautical Science* and *Heroism*, and the voyages; the *Mauritius* and the *Cape*, and the anecdote connected with their *Gibraltar*, and the day on which Sir George Rooke planted the English flag on that impregnable rock-fortress; *Malta*, and its surrender.

A long range of corridors just described, extend the range of General Com—the private workshops, so to speak, in which are prepared, and dis-measures presented to the public in the House. These rooms are, of course, easily accessible to the public; no inconsiderable portion of which is taken up into and out of such Committee-rooms for examination on all sorts of subjects, and the promotion of local and private bills. For so important a portion of the business here exists, very properly, Visiting-halls, or lobbies, independent of the lobbies previously passed through, that belong to the Houses generally. In the upper of these Visiting-halls we now find ourselves advancing from the Corridor. This presents us with stately arches on all its four sides, conveniently in each arch a window, and then a panelled space to correspond, in which three of the arches are doorways leading off respectively to the Central way out, the Peers' and Commons' Corridors, and the Public Staircase leading to the Upper Waiting-hall, and to the Committee-rooms: the fire-place is in the lower part of the fourth arch. Ascending towards the upper hall we are struck by those very agreeable surprises which in different parts of the structure are so peculiarly interesting and beautiful staircase, with rounded portions, panelled walls, veined ceilings (ribbed is too harsh a word for such gentle undulating curves, and light windows made still more light by the architectural details) also plays about them. In the Upper Hall, or as it is sometimes called, the Visiting-hall, we step suddenly into presence of Art: here also, as yet, beginning our properly enthroned, with something like acknowledgment of complete

On each of the four sides, the genius of our rising artists has already manifested itself in the novel mode,—fresco. Here Cope shows us Chaucer's *Imelda*,—that sublime example of Christian love and fortitude. On another side, he writes in his colour-language, and in this new material, not altogether unlike the him who wrote it in the ordinary verbal one, the story of *Lear*, at the moment when he is disinheriting *Cordelia*. *Horsley* is content with no less a theme than the first parents' sin, and with Milton for its narrator: choosing the moment when he is touched by Ithuriel's spear, while suggesting evil desires to *Eve*. And *Delaney* has been smitten with Dryden's vision of *St. Cecilia*,—the inspired representative of the most peculiarly heavenly spirit among the "sacred poets," so gives us a worthy illustration of the glorious *Ode of Alexander's Feast*. We can now see why the place is known as the Poets' Waiting-hall; all the frescoes are chosen from the poets. So also will be the other four yet to be painted in all the entire art-spaces here afforded: to these *Spenser* and *Pope* are to be added two of the subjects.

At last we reach the Corridor out of which open the doors of the Com-

mittee-rooms. The first sight of this Corridor will not soon be forgotten. We hardly know how to describe an effect so novel and so enchanting, and yet so harmoniously connected with such business-like associations. Standing in the centre, and looking one way, appears an almost interminable square-shaped vista, of which the end is scarcely perceptible. Whilst yet wondering at the length of that vista, and the general sense of the grandeur of the scale on which the Houses are erected, you unconsciously turn,—and lo! you are startled to perceive that it was but half of the real distance that you had gazed upon so long and absorbingly. Certainly nothing so charming or novel as this Corridor exists anywhere else in England, of the same kind.

There are nineteen of these Committee-rooms, and to describe one is in effect to describe all; for, although there prevails through them (independent of minor modifications, made with a view to particular uses,) just such a continual change in the colours of the walls, and the arrangement of the furniture and fittings as may relieve the eye from sameness, there is also such a general uniformity as simplicity and good taste require to impress the sense of the unity of their object. So we will say a few words upon Committee-room, No. 16. This is nearly square, very large and high, and has two magnificent windows extending nearly from floor to ceiling, opening upon the Thames. Richly-carved wainscot covers the lower part of the wall, and rich crimson velvet pile the upper, extending to the cornices; which, with the ceiling, is of wainscot, formed into bold geometrical patterns with coloured shields at intervals. As to the furniture, &c., there is, first, a bar extending across the room, at the end where the people are admitted,—then there are tables and seats arranged in a symmetrical and picturesque form in the body of the room, while further still are two rather high, elegant-looking and partially-rounded screens, enclosing the corners. There are two doors to each room, and over them you read respectively, in antique gilt letters, emblazoned in colour, "Members' Entrance," "Public Entrance."

The "Houses" are now close by; but this is not the way in which we propose to take our readers into them. We have desired to give them some idea of those internal arrangements of the pile which will be for the most part unseen by the general public, and may now, therefore, return to New Palace Yard, and re-enter the edifice through the people's own glorious vestibule—Westminster Hall.

And now we are once more before the entrance, or north front of Westminster Hall; a part added to Rufus's original edifice by Richard II. We need not describe it. Let us enter, and in so doing, recall, in memory, the leading incidents of its history. An inexhaustible topic! so rich, various, and eventful, have been the uses of the Hall. Thus, looked at as the Banqueting Hall, we remember that here have taken place nearly all the coronation feasts of England, as well as many other feasts, involving even still more attractive features for those whose love of the past is based essentially on their enjoyment of its picturesqueness of incident. Parliaments used for some time to sit here. Here Cromwell was inaugurated. And here have taken place the chief state-trials of England—including those of Sir Thomas More,—Lady Jane Grey's relatives,—Elizabeth's favourite Essex, and his friend Southampton,—Stafford,—Laud,—and, most tremendous of all, Charles I,—the seven bishops,—Kilmarnock and his coadjutors in the rebellion of the last century,—and Warren Hastings. What events—all to have taken place within those same four walls that stretch around us! There is little to describe in Westminster Hall. Its two grand features are the size—239 feet long, 68 feet wide, and 90 feet high—and the roof of timber, formed into a continuous series of great arches, a work of almost unrivalled elaboration and magnificence. It is of oak, and very old. Mr. Barry, who is repairing the hall in various parts, is,



we believe, touched with the true feeling of reverence for this almost sacred spot, and wishes but to conserve, not alter. The chief novelties are these:—the window facing the entrance, at the other extremity, has given place to an enormous arch, embracing nearly the whole space from floor to roof, and beneath which rises a broad magnificent staircase, now in course of erection. On either side of this staircase rise two gigantic pedestals for statues. The other change is the opening a new archway in the left or eastern wall, which leads into a low corridor profusely decorated, presently winding, and growing richer and richer at every step, until the very walls seem ornaments shaped into and answering for walls, rather than walls made ornamental, and so at last we arrive at a spot where the way divides into three; the door on the left opening into the Star Chamber Court, which will be the Commons' chief entrance, a staircase in front, leading up to their house, and on the right the Cloisters, a perfect blaze of architectural light. The richness here surpasses all belief that the eye itself does not suggest and confirm. The roof, a perfect marvel of sportive play in stone, is ancient, but the continuous row of windows that look into, and as it were, enclose the cloister court, are for the most part restorations. Projecting into the court beyond the inner outline of the cloister walls and windows, is an antique looking building, the Oratory of the old convent, entered from the cloisters by a curious, old, very monkish-looking sort of door, with stained glass above. Within it are niches with rich canopies, and a roof still more elaborately beautiful (in the same style) than that of the cloisters itself. The view from this cloister court is extraordinarily fine. Exquisite beauties surround you closely at the base; the exterior of St. Stephen's Hall rises above; also the gigantic Central Tower contrasting with one of the light towers for ventilation; and lastly, you see the upper portion of Westminster Hall, with its flying buttresses; all these are comprised within the horizon of this little court. While here we must not forget to look into St. Stephen's Crypt, the former basement story of St. Stephen's Chapel, the old House of Commons; and which is about to be restored and converted into a place of worship for the residents of the new pile: a happy idea. There will be doubtless many participants with them from beyond the walls.

Returning now to Westminster Hall, and ascending as well as we may, over the great brick arches that are to support the grand staircase, we pass beneath the enormous arch we have spoken of, which nearly occupies the whole height and breadth of the Hall, and find ourselves in a porch of the same breadth, and *the entire height of the hall, ninety feet*, and having still before us a window of corresponding gigantic proportions, suggesting the idea that the old window of the hall had been heightened, and carried so far back, as to leave room for this extraordinary porch in front of it. Ascending and winding round to the base of the window, we find ourselves in a gallery commanding a noble perspective of the hall, as seen through the porch. Six statues are to be placed in this porch, and two subjects are already pointed out—Nelson and Marlborough.

Turning to the left, a second staircase leads us into a hall worthy of the porch—and similarly named—St. Stephen's. This occupies the site of the old House of Commons. Its dimensions are 95 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 60 feet high to the apex of the stone groining. Facing us, we see arch raised upon arch, and both inclosed within one vast arch—admitting to the Houses, and to the general interior of the pile beyond. The corresponding arch is behind you. A row of massive pedestals flanks the walls on each side, to be surmounted by marble statues. These are recommended to be of—Selden, Hampden, Lord Falkland, Lord Clarendon, Lord Somers, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chatham, Lord Mansfield, Burke, Pitt, Fox, and Grattan. Great compartments cry out, as it were, in their blank eloquence, for the frescoes that are to

occupy them. Here is the list suggested by the Commissioners, chosen with a view of illustrating some of the greatest epochs in our constitutional, social, and ecclesiastical history:—A sitting of the Witena-gemote; the Feudal System illustrated in the homage of the Barons to William the Conqueror; the Origin of the House of Commons illustrated in the first writ brought down to the City of London; the Termination of the Baronial Wars shown in the crowning of Henry VII., at Bosworth, over the dead body of Richard III.; an early Trial by Jury; the Signing of Magna Charta; the Abolition of Villanage illustrated by a lord, on his death-bed, attended by the clergy, manumitting his villeins; the Privileges of the Commons asserted by Sir Thomas More against Cardinal Wolsey; the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity by the Preaching of St. Augustine; and lastly, the Reformation typified in the incident of Elizabeth's receiving the Bible in Cheapside. Above these is a range of windows, five on each side, of the most cathedral-like character and proportion, and which are as strikingly effective from without the pile, as they appear here, from within. Of course there is the groined roof—a thing never to be wearied of. The bosses of this roof,—in fine keeping with its associations,—are strictly ecclesiastical.

Passing through the magnificent arch at the other end of St. Stephen's Hall, we find ourselves in the Central Hall, a place in every way worthy of its position—in the centre of the entire pile. From this radiate in various directions the paths to the different parts of the structure, and especially towards the Lords on the right, towards the Commons on the left, and the Committee-rooms' Corridor before you. The shape first strikes us as remarkably picturesque and novel. The entire space occupied by the Hall, including the walls, forms a great octagon, but the rise of the massive walls of the octagonal tower divides the inner surfaces into eight principal divisions, which are again enriched in their effect, by their presenting each two surfaces, one towards a doorway by its side, the other to the centre of the Hall. One arch over another, rising to the roof, alternates with a window over an open space, all along the walls. The lower of each two arches forms, of course, the door; the upper is blank, and will be filled with mosaic work. Rich clusters of columns rise between each of these two alternating series, and form the entire hall into eight grand arches, making clearly its octagonal character. Two tiers of niches farther enrich the lower or entrance arches, one on each side; and there extends horizontally across, between the two arches, a most sumptuous band of sculpture, with angels, crowns, and insignia. The octagonal roof of stone suggests a new beauty by the manner in which it is made to illustrate the peculiar shape of the hall. It gradually concentrates its beauty as the size of the circle lessens towards the apex. Everything about us breathes an atmosphere of grandeur, richness, repose. Fitting prelude to the scenes we approach!

Taking the archway on the left, we pass through a short but noble-looking corridor, called the Commons' Corridor, with an elaborately-groined stone roof, of great height, supported on engaged clustered columns, lighted by what look like the tops of so many beautiful pointed windows, their proper lower portions appearing to have given place to compartments for oil paintings, which are to embody the following subjects:—Charles II. assisted in his escape by Jane Lane—the executioner tying Wishart's book round the neck of Montrose—Monk declaring for free Parliament—the Landing of Charles II.—Alice Lisle concealing the Fugitives after the Battle of Sedgemoor—the Sleep of Argyle—the Acquittal of the Seven Bishops—and the Lords and Commons presenting the Crown to William and Mary in the Banqueting House.

This Corridor conducts us into the Commons' Lobby, a name that various incidents have made us familiar with, in connection with the immediate entrances to the Lower House. This new lobby is very lofty, has a magnificent roof of carved wood in nine



divisions, while the entire surface of the walls is enriched with the various resources of architectural skill; great windows where there is open space with air and light beyond, blank panels to correspond, sumptuously worked over and emblazoned with heraldry, where there is not. The four sides present, as the chief features, standing out from the rest, four stately arches. Below the windows are pierced screens shutting off while showing darkened spaces within, full of that soft gloom on which the eye loves to turn and refresh itself, after any lengthened examination of the splendour around. Mark the little door by the side of one of the arches; that leads up into the Strangers' Gallery of the House; and of course, therefore, the arch itself is the one that admits us into the place, toward which we have been so long journeying—a place that occupies possibly a more conspicuous position in the mental vision of the whole civilised world than any other—the British House of Commons.

Yes, enter, and you are in the New Home of that august body to which England owes much of her dearest liberties, and to which, when she has made it more truly an emanation from her *entire* self—an exposition of *all* her wants and aspirations, she hopes yet to owe a Future more brilliant and at the same time more solidly enduring, as regards the prosperity, material, mental, and moral, of the great masses of the people, than she can at present claim to have afforded them. It is not easy to describe the aspect of the place, for it is yet in a transitional state. The House is oblong in shape, with a roof sloping from the sides upwards to the flat centre. This will be, as the other parts are, of wainscot, richly decorated. The windows occupying the upper part of the walls only, on each side, will be filled with stained glass—in order to “subdue the excessive glare.” It is the ideal light one wants to attend to here, not the physical. These windows, and the triple row of emblazoned shields, that extend all round the House on, under, and above the gallery, are the only gleams of bright colour vouchsafed in the Lower House. A gallery extends on each side, the length of the chamber (for members); then over the Speaker's chair at the farthest end, for the Reporters, and over them, behind a pierced screen, for ladies and other favoured visitors; while at the opposite end, above the entrance, is the Strangers' Gallery, with the front portion divided off into stalls for the accommodation of Peers and persons admitted by the Speaker's order. Right and left of the public entrance are the official seats, and between them is the part technically called the bar. Here persons stand who are summoned to the House, in order to be examined or reproved.

The dimensions of the House, since the recent alteration, are as follows:—about 69 feet long, 45 feet broad, and 44 feet high to the centre. Flanking the House on two sides, are the Lobbies, to which the members retire during divisions—places in appearance something between corridors and apartments.

Returning now to the Central Hall, and passing through a corresponding corridor to that already mentioned as leading to the Commons' Lobby, we reach the Peers' Lobby. And here we pause. Here the artist-decorator begins to put forth his strength in earnest. How the colours glow—how the gilding burns—everywhere around you! One knows not what to look at first—we are confounded by the lavishness of the wealth. The floor is of encaustic tiles of the most superb colours; its centre and margins of Derbyshire marble, rivalling jasper in its texture; enamel inlaid with brass surrounds the centre with additional magnificence. The windows are filled with gorgeously stained glass, and contain the arms of the early English aristocracy. The walls between the windows are emblazoned to correspond with them, and present an unbroken surface of gold, and crimsons, and blues. The arch-piers of the chief-entrance arch to the Lords' House are garlanded by gilded crowns and roses, joined by gilded foliage entirely encircling the whole arch, while its spandrels are heavy with

the superabounding magnificence of the gilded sculptures, comprising lions and unicorns, crowns and shields, and wreaths of the foliage of the plant so dear to all English hearts—the oak. All this gorgeousness below seems to be reflected with fresh lustre from the roof, which springs from corbels, supported by angels, bearing the orders of the garter. Then, in each of the four corners stands a gilded and bronze candelabrum, suggestive rather of oriental than British luxury and taste. Amid all this blaze, the eye is not fatigued, for there are the open screens again, along the lower part of the walls, in the soft shadows of which it can always take refuge. In this, as well as in the general arrangement of the walls, the architectural dignity of the Lobby has been steadily kept in view. Each of the four walls is divided into one grand central division, with two lesser divisions by its side: the centres include the great arches of entrance; while the others contain alternately the screen and window over, and the screen and the panelled compartments corresponding with the windows. But lo! another and previously unnoticed piece of splendour! A pair of gilded gates are closing upon the entrance into the Peers' House—gates of wondrous beauty and brilliancy. They are formed of brass, and weigh, we are told, a ton and a half.

Let us step through them into the House of Peers,—the masterpiece of English art in the nineteenth century, in the way of internal domestic magnificence. Here all the available powers of all the entire group of artists and artist-workmen whose services have been required for the pile, have been put into requisition, regardless of expenditure in time or money. Nothing has been left undone that they could do, to contribute to the effect lavished upon these four walls, and make the place an actual and visible type of the order to which it belongs. Remembering what the English aristocracy is, in its past history, and in its present wealth, power, and social influence, that was an attempt of no ordinary character, but it has succeeded. Nothing stands out obtrusively to the injury of the general effect, although some of the individual objects are so extraordinarily rich and conspicuous, that when one looks steadily at them, you are astonished that they did not sooner arrest the eye; the throne for instance, a most sumptuous erection of carved work in wood, gilded all over, large enough to contain within its light and elegant triple canopies, the chief chair for the Queen, and smaller ones for her husband and her eldest son, raised upon steps, that are covered with a carpet of the purest scarlet velvet pile, spotted with heraldic lions and roses. The massive ribs of the ceiling are like so many bars of gold, between which the heraldic emblazonry streams forth, richer yet more subdued. Twelve windows of the noblest dimensions, and filled with stained glass, admit the light, and temper it to the magnificence within. These windows represent the kings and queens of England, under canopies, from William the Conqueror to Adelaide lately deceased. A gallery extends along beneath the windows, of the most elaborate open brass work, itself again farther enriched by compartments of coloured mosaic. It is useless to speak of minor decorations, such as shields, and pendants, and small terminal busts, and inscriptions, and candelabra, and devices, and carvings, etc., in such a place as this. We cannot even pause over the unbroken sweep of fretwork that extends all round the lower portion of the walls, behind the rows of crimson benches, and which seems to outvie the most elaborate stalls of our finest cathedral choirs. At each end of the house, (over the throne at one extremity, and over the corresponding lofty canopy at the other,) three arches of the most stately span enshrine as many frescoes: and, it is sufficient to be able to say of them, that they are not unworthy of their position. They comprise the Baptism of Ethelbert, by Dyce; Edward III. conferring the order of the Garter on the Black Prince, by Cope; Henry Prince of Wales, committed to prison for assaulting Judge Gascoigne, also by Cope; the Spirit of Religion,



by Horeley; and the Spirit of Chivalry, by Maclise. Between all these windows, and frescoes, and in each of the four corners, extends a range of niches for statues of colossal size, in bronze gilt. These are to be devoted to the bold Barons, who obtained for us the Great Charter. Beneath all this accumulation of art, and luxury, and material decoration, the blue carpet, powdered with stars, has a charming effect, and enhances all the rest. Of course the body of the house is occupied by the seats for the Peers (of a deep crimson), the clerk's (oaken) table, and the red woosack of the Chancellor. Lord Campbell tells us the origin of this remarkable piece of furniture. Having premised that there "are woosacks for the Judge and other assessors, as well as for the Lord Chancellor," he continues: "They are said to have been introduced into the House of Lords as a compliment to the staple manufacture of the realm: but I believe that, in the rude simplicity of early times, a sack of wool was frequently used as a sofa—when the judges sat on a hard wooden bench, and the advocates stood behind a rough wooden rail, called a *bar*." What a very different House of Lords must have existed then from that now before us! There are, of course, galleries here also, for the reporters and for strangers. The dimensions of the House are, 97 feet long, by 45 feet wide, and 45 feet high.

The Peers' Corridor is utterly unlike anything else in the edifice, although of course the same kind of material must be used for its construction and adornment. But there is an exquisite effect produced by the elegant yet limited dimensions.

In the neighbourhood of the House of Peers, are their Robing-room, Refreshment-rooms, Library, and the apartments occupied by the Commissioners of Fine Arts, and by the Commission (under the same Presidency, Prince Albert) for the Exhibition of 1851: that event without precedent in civilised history, for its character, magnitude, and probable consequences, not only on the industry of all nations, but on their mutual feelings towards each other. The Room of the Commissioners of Fine Arts (who are entrusted with the regulation of the subjects for all these frescoes and oil paintings, and statues, that will give England a new National Gallery of the works of our own time, without professedly appearing to do so,) contains, for the present, various pictures which obtained prizes in the recent public competitions, and which, on account of their excellence, were purchased by the commissioners for the New Palace. They comprise a Sea-view, by Knell; the Burial of Harold, by Pickersgill; Alfred exciting the Britons to resist the landing of the Danes, by Watts; and Cœur-de-Lion forgiving his Assassin, by Cross. The Refreshment-rooms need not be described since they do not materially differ from those belonging to the Commons, although much handsomer; but there is an entrance-screen connected with them, of striking beauty. The Lords' Library dates only from the appointment of the present librarian, Mr. Leary, about some twenty-five years ago, and yet already numbers 20,000 volumes. These consist mainly of the parliamentary documents of both houses, which from the time of the union of Ireland until now are complete. The collection of law books, for the service of the judicial business of the House, is also full and invaluable. The departments of general history, and of works of reference, are well represented. There is also a magnificent collection of French parliamentary and historical works, sent over by Louis Philippe in 1834. The books are contained in a magnificent suite of four apartments, which, among their other decorations, exhibit the armorial bearings of all the chief-justices of England from the Conquest. This library is for the exclusive use of the Peers.

We now approach the conclusion of our walk through the Houses. There remains but to follow from the House of Lords the course taken by the Sovereign in her visit, and which lies, as we have seen, through the Victoria Tower, then up the ascent of

the grand staircase into the Norman Porch, where the royal procession pauses, in order that the robes may be donned in the Robing Room adjoining. From thence, the Royal Gallery is entered, where, at its northernmost extremity, the Prince's Chamber receives for an instant the gorgeous throng, and their imperial mistress, preparatory to the advance into the House of Lords; which, we need hardly remind our readers, presents at such a time one of the most brilliant assemblages the world can show. Even the House itself somewhat fades in the presence of the new splendour.

The Prince's Chamber is so called, not, as people might fancy, in order to pay a personal compliment, but to preserve the remembrance of a former chamber similarly named and located in connection with the old House of Lords. As the lobby on the one side, so does the Prince's Chamber on the other, seem to preserve the exclusive magnificence of the Peers' House from being too closely pressed on by inferior adjuncts. Each of them is only less gorgeous than that to which they lead. Among the peculiar features of the Prince's Chamber may be named the three frescoes, for which spaces of truly enormous dimensions have been left on the upper side of one of the walls, and which are divided from each other by gilded pillars, resting on the lower story. These must be intended to stimulate some new Michael Angelo into immortal vigour: no less a man could look unmoved upon such expanses of art-territory, and say, "I can worthily claim them for ever." There is to be here also, a series of portraits of kings, in oil, on a gold ground. The colours of the roof are blue and gold, wonderfully brilliant. Carvings are distributed over the walls in the greatest profusion. The chimney-piece is a gorgeous combination of colours and ornamental workmanship; furniture, fittings—all are on a scale of corresponding splendour. The great arch of entrance into and from the Royal Gallery is, like others we have named, garlanded round with gilded foliage, and with massive crowns and flowers. Opposite this is a corresponding blank arch, and on each side of it are the smaller entrances which lead into the House of Peers, close by the sides of the Throne. The blank arch just mentioned will, when completed, have in front of it a pedestal and statue of her Majesty, sitting on a throne, encircled by her attendants.

The Royal Gallery is as yet unfinished; but sufficient is done to show that it will be worthy of a position which exacts the utmost skill of the architect to harmonise with the Tower he has placed on the outside, and with the House he has elaborated within, and between which this is the connecting link. The gallery measures 110 feet long, 45 feet wide, and 45 feet high. Along the lower portion of the wall will be frescoes, while the upper is occupied with a range of great windows on each side, which are to be filled with stained glass. The flat roof, in deep divisions, is supported by bold shafts, springing from the side walls, and begins here and there, as the workmen proceed, to positively glitter with gay colours: on each side of the great archways that lead into the Prince's Chamber, into the Norman Porch, and into the adjoining Robing Room, as well as on each side of the great oriel window that faces the Norman Porch, are lofty pedestals for colossal statues. But among the future decorations of the Gallery will be places for no less than one hundred and six statues; a fact that may suggest to the imaginations of our readers what the present blank aspect of the walls could not,—the elaborately sumptuous character that it is intended to give to the Gallery. Then there will be eighteen of the great frescoes—representing (as proposed) Boadicea inciting her army; Alfred in the camp of the Danes; Brian Borihme overcoming the Danes at the Bridge of Clontarf; Edith finding the dead body of Harold; Richard Cœur-de-Lion coming in sight of the Holy City; Eleanor saving the life of her husband, afterwards Edward I., by



eking the poison from a wound in his arm; Bruce, during a retreat before the English, protecting a woman borne in a litter, and checking the pursuers; Philippa interceding for the lives of the citizens of Calais; Edward the Black Prince entering London by the side of King John of France; the marriage of Henry V. at Troyes, with the Princess Katherine of France; Elizabeth at Tilbury; Blake at Tunis; Marlborough at Blenheim; the death of Wolfe; the death of Abercrombie; Lord Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tippoo as hostages; Trafalgar, the Death of Nelson; and Waterloo; and the meeting of Wellington and Blücher. The Queen's Robing Room is also unfinished. The exploits of King Arthur are there to be celebrated by means of a series of frescoes, already in progress by Mr. Dyce, who is regularly engaged by the Commissioners for some years to come, at a considerable salary.

The Norman Porch, so called from the intention that exists to illustrate in its escoses the Norman history of England, and to place there statues of the kings of the Norman line, differs most refreshingly from every other architectural feature of the pile, without, of course, ceasing to harmonise with them. A clustered pillar in the centre, forms—by its expanding ramifications—the general roof into a series of roofs, each having in its centre a circular opening to the sky for the admission of light. There is a fine picturesque architectural effect obtained by looking through the arched depths of the porch on the right, across to the Guard Room and its lobby beyond. These last-named places are also unfinished. In the Guard Room there is to be painted in fresco Young Talbot defending his father in battle, and Isabella Douglas barring the door with her arm to protect James I. of Scotland: a very suggestive picture in such a locality. St. Edward the Martyr, slain by the Danes, will be the subject of the fresco in the lobby.

The Royal Staircase is designed in a style of chaste, pure magnificence. It possesses no ornaments except the windows and slender shafts and mouldings that ascend the walls, and run over the roof, but these are sufficient. One does not desire to stop here. On entering the pile one needs a moment's pause after the spectacle of the Grand Victoria Tower, and the almost unrivalled arches beneath, before we again use all our latent powers to the due enjoyment and appreciation of the scenes that await us in the edifice. And now we descend once more, both in the body and in the spirit, to the level of the soil and of the daily bustle of the world without; but, however, without a grateful acknowledgment of the high skill and unremitting labours that have afforded us personally so much gratification and instruction, and which have given to the Parliament of the British people a home worthy of it.

Let us chronicle briefly, and in the simplest language, a few of the names whom posterity will not think underserving of honour and permanent remembrance: Charles Barry, architect; John Thomas, sculptor; Welby Pugin, the carved woodwork; Millantyne and Allan, of Edinburgh, the stained glass; Hardman, of Birmingham, the metal work; and the firm of Minton, of Staffordshire, the encaustic tiles. The cost of the whole, up to the present time, has been £1,200,000; the estimated cost, when finished, amounts to £2,000,000. Startling sums to talk of, and be taxed for; but if there be one edifice in the kingdom on which we should be lavish of our means, there can be no question but that it is this.

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It may not be out of place if we add a very brief and consequently imperfect notice of the origin of Parliaments:—

The name—Parliament—is obviously derived from the French *Parlement*; a word first used, it is said, in France, in the reign of Louis VII., in the twelfth century, and

which first occurs in our statutes in 1272; but Sir Edward Coke says it was used in England so early as the period of the Confessor. As to the institution, it is commonly derived from the Saxon Witenagemote, or meeting of wise men. How far this view is strictly correct, it is now impossible to discover. The question has excited much controversy, and especially that important part of it—what share the people possessed in the meeting. Authorities of the first order—Coke, Spelman, Camden, and Prynne—all agree that the Commons formed part of these great legislative synods or councils that existed before the Conquest. Sufficient, then, be it to say, that *there* was developed the germ of our representative system; a germ, however, the growth of which was rudely checked, and appeared for a time almost destroyed, by the Norman Conquest. Then, while the great body of the Anglo-Saxon people were doomed to a state little better than slavery, social and political, the entire soil was parcelled out among the chief military followers of William, some seven hundred in number, who thus became the direct tenants of the crown, and was then further subdivided by the latter into about sixty thousand knight's fees,—that is to say, portions of land large enough to support a knight, and enable him to appear, with horse and arms, properly equipped, whenever the lord required his services. The former class comprised apparently the sole parties who were then entitled to the honour and influence of a share in the business of the great council of the nation; and of these, it was only the barons, the chief prelates, and others specially summoned by the king's letters, who, in conjunction with the king, really exercised any legislative power. The king, indeed, at first, was all in all. For a considerable period after the Conquest, law and legislation seem to have been little more than the record of his will, as expressed (in its more favourable manifestations) in his answers to the petitions presented to him and to his council. That some sort of public opinion, however, even then modified the absolutism of our sovereigns, is clear from many facts; here is one, in connection with the first-known instance of an English sovereign addressing a legislative assembly in a set speech. Fearing his subjects would be—or possibly knowing they were—discontented at his apparent harshness to his elder brother Robert, and by the heavy taxes he had laid upon them, Henry I. called a general council of the nation, and there explained his conduct so fully and so eloquently to them, that, at the close, his auditors enthusiastically declared they were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his defence. From kingly explanations to the people must follow in due time occasional kingly submissions to the people; then the development of a system of regulations of their respective rights and powers, still, of course, so much clear gain to the popular influence, which was—nothing, and loss to the royal influence, which had been all; and lastly, the entire legislative supremacy of the real over the merely representative authority; that is to say, of the nation over its chief magistrate. Thus has it been with us. And the instrument with which all this great work has been accomplished is the very simple, prosaic-looking one of—*no tax without consent of parliament*. Protection against the despotism of the Norman kings was gradually found in the growing institution of parliament, but not before England had passed through many terrible ordeals. Magna Charta began to loom portentously through the gloom upon the astonished eyes of king John; and simultaneously with its appearance, we find also dark intimations of the advent of the power that could alone make that instrument of any value. In the Great Charter granted by John, in 1215, he promises to summon all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, personally, and all other tenants in chief under the crown, by the sheriffs and bailiffs, to meet at a certain place, with fifty days' notice, to assess aids and scutages, when necessary; in other words, to determine the taxes that were to be levied upon the people. Here, evidently,



the rudiments of our Houses of Lords and Commons, and rudiments merely: for the elements of representation were the same in both cases—the land-owners of the country—simply divided into the greater and the lesser. But the era was now approaching when a new and vast element was to be introduced in favour of the people—representation of Trade, Commerce, and Industry, and when the conflicting principles supported respectively by the king and his adherents on the one side, and by the people led by the parliament on the other, were to try the last issue. Constantly renewed and constantly renewed from the day of the signing of the Great Charter, the mortal struggle was at last precipitated by the arbitrary and faithless character of Henry III., whose long reign was as conspicuous for his violation, at every opportunity, of all those principles of government that were held sacred in the popular art, as for his unprincipled and treacherous renewals of his oath to observe the Charter, when the popular pressure was too great for him. At that time rose in awful majesty before him and the people, the man of all men who has the best claim to be considered the true founder of the modern representative system of England,—Simon de Montfort. After the battle of Lewes, when Henry fell into De Montfort's power, and when, if the charges made against the great earl by his enemies had been true, he would have been busy in devising means for consolidating his personal power, what he did do was this—he summoned by his chancellor, Nicholas de Ely, *two knights for each shire, two citizens for each city, two burgesses for each borough*. Scarcely had he promulgated this grand scheme of reform, when he fell at Evesham, amid the tears of the people, and was canonized in their hearts and in their poetry as a saint and martyr. How is it we do not see De Montfort's name among the list of personages who are to have statues in the new houses? Edward is to be there, and his other illustrious victim and "traitor"—Wallace; why not De Montfort?

The reign of Edward I. is the great epoch from which may be dated many of the more important features of our parliamentary system. The general objects of parliament were most felicitously expressed in the writs issued by Edward:—"It is a most suitable rule that what concerns all should be approved by all; and common danger relieved by united efforts." Following this enunciation of the general theory of parliament, we find the particular—and grand—essential of its practice also boldly avowed by the parliament, and frankly acknowledged by the king in the council of 1266; when, on the 1st of August, it was enacted, "that no tax should be levied without the consent of the knights, citizens, and burgesses in parliament." So De Montfort's great plan was realised; the citizens and burgesses maintained, under Edward I., and ever after, the right to a share in the representation of the country which the great earl had bequeathed to them at the price of his blood.

It is interesting to mark the positions by this time taken up by these several powers. The great Council was still essentially the parliament; but had condescendingly taken advice from time to time from the knightly or free-holding body, and now they admitted to a similar privilege the representatives of the chief industrial places in the kingdom: of course for the same object in both cases, the greater convenience of doing, under such circumstances, the respective classes represented. That such was the state of things as regards all the three bodies that went to the composition of the parliament, in its more complete aspect, in the time of Edward I., is evident from the writs he issued in the 23rd year of his reign, which directed that the elected citizens and burgesses should have full power to act in behalf of the citizens and burgesses at large, *separately* from the county representatives, for transacting what should be *demanded by the great Council, &c.* But this separation of the two lesser bodies was a temporary phase of their contemporaneous existence; the tendency of events

speedily led to their amalgamation, and the homely-sounding but grandly suggestive word "Commons," as applied to both knights and citizens, &c., for the first time appears in the records of that great national measure of 1327, which closed the infamous career of Edward II. We learn from them that it was by the "council and assent" of the Commons, as well as by those of the prelates, barons, &c., that Edward II. was deposed and that Edward III. ascended the throne. Something had been obtained, however, even in that disastrous reign. The parliamentarians of that day, finding that the principles so well set forth by the first Edward, were not bearing fruit under the auspices of the second, but that, on the contrary, to use their own words, "many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers, against right, in respect to which grievance no one can recover without a common parliament;" there was then added to the Great Charter, the following important law, "We do order that the king shall hold a parliament *once a year, or twice if need be.*" The use made of this new privilege shows its estimated value: during the following reign, that of Edward III., nearly fifty parliaments were held at Westminster.

The comparative number of the knightly and civic representatives, during the reign of Edward III., will surprise many of our readers; there were only 74 of the former to 282 of the latter. An unmistakable evidence of the declension of the one class, and of the corresponding rise of the other, that had within a century or two taken place. It was only fitting that the English language should be spoken in what was now become an English parliament, and so that improvement marked the reign of the third Edward. The earliest record of any parliamentary proceeding in English, occurs in that monarch's thirty-sixth year of rule. The roll of the year is found in French as usual, but it expressly states that the cause of summoning was declared (*en Anglois*) in English. From this time all the proceedings were carried on in the native tongue, with the exception of the giving the royal assent to bills, "although," says Lord Campbell with covert satire, "the entry of some of those proceedings in the reign of Queen Victoria is still in Norman-French."

Another improvement, dating from the reign of Edward III., was the cessation of the migratory habits of parliament. Before that time they were held wherever the sovereign found it most convenient to himself to be at the time, so that they were as often held out of as in London; but since then the occasions have been few when any other place than the existing one was chosen. A question has been often debated—When did the separation of the parliament into two Houses take place? There is one event that we think may be taken as really simultaneous with the recognition of their existence as an independent—and in that sense separate body,—the election of a Speaker, which took place for the first time, so far as we know, in the year 1377. Certainly from that period we find the Commons exercising an important, and, on the whole, an increasing influence on the destinies of the country. We must not attempt to enter into the subsequent history of Parliament. Such periods as that of the Civil War,—such events as those of the attempted abolition of the House of Lords by the Commons, the visit of Charles I. in the hope of arresting the five members who had offended him, the famous dissolution by Cromwell, &c., are, we think, best left in their own stern simplicity. Our object has been to describe the House of Parliament—not its history.

The House of Lords, when Parliament is not sitting, may be seen by visitors, on obtaining a ticket, which is given free of charge, from the Lord Chamberlain's office. During the sitting, it is only shown on Saturdays; but when occupied in the hearing of Appeal Cases, the House is open to the public.





THE ADMIRALTY & HORSE GUARDS.  
**KNIGHT'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.**  
 NO. V. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.



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## V. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS: I.

## THE TREASURY.

THE heart of the Executive of England—that power which embraces in its influence almost every portion of the habitable globe—has its abiding-place in some very plain, or positively ugly, or recently smartened buildings, covering a few acres in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, and opening behind to St. James's Park. We walk southward, a few hundred yards from Charing Cross, and we reach the north flank of these buildings—the Admiralty. A little further on we arrive at the Horse Guards. A private house intervenes, and we are at the Treasury. This was, some little while ago, a brick building of the most gloomy and tasteless character, joined on to one of the architectural freaks of Sir John Soane, used as the Board of Trade and Council Office. Mr. Barry has transformed this incongruous association into a very splendid palatial façade, within whose walls is lodged the moving principle of British authority—the power of the purse. And yet England's Treasury contrasts strangely with the school-boy notions of a Treasury that cling to us. Here are no ingots of gold and silver, no stores of jewels, no piled-up substantial wealth. Plainly-dressed men, with about as much small-change as may suffice for the expenses of the day in their pockets, go out and in. Scraps of paper are handed about with large sums written or engraved on them. The abstract idea of money inhabits the empty halls: the power of endowing men with a magnetic power of attracting gold to them after they issue from the doors is there—nothing more. It is like the chests full of sand which the Spanish Jews are said to have received in pawn from the Cid, and to have guarded with scrupulous care, believing they contained the hero's plate and jewels. The chests contained something better than gold—the Cid's "promise to pay;" and the Treasury contains something better still—the collective faith of the British nation. The unseen, remote wealth at the command of this vacant Treasury exceeds what eastern imagination piled up in the cavern opened to Aladdin. In this building is deposited the talisman that keeps together the social fabric of the empire.

When Henry VIII. had stripped Wolsey of Whitehall, and other possessions, he constructed there, for the amusement of his leisure, a Tennis-court, a Bowling-green, and a Cock-pit. The tennis-court and the bowling-green have left no traces. The cock-pit went through a variety of transmutations, till it settled down into a Treasury. In the reign of Anne, the Lord High Treasurer Godolphin sat three or four times a week at the Cock-pit, "to determine and settle matters relating to the public treasure and revenues." This was the old building fronting the Banqueting House; which Mr. Barry has recently metamorphosed into a magnificent wing of his uniform edifice. The old office of Godolphin, however, is but a small part of the modern Treasury. The offices of the more important functionaries are in the large building behind, which fronts the esplanade in St. James's Park. Several offices were destroyed in 1733, in order to erect the present building facing the parade; the expense of which was estimated at £9000. The façade consists of a double basement of the Doric order, and a projection in the centre, on which are four Ionic pillars supporting an entablature and pediment.

Where the Treasury of the Kings of England had its abiding place—or, more properly, where its *eidolon*, or Platonic idea lodged, before it took up its abode in the Cock-pit, were hard to say. The Exchequer, which, in the reign of Edward I., was

literally the King's strong-box, was, in his time, lodged in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Sir Francis Palgrave says, that the earliest place of deposit for the royal treasures which can be traced is "that very ancient apartment, described as the 'Treasury in the cloisters of the Abbey of Westminster, next the Chapter-house,' and in which the pix is still contained. This building is a vaulted chamber, supported by a single pillar; and it must remain with the architectural antiquary to decide why a structure in the early Romanesque style, ranging with the massy semicircular arch in the south transept, acknowledged to be a portion of the structure raised by the Confessor, may not also have been erected in the reign of the last legitimate Anglo-Saxon king. In this Treasury the Regalia and Crown Jewels were deposited, as well as the Records. The ancient double oak doors, strongly grated and barred with iron, and locked with three keys, yet remain."

The theory of the British Treasury was much the same during the nomad period of its existence that it has continued to be in its settled and citizen-like life. There was from the beginning a treasurer, whose office it was to devise schemes for raising money, to manage the royal property to the best advantage, and to strike out the most economical and efficient modes of expenditure. He had even then the control of all the officers employed in collecting the customs and royal revenues, the disposal of offices in the customs throughout the kingdom, the nomination of escheators in the counties, and the leasing of Crown lands. Then, as a check upon the malversation of this officer, there was the Exchequer, the great conservator of the revenues of the nation. "The Exchequer," said Mr. Ellis, Clerk of the Pells, when examined before the Finance Commissioners, "is at least coeval with the Norman Conquest, and has been from its earliest institution looked to as a check upon the Lord High Treasurer, and a protection for the King as well as for the subject, in the custody, payment, and issue of the public money."

This is still the broad outline of the Treasury—of the Finance Department of the State of Great Britain. The enormous magnitude of the empire has caused the subordinate departments of Customs, the Mint, &c., to expand until they have attained an organization, an individual importance, a history of their own. The different modes of transacting money-business, rendered necessary by its greater amount and more complicated nature, have altered the routine both of the Treasury and Exchequer; the changed relations of King and Parliament have subjected the Treasury and Exchequer to new control and superintendence. Still their mutual relations, and the part they play in the economy of the empire, remain essentially the same as in older times.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury (for the office of Lord High Treasurer has for many years been put in commission) have their office at Whitehall, in the building whose history we have briefly traced. The Exchequer, or more properly "the receipt of exchequer," has its office at Whitehall Yard. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who seems formerly to have been looked upon as a deputy of the Lord High Treasurer, has in these later times been not unfrequently the same person with the First Lord of the Treasury. He is always one of the Treasury Commissioners.

The old forms of transacting business were long retained with a desperate fidelity in the Exchequer. Formerly, when money was paid in, the entry, after being made in a book, was transcribed upon a slip of parchment called a Bill; and then from that a stick or rod of hazel, or some other wood, was prepared with certain notches cut upon it indicating the sum in the Bill. This was called striking or levying a Tally. The Tally was then cleft from the head to the shaft through the notches, and one of the two parts retained by the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, while the other, called a Counter-tally, or Foil, was given to the party paying in the money, and was his



discharge in the Exchequer of Accompt. The Tallies were not abolished, and indented Cheques substituted as receipts, till 1783. At the same time the offices of the Chamberlains were abolished, but not determined: and it was not till 1826 that the last of the Chamberlains resigned. Finally, in 1834, the entire ancient constitution of the Receipt of the Exchequer was put an end to; and instead of the Auditor, Four Tellers, Clerk of the Pells, and subordinate Officers, the following new officers were appointed:—namely, a Comptroller-General of the Receipt and Issue of his Majesty's Exchequer, an Assistant-Comptroller, a Chief Clerk, and such number of Clerks and Assistants as should be regulated and established from time to time by the Commissioners of the Treasury. Up to this time the accounts at the Exchequer had been kept in Latin and in Roman numerals; it was not till now that this cumbersome and barbarous method was dispensed with even in receipts and vouchers.

In the main body of the Treasury buildings, facing the Banqueting House, is the Office of the BOARD OF TRADE and Plantations. This Board is, in point of fact, a Committee of the Privy Council, presided over by a President and Vice-president, and two Secretaries. In the valuable 'Notes and Materials for the History of Public Departments,' by Mr. F. S. Thomas, of the Record Office, the general business of this Board is thus described:—"All matters relating to the interests of Trade which come before the several departments of the Government are usually referred to the Board of Trade, either for the information of its members, or for the purpose of obtaining their advice. Thus, for example, there are frequent communications with the Foreign Office on the subjects of the negotiation of Commercial Treaties, of difficulty arising out of them, and of the proceedings necessary to give effect to them; with the Treasury, on the alterations made or contemplated in the laws of the Customs, on cases of hardship to individuals arising from the operation of those laws, and on points connected with them which require solution; and with other departments on matters of interest in a commercial point of view. The preparation also of Bills, and of Orders in Council, for carrying out the intentions of the Government on these subjects, frequently falls to the care of this Board. The correspondence of the Board with private individuals, on the subjects of which it has cognizance, is likewise extensive."

### THE HORSE GUARDS.

The Horse Guards—that is, the building so called in familiar conversation—was built about the middle of last century by Vardy, after a design by Kent. That was a time when people in this country appear to have had a vague notion that there was a thing called architecture which was admired by those who understood it: that Italian architecture, in particular, was highly esteemed; and that in Italian architecture there were pavilions and cupolas, basements, and what not. Such an age of ignorance and imbecility was precisely the one in which a bad copier of indifferent prints, like Kent, might pass himself off for an architect, and his copies for architectural designs. In justice to Vardy, it ought to be remarked that his mason-work is well enough.

After all, the Horse Guards is but a shell: it is what is going on within it, and the anxious hopes and fears of which it is the centre, and the wonder-working orders that have in times past issued from it, that make us pause to regard it.

Not but that there are attractions here for the most unreflecting sight-seer. Those two seemly troopers on their powerful chargers, who, with burnished cuirass and carbine on knee, sit motionless as statues in the niches of the two overgrown sentry boxes

for two hours on a stretch (they commence those sittings at ten A.M., and are relieved every two hours, until four P.M., when their sentry duties terminate for the day), are figures that can scarcely be passed without attracting a glance of admiration. And there is generally a numerous collection of blackguard boys, members of parliament, crossing-sweepers and out-of-office cabmen, occupants of stools in government offices, and orange-women—in short, of all the professional frequenters of this part of the town—collected to watch the rather striking ceremony of changing guard. The folding doors, in the rear of the stone sentry boxes aforesaid, are thrown open; two cuirassed and helmeted heroes, on sleek snorting steeds that might bear a man through a summer day's tourney or through a red field of battle without flagging, ride in; and, upon the philosophical principle that no two bodies can co-exist in the same space, push the living statues already there out in front, who, each describing a semicircle, meet and ride side by side through the central gate, and so back to their stables.

This Guard is part of the Queen's Guard, more especially so called from being mounted within the precincts of the palace. The movements of the Queen's Guard of the Household Brigade of Cavalry are regulated nominally by the "Gold Stick in Waiting" (that is to say, by one of the Colonels of the two regiments of Life Guards and of the "Blues"), but virtually by their Lieutenant Colonel, who is technically termed the "Silver Stick in Waiting," and who, as well as the Gold Stick, is relieved every alternate month. The movements of the Queen's Guard, belonging to the Household Infantry, are under the superintendence of the "Field Officer in Waiting," who is always on duty at the Horse Guards. He also is on duty for a month, and relieved by the next of equal rank in order on the roll, which commences with the Grenadiers.

The barracks in London where the Foot Guards are stationed are:—the Wellington Barracks, in the Bird-cage Walk; the Portman Street Barracks, in Portman Street; the St. George's Barracks, Trafalgar Square; St. John's Wood Barracks; Kensington Barracks (a small detachment); and a battalion in the Tower. The cavalry barracks are at Knightsbridge and the Regent's Park. All orders concerning all the Guards in London are given out by the field-officer on duty at the Horse Guards.

The Guard commonly called the Queen's (or King's) Guard are—1st. One Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign at the Palace of St. James's, which is considered a sort of head quarters. 2nd. One subaltern at Buckingham House. 3rd. One Captain and two Subalterns at the Tilt Yard—for that name, associated with the stately tourneys of the ages of Elizabeth and Henry VIII., still survives,—attached to the site of the Horse Guards. The officers in the Guards, it is well known, have rank in the army above what they hold in their regiments; but when on duty among themselves, the subalterns, that is, the Lieutenants and Ensigns, do all that appertains to those of the same nominal rank in regiments of the line. These three Guards supply the sentinels stationed at Buckingham and Storey's Gates, at the various Government Offices, at the entry from Spring Gardens into St. James's Park, at the Duke of York's Column, all round St. James's Palace, and about Buckingham House.

The guard at St. James's is the only one that mounts always with the Queen's colours. At all other guards—even guards of honour, unless it be for a crowned head—they mount with the colours of the regiment.

With the most showy and ceremonious mounting of a guard in England at St. James's Palace—with the less gorgeous but, perhaps, more imposing relief of the guard at the Horse Guards—with the close proximity of the Wellington and St.

George's Barracks—with the marching and countermarching of the guards drawn from the cavalry barracks—with the marching of the infantry from the barracks above-named to drill or inspection in Hyde Park, the precincts of the Palace afford, of a forenoon, the most stirring military spectacle (apart from a regular review) to be seen in the kingdom. Within and around this region, the Guards—foot and horse—are the characteristic features of the scene, the real *genii loci*—and fine-looking fellows they are.

Such is the exterior of the Horse Guards. Within are the offices of the Commander-in-Chief, the Military Secretary, the Quarter-Master-General, and Secretary at War; in other words, here is the "local habitation" of those who wield the gallant army of Great Britain.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Master-General of the Ordnance have immediate and independent management of their respective portions of the armed force of the country. But, in addition to them, no less than six different departments of government have various duties committed to them connected with the administration of military affairs. These are:—1st, the Secretaries of State, more particularly the Secretaries for the Colonial and Home Departments; 2nd, the Secretary at War; 3rd, the Board of Ordnance; 4th, the Commissariat department of the Treasury; 5th, the Board of Audit; 6th, the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital. We shall endeavour to point out as briefly as possible the peculiar functions of each of those classes of authorities, and the means by which so many heterogeneous and independent functionaries are brought to work together with something like harmony and effect.

The point of view from which we must set out, and which, in order to thread our way through this labyrinth, we must keep constantly in mind, is, that the army belongs to the Sovereign. Parliament gives it to the Crown, or rather, it every year gives the Crown the means of maintaining it for a year, but here the power and right of Parliament to interfere with the management of the army stops. The whole power and control over the army is vested in the Crown—that is, more especially since the Revolution settlement of 1688—in the King's government, represented in the Cabinet by the Secretaries of State. It is scarcely necessary, except for the sake of distinctness, to remind the reader that there was originally only one Secretary of State; and that though convenience first introduced the custom of having one Secretary who confined his attention exclusively to foreign, and another who confined himself to home affairs—and although in 1758 a third Secretary, for the colonies, was appointed, to divide the labour and responsibility, yet still most of the functions of Secretary of State may be, and occasionally are, exercised indifferently by any one of the three. In point of fact, however, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs never meddles with the war department—that is left to the Home and Colonial Secretaries. The military administration of the nation in all its political bearings is, in reality, vested in these two ministers. The Secretary of State for the Home Department has the control and management of all the militia and yeomanry, as well as the disposal of the troops of the line at home, and the Guards. According to the necessities of the service, he orders the army to be moved into a disturbed district; he conveys his orders through the Quarter-Master-General to the general officers, who are immediately under his guidance; he informs them how they are to act in conjunction with the magistracy, not only in cases of disturbances, but under any cases that may arise. He directs, through the instrumentality of the Master-General of the Ordnance, forts to be built on the coast in time of war, or barracks in disturbed districts. The Secretary of State for the War Department and Colonies has the command of the army abroad. In these weak piping times of peace he not only orders what propor-



tion of troops shall be sent to each colony, but he approves of the appointment of the general officer who is to command them; in short, he has the control over the army for all purposes of state policy. He may order a fort or battery to be built in any colony in consequence of its disturbed or exposed state. The offices of these wielders of the destinies of armies must be sought not here, but in Downing Street.

The administration of the army under the Secretaries of State, or the Crown, whose representatives these ministers are, is entrusted to executive officers who are appointed to, and receive their orders directly from, the Queen or her Secretaries. The finance of the army is kept rigidly separated from its discipline and promotion: the financial arrangements are the business of the Secretary at War; the discipline and promotion, of the Commander-in-Chief as regards the Household Brigade, Cavalry and Line, and of the Master-General for the Ordnance. Two of these demi-gods of the army exercise their functions at the Horse Guards.

The financial arrangements of the army, as a system, the exclusive control over the public money voted for military purposes, rests with the Secretary at War, who transacts business at the Horse Guards. The office was established in 1666. The Secretary at War has access to the Sovereign, and takes his orders direct. He prepares and submits the army estimates, and the annual mutiny bill to Parliament, and frames the articles of war. The expenditure of sums granted by Parliament for the exigencies of the army takes place by warrants on the Paymaster General, signed by the Secretary at War. In every regiment there is a paymaster not appointed by, nor under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, but under the control of the Secretary at War. The accounts of the regimental paymasters, and of other officers charged with the payment of other branches of the service, are examined and audited in the War Office. The insertion of all military appointments and promotions in the 'Gazette' pass through the Secretary at War, because they involve a pecuniary outlay, and he is the channel for obtaining the authority of the Secretary of State for issues of arms by the Ordnance when required by the military authorities. In concert with the Commander-in-Chief, and with consent of the Treasury, he may from time to time make alterations in the rates of pay, half-pay, allowances and pensions. By ancient usage the Secretary at War, aided by the Judge-Advocate-General, is, in the House of Commons, the mouth-piece of the Government to sustain any attack that may be made on the Commander-in-Chief or his office.

The Commander-in-Chief has his office at the Horse Guards also. He, too, has access to the Sovereign, and may either receive orders direct or from the Secretary of State. He has always been held a simply executive, not a ministerial officer. The business of the Commander-in-Chief's office is dispatched by an Adjutant-General and a Quarter-Master-General, with their subordinate functionaries. Both of these officers are appointed by the Queen on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General has under him a Deputy Adjutant-General, an Assistant and a Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, appointed also by the Queen, and a number of clerks, messengers, &c., appointed by himself. Everything relating to the effective or non-effective state of the troops; to formation, instruction and discipline; to the direction and inspection of the clothing and accoutrements of the army; to recruitments, leaves of absence; to the employment of officers of the staff; and to ordinary or extraordinary returns relative to other matters, falls under his department. All regulations and instructions to the army are published through this officer by direction of the Commander-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General prepares monthly, for the Queen and Commander-in-Chief, returns of the troops stationed in Great Britain or Ireland, and of the home and foreign force. The principal duties of the Quarter-

Master-General are, to prescribe routes and marches, to regulate the embarkation and disembarkation of troops, to provide quarters for them, to mark out ground proper for encampments, to execute military surveys, and to prepare plans and arrange dispositions for the defence of a territory, whether such defence is to be effected by the troops alone or by means of field-works. Attached to the office of Quarter-Master-General of the Forces is a board of topography, with a depôt of maps, plans, and a library containing the best military works that have been published in different countries. Every British army, when in the field, has a special Quarter-Master-General and staff, organized in exact analogy with that of the permanent officer at the Horse Guards.

We must now turn our steps towards Pall Mall, and visit the Ordnance Office, in order to prosecute our analysis of the composite organization of the British army. The Master-General of the Ordnance stands in the same relation to the Queen and Secretaries of State, in his department, as the Commander-in-Chief. Like that officer and the Secretary at War, he has access to the Sovereign, and takes his orders direct or from the Secretaries of State. This is a very complicated department: it combines within itself both civil and military functions, which are not separated as in the army of the line, and has moreover taken on its hands since the peace a great number of other departments. This complexity is, in a great measure, unavoidable, for the Ordnance combines scientific with mere professional services. The Master-General, however, directs personally, and without the assistance of the Board, all those matters which, in the case of the rest of the army, come within the province of the Commander-in-Chief. All military appointments, all questions of discipline and orders relating to the employment of the force come under this description; and likewise the general direction and government of the Military Academy at Woolwich. The Master-General of the Ordnance has the title and powers of Colonel of what is called the "regiment" of Artillery—absurdly enough, for the body is increased in time of war to 24,000 men. An officer with the title of Deputy Adjutant-General of Artillery, who is in no way dependent on the Adjutant-General of the British forces, is at the head of the Artillery Staff. The Board of the Deputy Adjutant-General of Artillery is at Woolwich; which may be considered as the head-quarters of this arm of the service. The Royal Artillery corps consists of the Brigade of Horse Artillery and of the Artillery serving on foot. The Rocket corps is attached to and forms part of the Artillery; as also the Artificers, and the Royal Waggon Train. There was formerly a corps of Drivers: but the men are now always enlisted as "Gunners and Drivers," and made to do duty in both capacities. As the army of the line was developed under the auspices of the Dutch and Hanoverian Kings of England—squabbling all the while with a jealous and niggardly Parliament—from the few regiments of Guards maintained by the last Stuarts (or engrafted upon them, if the readers think the metaphor more just); so the Ordnance department has, in due course of time, been, after the same fashion, eked out from the old Artillery Companies of Queen Bess and other antique Sovereigns. Perhaps, however, the Worshipful Artillery Company of the City of London may claim to be the legitimate descendant and representative of the body commanded by the Earl of Essex in 1596. The first warrant fixing the constitution of the Ordnance is that of Charles II. (20th July, 1683), only five years previous to the Revolution.

The corps subject to the Ordnance are the "Regiment," already described, and the Engineers. The whole of the Engineer department is under the Inspector-General of Fortifications. Both the civil and military engineering of the army is entrusted to this corps. The erection and maintenance of forts and barracks devolves upon



them. The Engineers are, properly speaking, a regiment of officers; but attached to it are the companies of sappers and miners, with the pontoon train, its forges, waggons, &c., under a major of the Brigade of Engineers.

The Board of Ordnance, enumerated as the third of those which take part in managing the military affairs of this country, takes upon it those duties which are more especially termed *civil*. The Master-General attends its meetings only on rare and very particular occasions. All its proceedings, however, are regularly submitted in the form of minutes for his approval, and are subject to his control. His authority is supreme in all matters, both civil and military; and he, not the Board, is considered responsible for the manner in which the business of the department is managed. The three Board officers of the Ordnance are the Surveyor-General, the Clerk of the Ordnance (at Pall Mall), and the principal Storekeeper. Sometimes the whole of these officers—uniformly the clerk—contrive to be in Parliament, and act as the mouth-pieces of this arm of the service. Upon the Clerk devolves the duty of preparing and carrying the Ordnance Estimates through Parliament. Each of these three officers has his own separate and distinct duties: but as all acts are done in the name and by the authority of the Board, all important questions are brought before it, and every member is expected to have a general knowledge of the business transacted in every separate division. The business of the Board comprehends, with regard to the Ordnance corps, the greater part of the business which, as relates to the rest of the army, is transacted in the War Office: for example, the examination of pay-lists and accounts, the decision of all claims by officers to pensions for wounds, to compensation for the loss of horses or baggage, to command-money, and to allowance for passages, or in lieu of lodgings and servants. But by far the greater part of the duties of the Board have reference to matters not merely concerning their own particular branch of the military service, but the whole army, and even the navy. Arms, ammunition, and military stores of every description (including guns and carriages for the navy), are supplied by them to both services. Besides the clothing of the artillery and engineers, they furnish also that of part of the militia, of the police force in Ireland, and of some corps belonging to the army, and the great coats for all; they are likewise charged with the issue of various kinds of supplies, as of fuel, light, &c., both in Great Britain and abroad, and, with respect to the troops in Great Britain, of provision and forage. The construction and repair of fortifications, military works, and barracks, is another branch of the business of the department; which has also the duty, altogether unconnected with anything of a military character, of furnishing various descriptions of stores for the use of the convict establishment in the penal colonies.

The Commissariat is a department of the Treasury, the business of which is defined in a Treasury Memorandum by the Assistant-Secretary, dated 6th March, 1844, to be, to raise, keep, and disburse, according to fixed regulations, the whole of the funds required to carry on the foreign expenditure of the country; that is to say, principally, in time of peace, the expenditure of our colonies and other dependencies. "The Commissariat officers," says the Memorandum, "act, in effect, as Sub-treasurers to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in the foreign possessions of the Crown." "The Commissariat," it is added, "also provides, keeps in store, and issues the provisions, orage, fuel, and light, for the use of all the different branches of the service abroad; furnishes the troops with the necessary supplies of water; provides all land and inland water transport; and, in the absence of a properly authorized naval agent, takes up all the freight for the conveyance of troops and stores by sea." The Commissariat is a peculiar and important service, requiring great ability and much experience.



During the whole time consumed by the British army in advancing from the frontiers of Portugal to the Pyrenees, the Commissariat officers had to feed daily 80,000 men and 20,000 horses. The money raised by the Commissariat Department in specie, in silver and gold, in Spain and Portugal, during the Peninsular war, by bills on this country, amounted to somewhere about £36,000,000 sterling; and probably £10,000,000 more was sent from England, and as much from the Mediterranean and other quarters.

Since the abolition of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, the Commissioners of Audit, in addition to their former duty of auditing the accounts of a part of the expenditure of the Commissioners for the service of the army on every foreign station, have also acted as advisers to the Treasury in military business in general, and particularly in all that relates to the Commissariat. Properly speaking, the Commissariat and Audit Board are both branches of the Treasury. The separate offices of Paymaster of the Forces, Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, Treasurer of the Navy, and Treasurer of the Ordnance, are now all consolidated into the one office of Paymaster-General.

Amid all this scattering of military business through a number of departments, it is clear that the authorities at the Horse Guards—the Secretary-at-War and the Commander-in-Chief—remain the nucleus, the heart of the military organization of Great Britain.

A finer army, whether we regard its physical or moral qualities, never existed than our own at the present moment. Its services as a bulwark against aggression from without in time of war, or as an effective minister of the civil power in internal emergencies in time of peace, are invaluable. Higher scientific acquirements than exist among its "corps du génie" are not to be found; a more intelligent, moral, high-spirited, and lighthearted soldiery never made a monarch's heart high as she passed her eyes along their ranks. The spirit of improvement has since the Peace, and more especially within the last ten years, been working a wonderful change in the character of this army. It is a gross mistake to imagine the British soldier a mere machine, as some Gallicized writers have been pleased to represent him. But yet much remains to be accomplished. Without indulging in dreams of perfectibility, or believing that vice, and sorrow, and suffering, can, by any educational process, or by any mortal means, be ever banished from this world, or from any class of men that inhabit it, be they rich or poor, refined or unrefined, we can yet gladden our hearts with the hope of a vast and not distant improvement in our soldiery by means of education, humane treatment, and some fair, adequate portion in the prospect of advancement through merit and talent, and without purchase or patronage. The result of what has already been done is, assuredly, an encouragement to go on and do more. The discipline of the British army and navy is far more perfect now than it was thirty years ago, or during any period of the last great war which was ended by the battle of Waterloo.

In proportion to the diminution of flogging, and other degrading punishments, has been the increase of moral elevation in the army and navy; the good behaviour of the men, collectively, has steadily kept pace with the slowly-advancing system of kinder and better treatment; the barrack library has notably thinned the canteen and public-house of red-coats; the access to good books, and the habit of reading, have filled, to an unprecedented degree, the register in which the good conduct of each soldier is entered.

But this is a digression. The Horse Guards is the centre of vitality of an army. This army consists of:—*Cavalry*: The first and second regiments of Life Guards, the royal regiment of the Horse Guards (blues), seven regiments of Dragoon Guards, two

of Dragoons, fourteen of Light Dragoons, including Lancers and Hussars. *Infantry*: Three regiments of Guards, ninety-nine regiments of the Line, the Rifle brigade, three West India regiments, the Ceylon Rifle regiment, the Cape Mounted Riflemen, the Royal Canadian Rifle regiment, the St. Helena regiment, the Royal Newfoundland companies, and the Royal Malta Fencible regiment. To these have to be added the Engineers and the Artillery, with the royal waggon-train, the artificers, the rocket corps, and the sappers and miners. The infantry and cavalry borne on the estimates of 1850 amounted to 99,128 officers and men. The artillery and engineer corps amounted to 14,569 men.

### THE ADMIRALTY.

A few years ago, if we took up our station on the esplanade in St. James's Park, the eye was caught by a huge upright beam erected on the roof of the Admiralty, with straight arms extending from it laterally at different angles. The giant upon whom the stranger gazed was signalling to his huge brother on Putney Heath, who repeated the intelligence to his neighbour behind Richmond, and he to the next in order. The machine is gone.

And what is to succeed this Admiralty Semaphore, which some thirty years before superseded the flat-boarded Telegraph, which was a novelty and a wonder in the first days of the French Revolution? The Electric Telegraph. The wondrous engine has taken its place, which sends the commands of the Admiralty of England to the great naval arsenals literally as quick as lightning; for the agency is lightning. The central power which directs that mysterious agency has long resided in those three ugly sides of a square that we call the Admiralty. The whole world knows, and has long known, the vast extent of that power. But it almost makes us feel that there is something mysterious and awful in its workings, when we learn that from a room in this homely building its silent and secret commands may penetrate in an instant from one end of the land to the other, to send forth "the meteor flag of England," wherever there is danger to repel, or oppression to overcome, or freedom to uphold. It is a tremendous power, but glorious when wielded aright.

There is quite as little to interest the eye in the interior of the Admiralty as in its exterior. Through the great central door you pass into a spacious hall, cool, airy, and pleasant in summer, but bare of ornament. A few attendants, in plain dresses, are lounging in the hall; always civil, but always cool—they answer any questions with Spartan brevity, and allow the inquirer to pass on. The public rooms are, like the vestibule, sufficiently spacious and well-proportioned, furnished with everything necessary to facilitate the discharge of business—decorously simple. Except in the extent of the building, there is nothing to distinguish it from the private establishment of some great mercantile firm. It is nothing of outward show that impresses us as we pass through these suites of rooms: it is our consciousness of a spiritual presence which has pervaded them ever since they became the residence of the central management of the British navy. Here the First Lord of the Admiralty (who is a member of the Cabinet) and his four junior Lords hold their deliberations. They prepare the navy estimates and lay them before Parliament; issue orders for the payment of naval moneys; make or approve all appointments or promotions in the navy; recommend all grants of honours, pensions, or gratuities for services performed in their department; order ships to be commissioned, employed, and paid off, built, sold, or broken up. There is a ceaseless ebb and flow of business surging about that building. Reports, inquiries, and petitions are flowing in like a spring-tide inces-



santly from the remotest regions of the earth, and orders and instructions are flowing out as continuously to regulate operations that fill as wide a sphere.

How many an anxious, how many an elated heart, have passed in and out of this building! Nerves that would remain unshaken, minds that would remain self-possessed while the iron-hail-shower of a broadside was crashing through bulwark and bulkhead, or while the thunders of whole fleets, beneath the smoke-canopy of their own creation, were shaking the breezy atmosphere into a calm, sulphurous and portentous as that which broods over an earthquake, have here become relaxed and confused as those of a bashful girl. The midshipman, as he passed up these broad stairs, has felt that there was something worse on this earth than a mast-heading, and even his petulance has been subdued; nay, the equanimity of the most coolly imperious captain has been shaken. Perhaps Nelson has laid his hand upon these banisters while his far-distant spirit was marshalling the future fights of Trafalgar and the Nile, or giving orders to hang out the signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." Cook passed up these stairs to report what unknown regions and tribes he had discovered, and how he had triumphed over sickness, and brought back a crew scarcely diminished by death, from a long, distant, and dangerous voyage. Here many a plan of action has been struck out which conducted to victory; many a one in defiance of whose absurdity the skill and courage of British sailors have gained victories. The succession of gallant spirits endowed with scientific acquirements, calmness, and fertility of resource in unexpected emergencies, honourable pride in their profession, and devotion to their country, which has filled these walls for a great part of two hundred years, is unsurpassed in history.

It is impossible for any citizen of a state which is so essentially maritime as Great Britain, not to feel that this centre of our naval organisation is among the most interesting localities that London contains, and he irresistibly tempted to linger on the spot conjuring up an outline of the stages through which our navy has passed into its present maturity of growth.

Most of our kings since the Conquest appear to have possessed some vessels of war; and an *Amiral de la Mer du roi d'Angleterre* appears on the records as early as 1297. But the English 'Admiral' was at this time merely a great officer of state, who presided generally over maritime affairs. Fleets in these early days were fitted out, when the king went to war, by adding to his own little squadron merchant-vessels pressed from all ports in the kingdom; for the pressgangs of old took the ships along with the sailors. The naval affairs of Great Britain continued much on this footing till the close of the fifteenth century. It has been usual to assume that Henry VII. was the first king who thought of providing a naval force which might be at all times ready for the service of the state. It does not appear that Henry did more in this way than building the 'Great Harry,' which writers on this subject have agreed among themselves to call the first ship of the royal navy. But there were royal ships before his time; and as for general attention to naval affairs, there was quite as much paid by Edward IV. as by Henry VII.

Henry VIII. is said to have "perfected the designs of his father," which, being interpreted, means that the existence of a real royal or state navy, such as England has possessed since his time, cannot be traced back to an earlier period. He instituted the Admiralty and the Navy Office; established the Trinity House, and the Dockyards of Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth; appointed regular salaries for the admirals, captains, and sailors, and, in short, made the sea-service a distinct profession. He also made laws for the planting and preservation of timber; caused the 'Henri Grace de Dieu' to be built, which is said to have measured above 1000 tons; and left at his



death a navy, the tonnage of which amounted to 12,000 tons. Coming down to the days of Elizabeth, we scrape acquaintance with the gallant fellows who manned her somewhat improved vessels. Elizabeth was economical. Though she increased the navy, and though she raised the wages of seamen, yet she encouraged the merchants to build large ships, which on occasion were converted into ships of war, and rated at 50 to 100 tons more than they measured. Of the 176 ships, manned by 14,996 men, which met the Spanish Armada, a considerable number were not "shippes royal." The great national effort by which the Armada was discomfited may be regarded as in part the natural consequence of the growth of the spirit of maritime enterprise in England, in part the cause of a great and sudden development which it received at that time. The exaggerated estimate made of the gain of the Spaniards by their American conquests had stirred the emulation of England. Merchants of Bristol and merchants of London were fitting out voyages of discovery, and soliciting the royal countenance to their efforts. Mathematicians and historical students were full of the thoughts of new Indies, busily devising how their own scientific acquirements could best promote discovery. The high nobility became associated with adventures to unknown lands. Nobles, who in that half-feudal age still ruffled with troops of retainers, cherished their gallant naval dependants more than any others. The Frobishers, Drakes, and the rest of these patriarchs of our fleet, almost all started in life as followers of some nobleman. The young gentry of Devonshire and Cornwall, the Raleighs and the Gilberts, partly from natural inclination, partly because they saw "that way promotion lay," sought to swing themselves into notoriety by entering the sea-service. The theory as well as the practice of navigation was studied—the discovery and colonisation of new lands and the seamanship of the whole nation went hand in hand. It was court fashion, but it was quite as much country fashion. The Queen had the good sense to encourage this spontaneous burst of national energy, and to feel that countenance was almost all she needed to give. She had knighthoods for her captains when they returned, as well as smiles when they departed. It was then that Englishmen became a nation of mariners.

All have heard of John Hampden and his ship-money; that controversy between a king and his subject marks an era, not only in constitutional history, but in the formation of our navy. The necessity of increasing the strength, and improving the organisation of the navy, was equally felt by royalist and republican statesmen. The opposition to Charles arose not so much out of any objection to the creation of a navy, as out of distrust of the policy which sought to raise the money for that purpose without the aid of Parliament. It was under Charles I. that the navy was first divided into rates and classes; but the civil troubles during the latter part of his reign diverted attention from maritime affairs. When Cromwell seized the reins of government, he found the navy much reduced, but his energy restored it, and he left 154 sail, of which one-third were two-deckers, measuring nearly 58,000 tons. Cromwell was the first who laid before Parliament estimates for the support of the navy; a practice which has been continued ever since: he obtained £400,000 per annum for that purpose. The navigation laws, an important feature in the naval policy of England, were also originated by Cromwell, or some of his councillors. The government of the Restoration, with all its faults, had the good sense to appreciate Cromwell's naval policy. The extravagance of the King, and the jobbing propensities of some of his ministers starved the navy for intervals: but it was a passion with the Duke of York, afterward James II., and the labouring oar was taken by the indefatigable Pepys; and between them the naval service had on the whole fair-play down to the time of the Revolution. The Duke introduced improved signals, and Pepys kept the accounts in order. What

James II. mounted the throne, he took immediate measures for improving the navy. At the Revolution the fleet was in excellent condition, with sea-stores complete for eight months for each ship. The force was 164 vessels, of which nine were first-rates, carrying 6830 guns, and 42,000 men.

Scientific navigation continued to be patronised during the whole of this period : during the latter half of it under the auspices of the Royal Society. The sailing and fighting men of the navy had not, however, become so thoroughly fused into one class as they are in our day. Blake never was at sea till he had passed forty, and it may be questioned whether he was ever much of a navigator. He asked his pilot, or master, to lay him alongside of the enemy ; and his self-possession, fearlessness, and pertinacity did the rest. The Montagues and Albemarle, who commanded under the Restoration, were not much of seamen : they trusted the navigation of their vessels to the mariners—their business was to fight. They were followed on board, when they hoisted their flags, by volunteers from the court. The peculiarities of British men-of-war were not fully developed so long as this system continued.

It was not long after the Revolution that the Admiralty took up its abode in the present official residence. It was in 1688 that the management was permanently put in Commission. The office of Lord High Admiral was held by an individual till 1682. In that year it was entrusted to a Commission, of which all the great officers of State were members. During the Commonwealth the affairs of the navy were managed by a Committee of Parliament, till Cromwell took the direction of them upon himself. The Duke of York was Lord High Admiral during the greater part of the reign of Charles II. ; when he ascended the throne he took the charge into his own hands. Since the Revolution the office has always been in Commission, with the exception of the years 1707–8, when Prince George of Denmark was Lord High Admiral, and 1827–8, when the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., held the same office. The Revolution Government, looking about in search of a residence for its naval Commissioners, placed them for a time in a house associated with rather a disagreeable reputation. The son of the infamous Jefferies soon wasted his father's ill-got gains by a dissolute and extravagant conduct. He was obliged to sell, with other property, the house which James II. had allowed the judge to build in Duke Street, with a gate and steps into the Park. The house was bought by Government, and converted to the use of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. From this they soon removed to Wallingford House, opposite Scotland Yard. In the reign of George II. the present structure was erected on the site of Wallingford House, by Ripley ; and, in the reign of George I., the architectural screen, now in front of it, was drawn by the decent hand of Adam, to veil its homeliness. Here has been the head-quarters of the Admiralty ever since it left the mansion of Jefferies.

The improvements made in the Naval department of Government, since the Revolution, have consisted chiefly in those details of management which escape the notice of the public. Its prominent features have remained, on the whole, unaltered. The instrument wielded by the Admiralty has grown with the nation's growth in stature and in perfection of its organisation.

It will at once be seen that in this building of the Admiralty there is not room for the whole of the managers of this huge instrument of national power. It spreads over the whole of London. Here are the council-rooms and the residences of the senior Lords ; and if you pass the broad easy flight of steps by which access is attained to the public apartments, and ascend the narrow dark stairs beyond it, you will find yourself in the labyrinth of narrow passages, conducting to small rooms crowded with boxes and drawers full of charts, in which the busy hydrographical department is



constantly at work. On the west side of the great square of Somerset House are the Victualling, Navy-Pay, and Transport branches of the Navy Office. The west terrace of the same structure contains the official houses of the Treasurer and the Comptroller of the Navy, of three Commissioners of the Navy Board, and the principal officers of the Victualling Department. Other branches of the management of the navy must be sought at Sheerness, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and even in the colonial dockyard at Greenwich, with its Upper and Lower Schools, and its Hospital, is a part of the great system, the training-place of the sailor-boy, and the refuge of the worn-out veteran. Where is the "Ministry of Marine?" a native of the trim governments of the continent, where all departments of state are organised after the newest drill fashion, asks when he first comes to England. It is everywhere in the British dominions.

But the mechanism of our navy and the great secret of its power will be imperfectly comprehended, unless we turn our attention to the inmates of a not inelegant structure in the handsome Trinity Square on Tower Hill. The corporation which transacts its business there is the right arm of the British Minister of Marine.

When there was no permanent royal navy, and even after one had been created, so long as vessels continued to be pressed in war-time as well as men, the King of England had to repose much more confidence in the wealthier masters of the merchant-service than now. They were at sea what his feudal chiefs were on shore. The guild or brotherhood of the Holy Trinity of Deptford Strand were probably tolerated at first in the assumption of a power to regulate the entry and training of apprentices, the licensing of journeymen, and the promotion to the rank of master in their craft, in the same way as learned and mechanical corporations did on shore. To a body which counted among its members the best mariners of Britain came not unnaturally to be entrusted the ballastage and pilotage of the river. By degrees its jurisdiction came to be extended to such other English ports as had not, like the Cinque Ports, privileges and charters of their own: and in course of time the jurisdiction of the Trinity House became permanent in these matters. Elizabeth, always ready to avail herself of the costless services of her citizens, confided to this corporation the charge of English sea-marks. James II., when he ascended the throne, was well aware of the use that could be made of the Trinity House, and he gave it a new charter, and the constitution it still retains, nominating as the first master of the reconstructed corporation his invaluable Pepys.

The Corporation of the Trinity House consists of Younger and Elder Brethren. The number of Younger Brethren is unlimited: they are commanders in the merchant-service who have never served under a foreign flag; they are admitted on the nomination of the Elder Brethren, after taking the oaths prescribed by the charter. The Elder Brethren are thirty-one in number: eleven are considered noble, or in the honorary line of the brotherhood; and twenty are taken from the merchant sea-service. Vacancies at the Board of Elder Brethren are filled up by their electing (by ballot) a successor; if an honorary member, from any admirals of the navy, ministers of state, and other persons of distinction; if one of the merchant-line, from among the Younger Brethren. The business of the Board is in reality managed by the twenty members from the merchant-service, the honoraries rarely, if ever, interfering. The Board consists of a master, four wardens, eight assistants, and eighteen Elder Brethren, simply so called. The business of the Board is transacted by committees, six in number; the first and principal is called the Committee of Wardens: it consists of the Depute Master and the four Wardens; it exercises a general control and takes charge more especially of the treasury and accounts. The second committee, consisting also of four members, is for the examination of masters in the navy



and pilots. To ensure the competency of these examinations, the Elder Brethren are ever appointed upon this committee until they have been in the corporation some time, in order that the experience they gain by being employed on surveys of the coast may qualify them for the task. The third committee, consisting of two members, is for the supervision of ballastage in the river Thames; the fourth is the committee of lighthouses; the fifth for the collection of dues; and the sixth for attending to the pensioners and inmates of the noble almshouses belonging to the corporation. This brief recapitulation of the constitution and functions of the corporation will suffice to show that it is an institution by means of which the energies of the independent seamen which proved so available in the reign of Elizabeth, have been retained in the service of the State down to the present moment. No time has the merchant-service shown itself unsusceptible of the due sense of its responsibility. Officers who have risen high in the Royal service have begun their career before the mast, not only in merchantmen of the long voyage, but in coasters. It was apprentice in a collier. The merchant-service has kept pace with the quickening spirit of the age, as well as the navy. The East India trade has formed a valuable branch of the merchant-service. Many extensive ship-owners manifest a laudable anxiety to promote the education, both professional and moral, of their apprentices, and to advance the young men from rank to rank as they prove themselves worthy. To show the high character attained by our mercantile marine under the auspices, it is only necessary to name the Scoresbys, the Enderbys, the Warhams, the Becrofts, and the Lairds, who have competed for the palm with the Royal navy, and are going onward the progress of discovery.

To a superficial observer the maritime administration appears a chaos—much that of vital consequence seems to be neglected. But observations, such as arise in contemplating the machinery of the Admiralty and Trinity House, show that this is a misconception. The secret of the efficiency of our marine is that it governs itself, that all classes belonging to it can, in some way or other, attain to a voice in its management. The bureaux of the Admiralty contain many practical and experienced men; and it is well known that in a Government like ours, in which party leaders succeed each other in and out of office, the permanent secretaries in the offices are, in nine out of ten, the real ministers. The active members of the Trinity Board are recruited from the ranks of the merchant-service. The Trinity House consults the Admiralty in cases of difficulty; the Admiralty intrusts to the Trinity Board important nautical duties. The Hydrographer's Office—the statistical department of the Admiralty—forms a connecting link between the two Boards. These practically trained men are watched and checked by unofficial pupils of the same school—members of the Royal navy, or wealthy ship-owners—whose ambition has carried them into Parliament. The maritime administration and legislation of Great Britain, like all other parts of the British constitution, has rather grown than been made what it is, and it has sprung up stately and athletic. As the nation grows, so must it be extended; as the nation improves, so must the details of its organisation be amended. But the old outline must be adhered to, for it is the form that nature has given to us, and to tamper with it, or mutilate it, is death.

The vessels composing the navy are divided into three classes: the first of which consists of what are called rated ships; the second of sloops and bomb-vessels, or vessels commanded by a commander; the third of such smaller vessels as are commanded by a lieutenant, or inferior officer. The first class comprises ships of six rates: the first-rate, all three-decked ships; the second, all two-decked ships whose complements consist of 700 men and upwards; the third, all ships whose comple-

ments are from 600 to 700; the fourth, ships whose complements are from 400 to 500; the fifth, ships whose complements are from 250 to 400; the sixth, 250. Vessels of the first, second, and third-rates are called line-of-battle ships.

The following is a return made up to July 30, 1849, of the number of STEAM SHIPS of her Majesty's Navy:—Of *Sailing Vessels*—19 first-rates from 110 to 120 guns, and ranging from 2612 tons to 3394; 52 second-rates from 78 to 104 guns, and ranging from 1954 tons to 3165; 20 third-rates from 70 to 72 guns, and averaging from 1742 tons to 2214; 40 fourth-rates from 50 to 60 guns, and ranging from 1458 tons to 2147; 42 fifth-rates from 36 to 44 guns, and ranging from 946 tons to 1634; 31 sixth-rates from 10 to 28 guns, and ranging from 500 tons to 1082; 85 sloops, corvettes mounting from 3 to 18 guns, and ranging from 227 tons to 363; 11 packets from 4 to 6 guns, and ranging from 182 tons to 362; 14 surveying vessels from 2 to 22 guns, and ranging from 73 tons to 516; 5 troop ships, mounting from 2 to 22 guns, and ranging from 501 tons to 1709; 1 store ship, with 2 guns, and 29 cutters, schooners, and tenders, mounting from 2 to 6 guns, and ranging from 25 tons to 330.—Total of sailing vessels, 339.

Of *Steam Vessels* there were—3 line-of-battle ships of 80 guns, ranging from 3074 to 3074; 4 guard ships of 56 guns, ranging from 1761 tons to 1846; 22 frigates, mounting from 24 guns, ranging from 1090 tons to 1228; 22 frigates, mounting from 6 to 36 guns, and ranging from 1190 tons to 1980; 64 sloops, mounting from 2 guns, and ranging from 649 tons to 1287; 26 gun-vessels, mounting from 1 gun, and ranging from 284 tons to 557; 4 schooners of 8 guns, ranging from 4516; and 34 tenders, &c., mounting from 1 to 3 guns, and ranging from 1034.—Total of steam vessels, 161.

In addition there were 47 steam vessels, ranging from 225 tons to 1800 tons, as packets under contract, and capable of being made available for warlike service in case of emergency.

The number of men on the estimates for 1850 was 39,000.

#### SOMERSET HOUSE.

The Somerset House of 1851, and the Somerset House of 1547, present a striking contrast. The first Somerset House was built three centuries ago by a powerful ruler of England, who, out of the spoils of religious houses, and confiscations of private property, raised a magnificent palace, whose erection in some degree precipitated his downfall. The Somerset House of 1851 is the official seat of the most important departments of central Government and of Revenue; and even the architecture there carried on is indicative of a condition of society which allows no man the power to domineer over the few or the many, but subjects every exercise of power to the immediate control of the representatives of the people.

In 1536 the rising fortunes of Edward Seymour were crowned by the marriage of his sister to Henry VIII. He was immediately created a peer, by the title of Duke of Beauchamp. On his sister giving birth to a prince in the following year, he was elevated to the earldom of Hertford. On the 1st of February, 1540, after the death of Henry, he was elected by the Privy Council Governor of the Kingdom of England, his nephew, and protector of his realms, until he should be of age. On the 10th of February he was appointed Lord High Treasurer, and on the 16th created Duke of Somerset; and on the 17th he was made Earl of Somerset. It seems probable that he already possessed property on the site of Some-



the whole of Covent Garden and its neighbourhood, and Long Acre, comprising seven acres of valuable ground, belonged to him. The desire to possess a residence suitable to his high station was natural, and he determined to build a palace on the site of the present Somerset House. To obtain space and building materials he was guilty of some infringements of public and private rights, which were urged against him in the hour of his adversity. An inn of Chancery, called Strand Inn or Chester's Inn, the episcopal houses of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and of the Bishops of Worcester and Llandaff, and the church and churchyard of St. Mary-le-Strand, were demolished for the site of his new house. The common mode of building was still with timber and rubble, bricks not being generally used, and only the mansions of the nobility were built of stone, which was necessarily brought by sea, so that the most expeditious plan of obtaining the materials for new buildings of stone was to pull down old ones. With this object he caused the charnel-house of Old St. Paul's, and the chapel over it, to be demolished; also a large cloister on the north of St. Paul's, called Pardon Churchyard, which contained a greater number of monuments than the church itself. The 'Dance of Machabray,' or 'Dance of Death,' commonly called, says Stow, the 'Dance of Paul's,' was painted in a part of this cloister. Nothing was left of it but a bare plot of ground. He also pulled down the steeple and part of the church of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem. Burnet, alluding to the Protector's rapacity, admits that "many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him for obtaining his favour." The flagrant proceedings of the previous reign had, however, blinded men to the sacredness of this species of property; and this consideration, though it does not excuse the Protector's acts, is in some sort a palliation of them. But the rise of Somerset House exposed its owner to the reflection, "that when the King was engaged in such wars, and when London was much disordered by the plague that had been in it for some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England." While he was thus pursuing these false means of aggrandisement, now sending his brother to the block for caballing against him, and, within two or three weeks afterwards, ordering the demolition of Pardon Churchyard, which was commenced on the 10th of April, 1549, his own downfall was rapidly approaching, and, on the 14th of October following, he was committed to the Tower. One of the grounds of dissatisfaction exhibited against him was his ambition and seeking of his own glory, "as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings, and specially in the time of the King's wars, and the King's soldiers unpaid." He did not fall with much dignity; and his private appeal to Warwick, his great rival, to save him, was treated with neglect. Warwick, though without the title, succeeded to the real power of the Protectorate, and Somerset was reduced to such insignificance that he was released from the Tower, and merely allowed to sit at the Council. Whether he attempted to regain his former position, or Warwick, now become Duke of Northumberland, felt very uneasy so long as Somerset lived, does not appear; but, in December, 1551, the ex-Protector was again placed in confinement in the Tower on treasonable charges, and in January, 1552, he was beheaded.

It is very probable that Somerset House was never inhabited by the Protector. He commenced the building in March, 1546-7; and in October, 1549, up to which period it was in constant progress, his political life may be said to have terminated. According to the scale of a print in Strype's 'Stow,' the site occupied an area of 600 feet from east to west, by 500 feet north and south. The principal architect is believed to have been John of Padua, an Italian, who was appointed "Deviser of



his Majesty's buildings" in 1544. Old Somerset House was the first building of Italian architecture executed in this country.

On the death of Somerset his palace came into the possession of the Crown, and Edward appears to have assigned it to his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, for her use when she visited the Court. It is spoken of at this period as "her place, called Somerset-place, beyond Strand Bridge." When she came to the throne, she seems always to have given the preference to Whitehall and St. James's. In the reign of her successor it became the residence of Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I.

Somerset House was settled for life on Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., and was fitted up for the reception of herself and household in 1626. The subsequent events of her husband's reign drove her out of England for a time; but the Restoration brought Queen Henrietta to England again. One of her first objects was to put her palace in a state of repair. On the death of Charles II., in 1685, it became the sole residence of Catherine of Braganza, now Queen Dowager; and she lived here until her return to Portugal, in 1692.

From the period of Catherine's departure, Somerset House ceases to possess any interest in its palatial character. It still continued to be an appurtenance of successive queens, until, on the 10th of April, 1775, Parliament was recommended, in a message from the Crown, to settle upon Queen Charlotte the house in which she then resided, formerly called Buckingham House, but then known by the name of the Queen's House; in which case Somerset House, already settled upon her, should be given up and appropriated "to such uses as shall be found most useful to the public." The demolition of the old buildings was commenced as soon as an Act could be passed to carry into effect the Royal message. Soon afterwards the street aspect of the old house is alluded to in the following terms—"There are many who recollect the venerable aspect of the court-way from the Strand, as well as the dark and winding steps which led down to the garden, for years suffered to run to decay, and where the ancient and lofty trees spread a melancholy aspect over the neglected boundary, by no means unpleasing to the visitor, who, in a few moments, could turn from noise and tumult to stillness and repose." Sir William Chambers was appointed architect of the new building, and in 1779 one of the fronts was completed. From a Parliamentary return printed in 1790, it appears that a sum of £334,700 had been then expended, and a further sum of £33,500 was still required. The site occupies an area of 800 feet by 500 feet, being a few feet less than the area of Russell Square. The front towards the Strand consists of a rustic basement of nine arches supporting Corinthian columns, and an attic in the centre with a balustrade at each extremity. Emblematic figures of Ocean and the eight principal rivers of England, in alto-relievo, adorn the key-stones of the arches. Statues of Justice, Truth, Valour, and Moderation, divide the attic into portions; the summit is crowned by the British arms supported by Fame and the Genius of England. Opposite the entrance, in the court, is a bronze statue of George III., and at the foot of the pedestal a bronze figure emblematic of the Thames, by Bacon. The terrace towards the river is raised on rustic arches, and again we have an emblematic figure of the Thames, of colossal size. The view from this terrace is perhaps the finest on the banks of the river, the grand features being St. Paul's and Blackfriars Bridge, on one hand, and, on the other, Waterloo Bridge and the Abbey; and over the opposite bank may be seen the Surrey Hills. The scenery of the river itself is full of interest and animation. From either Blackfriars or Waterloo Bridge, but particularly from the latter, Somerset House is seen to great advantage, and appears truly a magnificent pile.

of the earliest purposes to which the present Somerset House was appropriated for the annual exhibition of paintings by the Royal Academy. The first Somerset Exhibition was opened on the 1st of May, 1780, and continued annually until the erection of the National Gallery. The use of apartments for the meetings of the Society was also granted in the same year, and the Fellows met here for the first time on the 30th of November. The Society of Antiquaries, having obtained a royal privilege, met for the first time at Somerset House in January, 1781. Two learned bodies, the Royal Astronomical and the Geological Societies, have also apartments assigned to them: a great public building could scarcely be approached to a better purpose. The entrance on the western side of the vestibule leads to apartments used by the Board constituting the University of London; and by the same staircase we ascend to the rooms appropriated to the Government School of Art. The whole of the left wing of Somerset House was left incomplete by Sir W. Chambers: but in 1829 this part of the edifice was completed from the designs of Sir George Gilbert Scott, and it now forms King's College.

The parts of Somerset House which are appropriated to science, learning, and the arts are superior in magnitude to those applied for several departments of the government. Passing by the offices belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall, there are connected with the Navy, which are subordinate to the Central Board of Admiralty in Whitehall. First is the Admiralty Civil Department, the Transport Office, the Victualling Office, and the Sick and Maimed Seamen's Office. In one of the departments is the Model Room, where most of the articles used in the naval service are kept for inspection by those who undertake the naval contracts. The Office for the Public Accounts and the Civil List Audit Office are also at Somerset House. The only Board of Revenue which has its seat here is that of Stamps and Taxes; its offices are chiefly in the southern front. The probate and legacy duties, land-tax and assessed taxes, and now the income-tax, are collected under the management of this Board. The business of each of the different departments of the Admiralty Office is transacted in separate rooms. Some of these rooms are two stories above the level of the court, and here the mechanical operations are conducted. The royal and commercial stamps are impressed by hand-presses, and the newspapers are printed by hand without any mechanical aid. The name of each newspaper has been engraved in the die, in moveable type, since the reduction of duty in 1836, and by this means a register is obtained of the circulation of every newspaper in the kingdom. In the basement story are presses moved by steam: some employed in printing line-labels; some for printing the stamp on country bank-notes; others in stamping the embossed medallion of the Queen on the postage envelopes, and on the shilling and penny stamps; and others in printing the penny and twopenny postage stamps on paper. The machinery used for some of these processes was invented by Mr. Edwin Clark, the supervisor of this department; and more ingenious applications of scientific principles are nowhere displayed than in these contrivances by which the enormous quantity arising out of cheap postage is continuously supplied.

Another part of this mass of public offices are three departments of recent institution, whose functions are of a very important character. These are the Poor-Law Commission, the Registrar-General's Office, and the Tithe Commission. The Law Commission was appointed in 1834, as a Central Board for regulating the mode of administering relief to the poor. Local administrative boards of representatives were created in place of irresponsible and generally inefficient bodies. "The Law Board," said one of its most valuable officers in 1838, "may be described as entirely necessary for consolidating and preserving the local administration, by

communicating to each board the principles deducible from the experience whole: and, in cases where its intervention is sought, acting so as to protect administration being torn by disputes between the members of the same local board, and between a part or a minority of the inhabitants and the board, and between local board and another, and in numerous other cases affording an appeal distant and locally disinterested, yet highly responsible authority, which may pose to prevent the local administrative functions being torn or injured by dissensions."

Adjoining the offices of the Poor-Law Commission is the Registrar-General's department created in 1836 by the passing of an Act for registering all marriages, and deaths in England and Wales, after the 30th of June, 1837. It is the business of the Registrar-General to see that every arrangement connected with the business of registration is strictly carried into effect by the different persons to whom it devolves. The whole of England and Wales is divided into convenient districts over which there is a Superintendent Registrar, to whom the Clergy of the Establishment and other ministers of religion, and the subordinate Registrars, transmit quarterly returns of all the births, marriages, and deaths which have occurred during the preceding three months. These returns are collected from upwards of 10,000 persons, and are finally transmitted to the central office at Somerset House. There they are examined and arranged, and indexes are formed of the names: errors, interpolations, informalities, omissions, errors, or defects of any kind are detected, and the person who registered the defective entry is immediately referred to, and an explanatory letter is filed for reference in connection with such entry. Separate alphabetical indexes are made for reference to the births, marriages, and deaths of each quarter, being twelve separate indexes for each year. To each entry there is a reference to the district from which the certified copy was made. Various other means are adopted to render the registration complete and easy of reference. The information collected by the Registration Office already throws light on a variety of questions relating to public health and the social condition of the people, and affords the means of preventing much future litigation.

The Tithe Commission has its offices in the same line of building as the Registration Office, and it likewise has been created to work out a valuable legislative instrument, which has placed property in tithes on an unobjectionable basis. The business which the Tithe Commissioners were appointed to superintend is the commutation of the tithe into a rent-charge, fluctuating in value with the septennial price of wheat, barley, and oats. For example, if the tithe of a parish be settled by agreement at an award at £300 a year, the mode of ascertaining its subsequent annual value is by supposing one-third of this sum invested in wheat, one-third in barley, and one-third in oats, at the prices of these commodities for the preceding seven years, and the sum gives the amount due in money to the tithe-owner. By this means, the objection which Paley urged—that the tithe-owner stepped in to participate in profits resulting from the outlay of capital he had never advanced—is completely obviated.



# PUBLIC OFFICES,

WITH HOURS OF ATTENDANCE.

*Religious Offices and Law Offices are not included in this list, but will be given in another place.)*

Post-General's Office, Horse Guards, 10 to 5.  
 Post-Register Office, Paul's Bakahouse Court, Goddeman Street, Oct. 1 to March  
 to 3; April 1 to Sept. 30, 10 to 4.  
 Post-Naval Department, Whitehall, 10 to 5.  
 Post-Civil Department, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Office, at the Home Office, 11 to 4.  
 Pay Office, see Paymaster-General's Office.  
 Office for Public Accounts, Somerset House, 10 to 4; Saturday, 10 to 2.  
 Office for Land Revenue, 11, Spring Gardens, 10 to 4.  
 Control for East India Affairs, Cannon Row, Westminster, 10 to 4.  
 Trade, Whitehall, 10 to 4.  
 Commissioners' Office, 26, Old Jewry, 9 to 5.  
 Remembrancer's Office, Guildhall Yard, 9 to 8.  
 Land and Emigration Board, 10, Park Street, Queen Square.  
 Office, 13 and 14, Downing Street.  
 Under-in-Chief's Office, Horse Guards, 10 to 5.  
 Commissioners of Police, 4, Whitehall Place, 10 to 4.  
 Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London, Guildhall Yard, 10 to 4.  
 Commissioners of Sewers for the Metropolis (exclusive of the City of London), 1, Greek  
 Street, Soho Square, 9 to 4.  
 Prison Commission, Somerset House, 9 to 6.  
 Office, Whitehall, 10 to 4.  
 House, Lower Thames Street, Indoor Offices, 10 to 4; Waterside Offices, from  
 March to 31st Oct., 8 to 4; from 1st Nov. to 28th Feb., 9 to 4.  
 Cornwall Office, Somerset Place, 10 to 4.  
 Lancaster Office, Lancaster Place, Waterloo Bridge, 10 to 4.  
 India House, Leadenhall Street, Treasury, 9 to 3; other departments, 9 to 4.  
 Home Office, Commissioners for, Whitehall.  
 Her Bill Loan Office, and South Sea House, 10 to 4.  
 Office, Broad Street, 9 to 3.  
 Export Office, 49, Great Tower Street, 9 to 3.  
 Inspectors' Office, 15, Duke Street, Westminster, 10 to 4.  
 Office, 15 and 16, Downing Street.  
 Office, St. Martin's Lane.  
 Board of Health, Gwydyr House, Whitehall Place, 10 to 4.  
 Register Office of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, 7 & 8, Somerset Place, 10 to 4.  
 Pension Office, Tower Hill, 10 to 4.  
 Office. See Paymaster-General's Office.  
 and Pedlars' Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Office, Whitehall, 10 to 4.  
 Office, 4, Northumberland Street, Strand, 10 to 4.  
 Office, 18, Great Queen Street, Westminster, 11 to 5.  
 Clerk Company's Registration Office, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet Street, 10 to 5.  
 Advocate's Office, 35, Great George Street, Westminster, 10 to 4.

Land Revenue Office. See Woods and Forests.  
 Land Tax Office for London, Guildhall Buildings, 10 to 4.  
 Land Tax Office for Middlesex, 24, Red Lion Square, 10 to 4.  
 Land Tax Register Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Legacy Duty Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Lord Chamberlain's Office, Stable Yard, St. James's, 11 to 4.  
 Metropolitan Buildings, 3, Trafalgar Square, 10 to 4.  
 Metropolitan Roads, North of the Thames, 22, Whitehall Place, 10 to 5.  
 Metropolitan Police and Public Carriages Office, Scotland Yard, 10 to 4.  
 Navy Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Ordnance Office, 86, Pall Mall, 10 to 6; and Tower, 10 to 4.  
 Patent Office, Great Seal, Quality Court, 10 to 4.  
 Paymaster-General's Office, Whitehall, 10 to 4.  
 Plantation Office, Whitehall, 11 to 3.  
 Police Offices, 10 to 5.  
 Poor Law Board, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Post-horse Tax Office, at the Excise Office.  
 Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand.  
 Privy Seal and Signet Office, 28, Abingdon Street, 10 to 3.  
 Property-Tax Department, Stamp Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Public Accounts Office. See Audit Office.  
 Public Record Office—Head Office, Rolls' House, Chancery Lane. Branch Offices, Rolls Chapel, Tower, Chapter House, Poet's Corner, and Carlton Ride, 10 to 4.  
 Public Works Loan Office, South Sea House.  
 Railway Board, 22, Great George Street.  
 Receiver's Office for Greenwich Hospital, Tower Hill, 10 to 4.  
 Registrar of Metropolitan Surveys, 3, Trafalgar Square.  
 Registry of Designs, 35, Lincoln's-inn-Fields.  
 Royal Marine Office, 22, New Street, Spring Gardens, 10 to 5.  
 School of Design, Somerset House.  
 Stamp Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4. No money received after 3.  
 State Paper Office, 12, Duke Street, Westminster, 11 to 4.  
 Stationery Office, James Street, Buckingham Gate, 10 to 4.  
 Tax Office, Somerset Place, 10 to 4.  
 Tithe Commissioners' Office, 9, Somerset Place, 9 to 8.  
 Transport Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 Treasury Office, Whitehall, 10 to 4.  
 Victualling Office, Somerset House, 10 to 4.  
 War Office, Horse Guards, 10 to 4.  
 Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, Public Works and Buildings Office, Whitehall Place, 10 to 4.



LONG ROOM CUSTOM HOUSE.



POST-OFFICE.



MUSEUM INDIA HOUSE.



EXCISE EXCHANGE.

KNIGHT'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. VI. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS: II.





## VI. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS; II.

## THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

is by the Thames," says Sir H. L. Bulwer, "that the foreigner should enter on. The broad breast of this great river, black with the huge masses that float its crowded waters,—the tall fabrics, gaunt and drear, that line its melancholy shores,—the thick gloom through which you dimly catch the shadowy outline of these fantastic forms,—the marvellous quiet with which you glide by the dark phantoms of power into the mart of nations,—the sadness, the silence, the vastness, the obtrusiveness of all things around—prepare you for a grave and solemn magnificence. . . . Old St. Katharine's Docks, and Walker's Soap Manufactory, and 'Hardy's Shades!' there is the strength, the industry, and the pleasure—the pleasure of the entering, the money-making, the dark-spirited people of England." Such may probably be reflections of the foreigner as some steam-vessel from the Elbe or the Rhine, Boulogne, Calais, or Havre, sweeping past the "time-worn" Tower, brings-to off the Custom House. Before the introduction of steam-ships the continental traveller rarely landed at Harwich or Dover, and the first page of his diary was in praise (he praised us at all) of our horses and public vehicles, of the excellence of the roads, and the rapid travelling; the verdant appearance of English scenery, the prettiness of the cottages, and the air of neatness and comfort pervading the villages and small towns through which he passed on his journey to the metropolis. Now, however, he is thrown at once into the vortex of London, without the preparation which a journey of above seventy miles affords.

The spacious and well-gravelled quay in front of the Custom House, the only quay in the port of London on which the public can walk, with the exception of a small space in front of the Tower, is deserving of more commendation than it has generally received. Let us on a fine summer's day resort hither and observe what is passing before us. At the western extremity of the quay is Billingsgate, the great fish-market in the metropolis, with the small dock for the craft of the fishermen. It is nearly level with the water, and while the flood lasts they continue to arrive, and, by a little seamanship, are brought into the mooring-place provided for them. The size of the fishermen's boats is as various as their cargoes. A little westward of Billingsgate are the wharfs for steam-boats for Greenwich, Woolwich, Gravesend, and other parts of the river. Their arrival and departure is incessant, and strains of music are heard in the ear as they rapidly pass the Custom House Quay. Lighters laden with coal, and every kind of merchandise and produce, and whose longest voyage does not extend below the Pool or much above the bridges, are passing; country barges which come by the canals from places far inland; and small sloops which in summer do not make a sea voyage to any part of the English coast, but in winter are employed on the coast. On the right is the noble bridge with its throng of passengers, coaches, buses, hackney-coaches, cabs, carts, drays, and waggons. On land and water the scene of life is flowing before us with full volume; but here, while witnessing how rapidly it hastens along, the roar of the living torrent is blended and harmonised. Flickering lights which are reflected on the surface of the river at the same time strike the eye by their varied tones. But a large steam-ship advances, heaving the sea all around in its impetuous course, its deck crowded with aliens, perhaps exiles, English tourists who have spent various periods, from seven days to as many

months or years, on the Continent. It is curious to watch the countenance of each individual among the successive boat-loads which are brought from the steam-ship and landed at the Custom House stairs; and to speculate upon the feeling produced in the gay sons and daughters of France, the excitable Italian, or more sober German, on first touching English ground. In the large world of London there is an abiding place for them, if they can bring the recommendation of superior aptitude and talent for whatever they undertake. The Steam Packet Baggage Warehouse is a department of the London Custom House, rendered necessary by the increased passenger intercourse between the port of London and the Continent; and here the duties upon articles contained in the baggage of travellers may be paid with the least possible delay. The articles upon which the duties are principally levied are books, china, musical instruments, millinery, eau de Cologne, prints, and shoes. In 1842, we had the pleasure of stating in our original 'London,' that "the regulations of the Commissioners of Customs, in respect to passengers, are liberal and indulgent, and they are executed in the same spirit." We grieve to find, in 1850, a journal of the highest authority thus complaining of a very hateful change:—"We appeal to those of our readers who have lately had the misfortune to pass large quantities of luggage through the London Custom House, whether they ever experienced, in any country, a similar amount of annoyance? It is in vain that everything dutyable is at once produced by the sufferer; the most literal search is insisted on; packages are wrenched asunder with a vigour which proves that the State gets something for its money. The chances are many against the preservation of any of the more fragile objects of taste." The year 1851 must see a totally different spirit, England must not be disgraced by her functionaries.

In 1559, in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, important steps were taken, which may be said to have been the commencement of the present system of collecting the Customs. Until 1590 the duties were farmed for £20,000 a year, but on the Queen's Government taking the collection of the duties in its own hand they yielded about £30,000 a year. The control of the Government necessarily led to many improvements in the Customs establishment. The formation of the East India and other great trading companies, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the growth of colonial commerce, augmented the trade of London, and rendered the Customs a much more profitable source of revenue than they had yet been. Little attention, however, was paid to the policy at that time pursued in Holland, by which, as Sir Walter Raleigh remarked, they drew all nations to trade with them. From 1671 to 1688, according to D'Avenant, the first Inspector-General of imports and exports, the Customs of England averaged £555,752 a year.

The old Custom House destroyed during the Great Fire was replaced by one of rather more pretensions, which is said to have cost £10,000, and was at least of more dignified appearance than the adjoining warehouses. In the fifty years after its erection the trade of the country had greatly increased, and from 1700 to 1714 the Customs for England averaged £1,352,764 yearly. In 1718 the Custom House was burnt down, doubtless not before it had been found very inconvenient for the transaction of the increased mass of business which had arisen out of a more wide and active commerce.

A new Custom House soon arose on the site of the old building, in which the inconveniences formerly experienced were for a time remedied. The apartments for the different officers were better arranged, and accommodation was provided for a greater number of clerks, so that the delays of which the merchants had before complained were obviated. The length of the building was 189 feet, and the centre was



The edifice was constructed of brick and stone, and the wings had a facade of the Tuscan order towards the river, the upper story being ionic pilasters and pediments. But the most striking feature of the building was the Long Room, extending nearly the whole length of the centre, long, 29 wide, and 24 high. Here were a number of officers and clerks of various departments, and the general business of the room was superintended by the Commissioners themselves; but they were then more numerous than at present, the number in 1713 being thirteen. In 1725 the Customs of the port of London yielded nearly £1,500,000,—being more than the whole Customs revenue of the years 1700 and 1714. At the close of the century the revenue collected in London exceeded £6,000,000. The building was now becoming, like the old one, too small for the mass of business required to be transacted, when, on the 29th of February, 1814, it was also totally destroyed by fire, being the third time whose destruction was caused by this element. But in the present Custom House had been commenced before the old one had become a

ruin. Before the occurrence of this fire the enlargement of the old Custom House was contemplated, and it was at first proposed to build an additional wing. A survey of the edifice, it was found too much decayed and dilapidated to justify a large expenditure in its renovation and extension. The Lords of the Treasury directed designs and estimates to be prepared for an entirely new building, and those by Mr. Laing were finally selected. Between the old Custom House and Billingsgate there were eight quays, measuring 479 feet in length; but the new building was immediately east of Billingsgate Dock, with only the Billingsgate landing-stairs.

Primary difficulties in the foundation having been overcome, as was the case with the old building, the first stone of the new building was laid at the south-west corner, by the Earl of Liverpool, then First Lord of the Treasury, on the 25th of October, 1817. The northern elevation, towards the Strand, was plain and simple, but the south front, towards the river, was of a more ornamental character, the central compartment projecting beyond the wings having a hexastyle detached colonnade of the Ionic order. The central part of the building, comprising the exterior of the Long Room, was decorated with alto and basso-relievos, in panels, representing in a series of figures the Arts and Sciences, Commerce and Industry, and characterizing the principal nations with which Great Britain holds commercial intercourse. The dial-plate, nine feet in diameter, was supported by colossal figures of Plenty and Abundance, and the Royal arms were sustained by figures of Ocean and the Long Room was 196 feet by 66. Unfortunately the foundation of the building, notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to render it secure, was found to be defective, and the Long Room and the central part of the building were taken down and rebuilt, but the other parts remain as built by Mr. Laing. The pediment, which decorated the principal front, were removed; but though the building is plainness, the simplicity is pleasing, if not majestic. As the breadth of the building is not equal to the height of the building, the bridge or the middle of the river is a better view. The river front is 488 feet in length.

Half of the persons employed in the civil service of the country are in the Custom House. Not only is the immense business of its own port conducted at the Custom House, but the Board of Commissioners (consisting of a Chairman, six Commissioners, and a Secretary) has all the out-ports in the

United Kingdom under its superintendence. From them it receives reports, and instructions from this central Board are issued to them in return. The Custom House is one of the oldest sources of statistical information; and under the Inspector General of imports and exports clerks are continually engaged in recording the facts and figures which illustrate the commercial movements of the country, the result of their labours being frequently printed and made public by order of Parliament. In the reign of Charles II. the Privy Council for Trade urged the Commissioners of Customs "to enter the several commodities which formed the exports and imports; to affix to each its usual price, and to form a general total by calculating the value of the whole." This was not executed until 1694, when the office of Inspector General of imports and exports was established; and the Custom House ledger, which records their value, was first kept. The 'official' rates of valuation still in use were adopted at the same time. The official value soon became no measure of the current value of the articles, although it continued without any check until 1798. In that year the Government of the time imposed a convoy duty of four per cent., *ad valorem*, upon all mercantile commodities exported; and, to do this equitably, every shipper of goods was compelled to make a declaration of their true actual value. This is what is denominated the 'declared or real value.' There is at present a daily publication, called the 'Bill of Entry,' which is prepared and issued at the Custom House, for the purpose of affording information respecting the quantity of imports and exports, and of the arrival and clearance of ships.

Besides the warehouses and cellars, there are about one hundred and seventy distinct apartments in the Custom House, in which the officers of each department transact their business. The object to be accomplished by the architect, and which as he tells us, he kept constantly in view, was a judicious classification and combination of offices and departments, so as to ensure contiguity and convenience, and at the same time to present such accommodation as was demanded by the peculiar purpose for which each was required. All the rooms are perfectly plain, with the exception of the Board Room, which is slightly decorated, and contains paintings of George II. and George IV.; the latter by Sir Thomas Lawrence. The Long Room is the principal object of interest, being probably the largest apartment in Europe of the kind. The length is 190 feet, width 66 feet, and height between 40 and 50 feet. The present room is not so handsome as the one taken down after the failure of the foundation. The cellars in the basement form a groined crypt or undercroft, built in the most substantial manner, and fire-proof; the walls are of extraordinary thickness and a temperature is constantly maintained which is most suitable for wines and spirits, those which are seized by the officers of the Custom House being kept here. The Queen's Warehouse is on the ground floor, and of great extent, and with its diagonal ribbed arches presents a fine appearance in the interior. The public entrance to the Custom House is on the northern front, and leads to a double flight of steps. On the southern side there is an entrance for the officers and clerks from the quay and river.

The number of officers and clerks for whom accommodation is provided in the Custom House is about three hundred, and there are as many more whose business is chiefly out of doors, and who are in daily communication with the establishment. The inspectors of the river superintend the tide-surveyors, tide-waiters, and watermen, and appoint them to their respective duties for the day; and each of these inspectors attends in rotation at Gravesend. The tide-surveyors visit ships reported inwards, which are proceeding outwards, to see that the tide-waiters who are put on board discharge their duty in a proper manner. The tide-waiters remain on board until the cargo is discharged, if the vessel is entering inwards; and in those outward-bound

they continue until they are cleared at Gravesend. The landing officers, under the superintendence of the landing surveyors, attend the quays and docks, and take an account of goods as they are landed ; and on the receipt of warrants showing that the duties are paid, they permit the delivery of goods for home consumption. The officers of the Coast Department attend to the arrival and departure of vessels between the port of London and the outports ; and give permits for landing their cargoes, and take bonds for the delivery, at the place of destination, of goods sent coastwise. They appoint the coast-waiters to attend the shipping and discharging of all coastwise goods. The searchers superintend the shipping of goods intended for foreign export, the entries for which, after being passed in the Long Room, are placed in their hands, and they examine the packages at their discretion, to ascertain if they correspond. The number of supernumeraries is very large, as the amount of business is dependent on the season or on the weather. When the wind blows from a particular quarter, and the arrival of ships is great, there are sometimes as many as two thousand persons employed in the business of the Custom House between Gravesend and London Bridge. The principal officers for the collection of the revenues are collectors, inwards and outwards ; comptrollers in each of these departments, and also surveyors. The duties are computed by their deputies or assistants, and the heads of the department administer the various oaths. The business of the Indoor Department of the Custom House, so far as relates to the importation and exportation of goods, is all transacted in the Long Room. The officers and clerks of the Long Room, about eighty in number, may be said to form three divisions:—the Inward Department, with its collectors, clerks of rates, clerks of ships' entries, computers of duties, receivers of plantation duties, wine duties, &c. ; the Outward Department, with its cocket-writers, &c. ; and the Coast Department. An officer of the Trinity House is accommodated in the Long Room with a desk and counter, for the more convenient collection of lighthouse dues. The class of persons to be seen in the Long Room are ship-brokers, ship-owners, and their clerks, who report arrivals and obtain clearances ; the skippers themselves are frequently seen for the same object ; and wholesale merchants, who have goods to import or export, to place in bond, or to re-export. The officers of the room occupy a space extending along each of the four sides, within which they have their desks. On the whole, it is a place which every person should visit at least once in their lives.

The progress of an article of foreign merchandise through the Customs to the warehouse or shop of the dealer is briefly as follows :—First, on the arrival of the ship at Gravesend, tide-waiters are put on board, and remain until she reaches the appointed landing-place. The goods are reported and entered at the Custom House, and a warrant is transmitted to the landing-waiters, who superintend the unloading of the cargo. A landing-waiter is specially appointed to each ship. Officers under him, some of whom are gaugers, examine, weigh, and ascertain the contents of the several packages, and enter an account of them. These operations are subject to the daily inspection of superior officers. When warehoused, the goods are in charge of a locker, who is under the warehouse-keeper. When goods are delivered for home consumption, the locker receives a warrant from the Custom House certifying that the duties have been paid ; he then looks out the goods, and the warehouse-keeper signs the warrant. When foreign or colonial goods are exported the process is more complicated. The warehouse-keeper makes out a "re-weighing slip ;" a landing-waiter examines the goods, which continue in charge of the locker, and a cocket, with a certificate from the proper officers at the Custom House, is his authority for their delivery. The warehouse-keeper signs this document, and a counterpart of the cocket, called a



"shipping-bill," is prepared by the exporting merchant. The goods pass from the warehouse-keeper into the hands of the searcher, who directs a tide-waiter to receive them at the water-side and to attend their shipment, taking an account of the articles; and he remains on board until the vessel reaches Gravesend, when she is visited by a searcher stationed there; the tide-waiter is discharged, and the vessel proceeds; but before her final clearance the master delivers to the searcher a document called "a content," being a list of the goods on board, and which is compared with the cocket. It is then only that the cargo can be fairly said to be out of the hands of the Custom House officers. When British produce and manufactures are exported the course pursued is somewhat similar, the chief difference being that they are not, as in the case of foreign merchandise, exported from the Bonding Warehouse. The description and value of the merchandise is set forth, together with a declaration of its value. In cases where any export duty is payable, this declaration becomes the foundation upon which its amount is levied; and correctness in this matter is provided for, since, on the one hand, the merchant is interested in not over-valuing his shipment; while, on the other hand, it is the duty of the revenue-officers to prevent any under-valuation being affixed; and if, in this respect, the correctness of the merchant is suspected, to subject the goods to seizure, by tendering him the value which he himself puts upon them. In cases where no export duty is payable, the declaration of value is equally required; and, as the party is then without any temptation to give false returns, it is reasonable to believe that none such are made. In every case the goods themselves are subjected to proper examination, and their quantities accurately taken, either by weight, or tale, or measure, according to their nature. In addition to this, a cocket is prepared, for which the previous bill of entry is the foundation, and on the back of this cocket the fullest particulars of the transaction are recorded, while any unintentional errors of the merchant are rectified; so that this document, a copy of which remains in the Custom House, becomes, in all respects, a full and authentic register of the shipment. The Customs Duties for 1849 amounted to £20,636,921.

#### THE EXCISE OFFICE.

If a stranger from any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland, however remote, were to pause in the midst of Broad Street, and inquire to what purpose that large pile of building opposite to him was appropriated, he would, ten to one, on learning that it was the Excise Office, have a livelier idea of the operations of the Board of Revenue, which has its seat there, than the inhabitant of London, provided that neither had been brought into direct contact with its officers by the nature of his business. In the country the officer of Excise, or the exciseman, as we may more familiarly call him, is often seen hurrying through the small hamlets and pleasant lanes, often at untimely hours, on errands which seem half mysterious. In London nobody ever sees an exciseman, except those who are in the habit of receiving him as an official visitor, and to many the only representative of the existence of such a tax as the Excise is the great building in Broad Street. The forces by which it levies some millions a year for the Exchequer are as invisible to them as the officers of another department—the Stamps. The Post Office sends forth its emissaries, every hour, through the streets of the metropolis, and there is now scarcely any person who has not the satisfaction of contributing at least a few pence annually to this department of the revenue; but it is only a limited number who personally have dealings with the Board of Stamps and Taxes, or with the Customs and Excise. The latter is by far the most pervading

part of the taxing system, except the Post Office. One-half of the Customs duty of the United Kingdom is collected in the port of London, and two-thirds of it are obtained in the two ports of London and Liverpool. The great mass of inland dealers in articles of foreign produce, although they well know that by means of duties the price is enhanced to them by the wholesale merchant, and again by them raised to their customers, yet they see nothing of the agency by which this process is rendered necessary. In the case of the Excise, however, every part of the country is parcelled out with as much distinctness as its legal and ecclesiastical divisions.

Before 1823 the Excise revenue in Scotland and Ireland was managed by separate Boards, consisting all together of twelve Commissioners, each board being independent of the English Board. The Commissioners of Inland Revenue consist of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, six Commissioners, and a Secretary, who sit at Broad Street, with a very large number of assistants and clerks for the business of the office. The outdoor business in London is conducted by twelve General Surveyors, to each of whom is assigned a district called a 'survey,' and these are broken up into about fifty smaller divisions, in each of which a house is rented for the business of the department. The fifty-five collections in England and Wales (exclusive of London) are divided into 315 districts, and these districts into 'rides' and 'foot-walks.' Where the traders are scattered, and the officer is required to keep a horse, it is called a 'ride'; but where they are more numerous, and a horse is not necessary, it is called a division or foot-walk. The circuit of a 'ride' is about eighteen miles, and that of a division is under sixteen. The collector, the chief officer of a 'Collection,' is allowed a clerk, and visits each market-town eight times in the course of a year, to receive the duties and to transact other business connected with the department, besides having to attend to matters relating to the discipline and efficiency of the service. The number of officers in a Collection varies from forty to ninety. The Supervisors are in charge of a 'district,' and next come the ride and division officers, whose operations he constantly checks by surveying, at uncertain times, the same premises. The labours of a Supervisor and the officers under him are often very heavy. The latter are called upon to survey manufacturing processes at the most untimely hours. Before going out each day the officer leaves a memorandum behind him, stating the places he intends to survey, and the order in which he will visit them, and he is obliged to record the hour and minute when he commences each survey. He is never sure that the Supervisor will not survey his work, and if errors are discovered they must be entered in the Supervisor's 'diary.' These diaries are transmitted to the chief office in London every two months, and no officer is promoted without a strict examination into them, in reference to his efficiency. The Surveying-general Examiner is a check upon the Supervisors, and is dispatched from the chief office to a certain district, without any previous intimation. When a Supervisor's character is taken out for promotion, his books are examined for one year, and the books of all the officers under him for a quarter of a year; all the accounts are re-cast, and if in the books of the officers errors are discovered, the Supervisor is quite as responsible as if they had taken place in his own books; and a certain degree of neglect on his part would retard his promotion. This inquiry is conducted by the country examiners; and when this has been done, the investigation is taken up by a Surveying-general Examiner, for the purpose of ascertaining the disposal of the Supervisor's time: whether it has been judiciously employed or not; whether he has been too long employed on a duty which ought to have occupied a shorter period, &c. Two months are required for completing the investigation and when the Report is laid before the Board the name of the officer is not given. The clerks of the Diary Office have all been distinguished for their ability as Super-



visors. No one is promoted unless, having served a certain fixed period in one grade, he *petitions* for advancement; but this involves the rigid examination just alluded to, which is technically termed 'taking out a character.' It is now doubted whether Mr. Pitt's plan for the periodical removal of officers from one district to another is attended with so much advantage to the service as has generally been supposed. A corrupt officer will endeavour to effect a collusion with the trader of another district, and the fraudulent trader will attempt to corrupt the new officer. Frequent removals also interfere with the comfort of families, and interrupt education. About 1100 officers change their residences each year.

Previous to 1768 the Excise Office was on the west side of Ironmonger Lane: it was formerly the mansion of Sir J. Frederick. In 1768 the Trustees of the Gresham estates obtained an Act, to enable them to make over the ground whereon Gresham College stood to the Crown, for a perpetual rent of £500 per annum. The Bill ran as smoothly as a common turnpike Act. The dismantling of the College was begun on the 8th of August, 1768. Mr. Edward Taylor, the present Gresham Professor of Music, thus speaks of this nefarious transaction:—"Gresham College was levelled with the ground, and every trace of its beauty and grandeur obliterated by an act of the Legislature. I believe this act of ruthless and wanton barbarism to be without a parallel in the history of civilized man. Even conquerors have respected the sanctity of seats of learning, and armies in the mad career of victory have spared the halls of science. It certainly stands in disgraceful contrast to the acts of other European governments. Education is, or ought to be, one of the cares—the most important cares of a state. It is upon this principle that we see some of the continental governments (even the most despotic) acting towards their subjects. In Prussia, for example, I have seen education provided for every child; each parish having its school, and every province its university. I have seen the palaces of princes converted into temples of learning, and professors occupying the seats which nobles had voluntarily resigned. To convert a College into an Excise Office, was reserved for the government of free and enlightened England; and that not in an obscure and distant province, but in its mighty metropolis."

The Excise Office is plain in design, but of most commanding aspect. The merits of this edifice are known far less extensively than many others of inferior character. There are architects of the present day who state, that, for grandeur of mass and greatness of manner, combined with simplicity, it is not surpassed by any building in the metropolis. It consists of two ranges, one of stone, the other of brick, separated from each other by a large court, which, during the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange, has been temporarily used by the mercantile and shipping interests as an Exchange. The entrance to each structure is by a staircase in the centre, which leads by a long passage to the various apartments of the Commissioners and Clerks. The architect of the Excise Office was Mr. James Gandon.

The Articles now subjected to Excise Duties in Great Britain, are as follows, with the Rates of Duty.

Hops, 2*d.* per lb., and 5 per cent.

Malt, from barley, in England and Scotland, 2*s.* 7*d.* per bushel, and 5 per cent.

„ from Bere or Bigg, in Scotland, 2*s.* per bushel, and 5 per cent.

Paper, 1½*d.* per lb., and 5 per cent. on all kinds of paper.

Soap, hard, 1½*d.* per lb., and 5 per cent.—Soft, 1*d.* per lb., and 5 per cent.

Spirits, in England, 7*s.* 10*d.* per gallon.

„ in Scotland, 3*s.* 8*d.* per gallon.



## THE MINT.

The establishment of the Mint in London must date from the remotest periods of its known history of the capital. There can be no doubt some of the Roman emperors coined money here, and specimens bearing the name of London in an abbreviated form still exist. In the Saxon period, also, we know not only that London had a Mint, but that it was the chief one in the kingdom. There were eight moneyers (as the chief officers were called, to whom the coining of money was intrusted in early times) in London in the reign of Athelstan, and six at Winchester, the next place in rank. The Mint in the Tower is as old as the erection; and it has been worked in every reign from the Conquest, with one or two unimportant exceptions.

Till the present century the Mint remained in the Tower. But about 1806 the government, finding the military department had greatly encroached upon the buildings used for coining, intrusted to Sir Robert Smirke the erection of a new edifice upon Tower Hill. It was completed about 1811, at an expense of above a quarter of a million of money. This immense sum, however, included Boulton's expensive machinery, which, by successive improvements, has been brought to such a surprising degree of perfection, as, in conjunction with the other admirable arrangements of the establishment, places a power at the disposal of the Moneyers that will enable them, if required, to receive fifty thousand pounds' worth of gold one morning in fullion, and return it the next in coin. It is amusing to contrast this rapidity with the state of things existing when every piece was struck by hand, or when the entire process of coining could be carried on in a single room. In the present interesting process of coining, the ingots are first melted in pots, when the alloy, of copper, is added (to gold, one part in twelve: to silver, eighteen pennyweights to a pound eight), and the mixed metal cast into small bars. And now begin the operations of the stupendous machinery, which is unequalled in the Mint of any other country, and is in every way a triumph of mechanical skill. The bars, in a heated state, are first passed through the breaking-down rollers, which by their tremendous crushing power, reduce them to only one-third their former thickness, and increase them proportionally in their length. They are now passed through the cold rollers, which bring them nearly to the thickness of the coin required, when the last operation of this nature is performed by the draw-bench—a machine peculiar to our Mint, and which secures an extraordinary degree of accuracy and uniformity in the surface of the metal, and leaves it of the exact thickness desired. The cutting-out machines now begin their work. There are twelve of these engines in the elegant room set apart for them, all mounted on the same basement, and forming a circular range. Here the bars, or strips, are cut into pieces of the proper shape and weight for the sizing-press, and then taken to the sizing-room to be separately weighed, as well as rounded on a circular piece of iron, to detect any flaws. The protecting rim is next added in the marking-room, and the pieces, after blanching and annealing, are ready for stamping. The coining-room is a magnificent-looking place, with its columns, and its great iron beams, and the presses ranging along the solid stone basement. Here are eight presses, each of them making, when required, sixty or seventy (or even more) strokes a minute; and as at each stroke a blank is made a perfect coin—that is to say, stamped on both sides, and milled at the edge—each press will coin between four and five thousand pieces in the hour, or the whole eight between thirty and forty thousand. And to accomplish these mighty results the attention of one little boy alone is required, who stands in a sunken place before the press, supplying

it with blanks. The bullion is now money, and ready for the trial of the Pix, which, at the Mint, is a kind of tribunal of judgment between the actual coiners and the owners, as the greater trial known by the same name in the Court of Exchequer is to test the quality of the money as between the Master of the Mint and the people. This trial generally takes place, on the appointment of a new master, before the members of the Privy Council and a certain number of the Goldsmiths' Company; from the latter a jury of twelve persons is sworn. The Lord High Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, presides. Ruding was present at the trial of the Pix in 1799, when, after a variety of minute experiments, it was found that a certain quantity of gold which should have weighed 190 pounds, 9 ounces, 9 pennyweights, and 15 grains, did weigh just 1 pennyweight and the 15 grains less: a closeness of approximation sufficient, no doubt, to satisfy the nicest tribunal.

#### THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

It has been said of Burke, by Mr. Macaulay, that so vivid was his imagination on whatever related to India, especially as to the country and people, that they had become as familiar to him as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's: "All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the hall where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched—from the bazaars, humming like bee-hives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyenas. The burning sun; the strange vegetation of the palm and cocoa-tree; the rice-field and the tank; the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble; the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, and the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prayed with his face to Mecca; the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols; the devotee swinging in the air; the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side; the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect; the turbans and the flowing robes; the spears and the silver maces; the elephants with their canopies of state; the gorgeous palakin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed." If such should be the rich, varied, and animated picture which the imaginative eye suddenly conjures up in the not very spacious or striking part of the great eastern thoroughfare of Leadenhall Street in which the India House comes into view, not less glowing are the historical recollections which attach to the edifice in connection with Anglo-Indian power. History presents nothing more strongly calculated to impress the imagination than the progress of English dominion in the East under Clive and Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis and Wellesley. Instead of clerks and mercantile agents living within the precincts of a fort or factory only by permission of the native rulers, who regarded them as mere pedlars, Englishmen have become the administrators of the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country,—of provinces comprising above a million square miles, and a population exceeding one hundred and twenty millions—states which yield taxes to the amount of £17,000,000, and maintain an army of four hundred thousand men. All the business of Government has passed into English hands. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, but he is a British pensioner on the revenues of the land which his ancestors once ruled. There is still a Mogul who plays the sovereign, but the substance of his power has passed away. Youths from Haileybury College, and from the Military School at Addiscombe, rising by regular gradations, have succeeded to

power once wielded by the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindustan, and which they exercise in a manner far more beneficial to the people. They are carefully catered for judicial, financial, diplomatic, and military offices, and are expected to converse in the language of the people of whose welfare they are to be the guarantors. This is a noble field for talent and ambition.

The progress of good government is nowhere more evident at the present time than in the administration of India. Half a century ago, the voyage to or from India was seldom accomplished in less than six months, and often occupied a much longer time; a year and a half was calculated as the average period between the dispatch of a report from Calcutta and the receipt of the adjudication thereon by the Directors in Leadenhall Street. Slow, tedious, uncertain, and unfrequent as was the intercourse of the servants of the East India Company with the mind of England in those days, what could be expected but that it should produce strong effects on those who went out in youth and spent thirty years of their life in India, and that at their return they should exhibit some rich peculiarities of character, easily assailable by the light shafts of ridicule, if not open to the violent attacks of those who suspected them of dark crimes committed in their distant pro-consulships while amassing their wealth? Steam navigation has done and will do much to elevate the character and objects of our Indian policy, and to imbue its functionaries with more enlarged views of their duties; for rapidity and certainty of communication is gradually bringing the eyes of the people upon this distant part of our empire. Steam has placed Bombay within five weeks' distance of London, and the seat of the supreme Government in India has been reached in six weeks from the seat of the Imperial Government. Private intercourse is rapidly increasing in consequence of these great improvements.

In 1833 the Act was passed by which the Company is now governed. This Act has effected greater changes in the state of affairs than all the former ones. It continues the government of India in the hands of the Company until 1854, but takes away the India monopoly, and all trading whatever. As the Proprietors were no longer a body of merchants, their name was necessarily changed, and it was enacted that "The East India Company" should be their future appellation.

The Home Government of the Company consists of, 1st. The Court of Proprietors, or General Court; 2nd. The Court of Directors, selected from the Proprietors; and 3rd. The Board of Commissioners, usually called the Board of Control, nominated by the Sovereign.

The Court of Proprietors, or General Court, as its name imports, is composed of the owners of India Stock. It appears that, in the seventeenth century, every stockholder had a voice in the distribution of the funds of the Company. By the law now in force, which was made in 1773, the possession of £1000 gives one vote, although persons having only £500 may be present at the Court; £3000 entitles the owner to three votes, £6000 to three, and £10,000 to four votes. All persons whatever may be members of this Court, male or female, Englishman or foreigner. The Court of Proprietors elects the Court of Directors, frames by-laws, declares the dividend, controls grants of money exceeding £600, and additions to salaries above £200. It would appear that the executive power of this Court, having been delegated to the Court of Directors, may be considered as extinct; at all events it never now interferes in the acts of Government, although instances have formerly occurred where acts of the Court of Directors have been revised by it. Its functions, in fact, are deliberative: they are like those of influential public meetings in the English constitution, and its resolutions are supposed to be respectfully attended to by the Directors, and even by



the Legislature. It is always called together to discuss any proceedings in Parliament likely to affect the interests of the Company. It may, at any time, call for copies of public documents to be placed before the body for deliberation and discussion; and is empowered to confer a public mark of approbation, pecuniary or otherwise, on any individual whose services may appear to merit the distinction,—subject, however, to the approbation of the Board of Control, in cases where the sum shall exceed £600.

The meetings of this Court have much the appearance of those of the House of Commons, and its discussions are conducted by nearly the same rules. The Chairman of the Court of Directors presides *ex-officio*, and questions are put through him as through the Speaker. There is occasionally a display of eloquence which would not disgrace the Senate. Amendments are proposed, adjournments are moved, the previous question is put, the Court rings with cries of "Hear, hear!" "Oh, oh!" and a tedious speaker is coughed down as effectually as he would be on the floor of the House of Commons. At the conclusion of a debate the question is often decided by a show of hands; but if any Proprietor doubts the result, he may call for a division, when tellers are appointed, and the Court divides accordingly. In especial cases any nine members may call for an appeal to the general body of Proprietors, to whom timely notice is sent, and the vote is by ballot. The meetings always take place at twelve o'clock, and generally close at dusk. Each Director is elected for four years, and six retire yearly, and are not re-eligible until they have been a year out of office. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman are elected annually, and generally the deputy becomes chairman after being a year in the deputy-chair. They are the organs of the Court, and conduct all communication requiring a personal intercourse with the Ministry and Board of Commissioners. It is believed that by far the greater share of the labour of the Court falls on the Chairs; and that, great as is the patronage connected with the offices, they are by no means objects of ambition to the majority of the members.

The functions of the Court of Directors pertain to all matters relating to India, both at home and abroad; subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners, and, in some cases, to the concurrence of the Court of Proprietors, with the exception always of such high political matters as require secrecy, which are referred to a Select Committee of their body. This Court has the power to nominate the Governors of all the Presidencies, subject to the approval of the Crown. They have also the patronage of all other appointments. The Committee of Secrecy, first appointed in 1784, consists of three members of the Court, who receive the directions of the Board on subjects connected with peace, war, or negotiations with other powers, and send dispatches to India under their directions, without communication with the rest of the Court. This Committee also receive dispatches from India sent to the Secret Department, and communicate them immediately to the Board. The duties of the Court of Directors are extensive, and for their ready dispatch it is divided into three Committees, whose departments are indicated by their appellations:—the Finance and Home Committee; the Political and Military Committee; and Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative Committee.

The Board of Control, whose proper designation is "the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India," was established by the Act of 1784. The Board is nominated by the Sovereign: it consists of an unlimited number of members, all of whom, except two, must be of the Privy Council, and must include the two principal Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Practically, all the Commissioners are honorary, except three, who alone are paid. All the members of the Board vacate office upon changes of Ministry, but the unpaid ones are often re-appointed.

The Board receive from the Court, and may confirm, alter, or disallow all minutes, orders, and dispatches; they may not only keep back dispatches prepared by the Court, but may compel the Court to send others prepared without the Court's concurrence. They have access to all books, papers, and documents in the East India House, and may call for accounts on any subject. They communicate with the Secret Committee, and direct it to send secret dispatches to India, the responsibility resting with the Board. In fact, since the abolition of the trade, with which the Board had nothing to do, the Court of Directors must be considered simply as the instrument of the Board.

The routine of business as transacted between the Court and Board is simple. On the receipt of a dispatch from India, it is referred to the Committee in whose province it lies, and from it to the proper department; the chief of which causes a draft of a reply to be made under his superintendence, which he first submits to the Chairs; the Chairman brings the draft before the Committee, by whom it is considered and approved, or revised, and then laid before the Court. The draft is there discussed, and, when approved, sent to the Board. If the Board approve the draft, it is returned, and dispatched forthwith by the Court: if altered, the alterations may become the subject of correspondence and remonstrance with the Board; with whom, however, the final decision lies. If the Chairs judge that any serious discussion is likely to arise upon any dispatch, they make, unofficially, a previous communication to the Board, and the matter is discussed before it is laid before the Court.

It does not appear to be ascertained where the East India Company first transacted their business, but the tradition of the House is, that it was in the great room of the Nag's Head Inn, opposite Bishopsgate Church, where there is now a Quakers' Meeting-house. The maps of London, constructed soon after the great fire, place the India House in Leadenhall Street, on a part of its present site. It is probably the House, of which an unique print is preserved in the British Museum, surmounted by a huge, square-built mariner, and two thick dolphins. In the Indenture of Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the Company, dated 22nd July, 1702, we find that Sir William Craven, of Kensington, in the year 1701, leased to the Company his large house in Leadenhall Street, and a tenement in Lime Street, for twenty-one years, at £100 a year. Upon the site of this house what is called the old East India House was built in 1726.

The façade of the existing building is 200 feet in length, and is of stone. The portico is composed of six large Ionic fluted columns on a raised basement, and it gives an air of much magnificence to the whole, although the closeness of the street makes it somewhat gloomy. The pediment is an emblematic sculpture by Bacon, representing the Commerce of the East protected by the King of Great Britain, who stands in the centre of a number of figures, holding a shield stretched over them. On the apex of the pediment stands a statue of Britannia: Asia, seated upon a dromedary, is at the left corner; and Europe, on horseback, at the right.

The ground floor is chiefly occupied by court and committee-rooms, and by the Directors' private rooms. The Court of Directors occupy what is usually termed the Court Room, while that in which the Court of Proprietors assemble is called the General Court Room. The Court Room is said to be an exact cube of 30 feet: it is splendidly ornamented by gilding and by large looking-glasses; and the effect of its too great height is much diminished by the position of the windows near the ceiling. Six pictures hang from the cornice, representing the three Presidencies, the Cape, St. Helena, and Tellichery. A fine piece of sculpture, in white marble, is fixed over the chimney.



The General Court Room, which until the abolition of the trade was the Old Sale Room, is close to the Court Room. Its east side is occupied by rows of seats, which rise from the floor near the middle of the room towards the ceiling, backed by a gallery where the public are admitted: on the floor are the seats for the Chairman, Secretary, and Clerks. Against the west wall, in niches, are six statues of persons who have distinguished themselves in the Company's service: Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquis Cornwallis occupy those on the left, and Sir Eyre Coote, General Lawrance, and Sir George Pococke those on the right. The Finance and Home Committee Room is the best room in the House, with the exception of the Court Rooms, and is decorated with some good pictures.

The upper part of the house contains the principal offices and the Library and Museum. In the former is perhaps the most splendid collection of Oriental MSS. in Europe, and, in addition, a copy of almost every printed work relating to Asia: to this, of course, the public is not admitted; but any student, properly recommended, is allowed the most liberal access to all parts of it. The opening of the Museum at the India House to the public once a week, on Saturdays, from eleven to three, is a creditable act of liberality on the part of the Directors. The rooms appropriated to this purpose are not a continuous suite, but a passage leading from one suite to another contains paintings, prints, and drawings, illustrative of Indian scenery and buildings; also models of a Chinese war-junk, a Sumatran proa, together with a few objects of natural history, as remarkable specimens of bamboo, &c. This passage leads to three small side-rooms, the first of which contains a Burmese musical instrument, shaped somewhat like a boat, and having a vertical range of nearly horizontal strings, which were probably played by means of a plectum, or wooden peg. Opposite is a case illustrative of the state of the useful arts in India, containing models of looms, ploughs, mills, smiths' bellows, coaches and other vehicles, windlass, pestle and mortar, &c. This room also contains specimens illustrating the manufacturing processes of Oriental nations, with some objects of natural history. The next room is wholly devoted to natural history. In the third room there is another curious Burmese musical instrument, consisting of twenty-three flattish pieces of wood, from ten to fifteen inches in length, and about an inch and a half in width: these bars are strung together so as to yield dull and subdued musical notes when struck with a cork hammer; and their sizes are so adjusted as to furnish tones forming about three octaves in the diatonic scale. At the end of the corridor is a tolerably large room, containing a number of glass cases filled with specimens of Asiatic natural history. There are Indian, Siamese, and Javanese birds, Sumatran and Indian mammalia, besides butterflies, moths, beetles, and shells. In another room are sabres, daggers, hunting-knives, pipes, bowls, models of musical instruments, serving to illustrate some of the usages of the inhabitants of Java and Sumatra. The Library, in another part of the building, is also partly appropriated as a Museum. The Oriental curiosities in this department comprise, among other things, specimens of painted tiles, such as are used in the East for walls, floors, ceilings, &c., Bhuddist idols, some of white marble, others of dark stones, and some of wood. There are many other objects connected with the religion of Bhudda, as parts of shrines and thrones, on which processions and inscriptions are sculptured, and a large dark-coloured idol represents one of the Bhuddic divinities. In the centre of this room are three cases containing very elaborate models of Chinese villas, made of ivory, mother-of-pearl, and other costly materials; and from the ceiling is suspended a large and highly-decorated Chinese lantern, made of thin sheets of horn.

There are a few glass cases, which contain various objects worthy of notice. There



again in six days; and for other roads there are promised the same advantages. In 1660 the General Post Office was established by act of parliament; and all letters were to be sent through this office, "except such letters as shall be sent by coaches common known carriers of goods by carts, waggons, and pack-horses, and shall be carried along with their carts, waggons, and pack-horses respectively." The Post-master-General and his deputies, under this statute, and no other person or persons "shall provide and prepare horses and furniture to let to hire unto all thorough post and persons riding in post, by commission or without, to and from all and every the places of England, Scotland, and Ireland, where any post-roads are." We find, by various clauses of this act, that the Post-master was also to furnish a guide with a horn to such as ride post,—that he was to furnish horses within half an hour after demand,—and that if he could not accomplish this, persons might hire a horse when they could, and sue the Post-master for a penalty. The country Post-master was an ancient functionary, who had long been in the habit of attending to the wants of those who bore letters inscribed "Haste, haste, post haste." He was generally an innkeeper. Taylor, the water poet, in his 'Penniless Pilgrimage' from London to Scotland, in 1618, has described one that might rival any Boniface on record.

The history of the modern Post Office may be divided into three distinct periods: 1st, before 1784; 2nd, from that year to 1839; and 3rd, from 1839 to the present time. In the first period the bags were conveyed on horseback or in light carts, and the robbery of the post was one of the most common of the higher class of offences. The service was very inefficiently performed, and the rate of travelling did not often exceed four miles an hour. A time-bill for the year 1717 has been preserved, addressed "to the several postmasters betwixt London and East Grinstead." It is headed "Haste, haste, post haste!" from which it might be inferred that extraordinary expedition was not only enforced, but would be accomplished. The mails conveyed either on horseback or in a cart, departed "from the letter-office in London July 7th, 1717, at half-an-hour past two in the morning," and reached East Grinstead distant forty-six miles, at half an hour after three in the afternoon. There were stoppages of half an hour each at Epsom, Dorking, and Reigate, and of a quarter of an hour at Leatherhead, so that the rate of travelling, exclusive of stoppages, was a fraction above four miles an hour. But even nearly fifty years afterwards, and on the great roads, five miles an hour was considered as quite "going a-head." "Letters are conveyed in so short a time, by night as well as by day, that every twenty-four hours the post goes one hundred and twenty miles, and in five or six days an answer to a letter may be had from a place three hundred miles from London." Letters were despatched from London to all parts of England and Scotland three times a week, and to Wales twice a week; but "the post goes every day to those places where the court resides, as also to the several stations and rendezvous of his Majesty's fleet, as the Downs and Spithead; and to Tunbridge during the season for drinking the waters." This state of things existed until Mr. Palmer's plan for extending the efficiency of the Post Office began to be adopted in 1784. To him we owe "The Mail."

Sixty years ago was this great engine of our civilisation first set in motion. Before Mr. Palmer suggested his improvements to the Government, letters sent by the post which left Bath on Monday night, were not delivered in London till Wednesday afternoon. The London post of Monday night did not reach Worcester, Birmingham, or Norwich, till Wednesday morning, and Exeter on the Thursday morning. A letter from London to Glasgow, before 1788, was five days on the road. The letter-bags were carried by boys on horseback; and the robbery of the mail was, of course,

common an occurrence, that no safety whatever could be secured in the transmission of money. The highwayman was the great hero of the travelling of that day. But on the 2nd of August, 1784, the first mail-coach left London for Bristol; and from that evening, till the general establishment of the railway system, the mail was one of the wonders and glories of our country and the age.

The era of mail-coaches embraces about half a century. Their origin, maturity, and perfection, and gradual displacement by the railways, all took place within that short period. In 1836 there were fifty-four four-horse mails in England, thirty in Ireland, and ten in Scotland. The number of pair-horse mails in England was forty-nine. Their average speed in England was nine miles, all but a furlong, per hour, including stoppages. Starting from London at eight o'clock in the evening, the mail reached Exeter, 170 miles, in sixteen hours and thirty-four minutes; Holyhead, 261 miles, in twenty-seven hours; Glasgow, 396 miles, in forty-two hours; Edinburgh, 390 miles, in forty-two hours and a half. The number of miles travelled by the mails in England and Scotland, in 1838, was above seven millions, equal to a circuit round the globe, every day in the year. The English mail-coach was strongly characteristic of the national energy and spirit, and also of the national taste. In 1837 the number which left London every night was twenty-seven, travelling in the aggregate above 5500 miles before they reached their respective destinations.

We now come to a new era, which has had a most important influence on the arrangements of the Post Office. In 1836 the stamp-duty on newspapers was reduced from fourpence to one penny. The circulation of the London and provincial papers together has enormously increased since this change; and a large proportion of the total number is sent through the Post Office. Here is so much additional work to be got through. The Penny Postage came into operation on the 10th January, 1840; and the number of letters passing through the Post Offices of the United Kingdom has risen from 1,500,000 per week to 7,239,962 in the week ending Feb. 21, 1850.

The old Post Office in Lombard Street was a cumbrous and inconvenient mass of buildings, ill adapted to the great increase which had taken place in the business of the department. It was at length determined to erect a building expressly for affording the conveniences and facilities required; and in 1815 an act was passed authorising certain Commissioners to select a site, and to make the necessary arrangements for this purpose. The situation chosen was at the junction of St. Martin's-le-Grand with Newgate Street. Compensation was granted to the parties whom it was necessary to remove: their houses were pulled down; and the first stone of the new building was laid in May, 1824. On the 23rd of September, 1829, it was completed and opened for the transaction of business. It is about 389 feet long, 130 wide, and sixty-four feet high. The front is composed of three portions, of the Ionic order, one of four columns being placed at each end; and one of six columns, forming the centre, is surmounted by a pediment. The other parts of the building are entirely plain. The public entrances are on the east and west fronts, which open into a hall eighty feet long, by about sixty wide, divided into a centre and two aisles by two ranges of six columns of the Ionic, standing upon pedestals of granite; and on each side of the hall are corresponding pilasters of the same order. There is a tunnel underneath the hall by which the letters are conveyed, by ingenious mechanical means, between the northern and southern divisions of the building.

On entering the hall from the principal front, the offices on the right hand are appropriated to the departments of the Receiver-General, the Accountant-General (up stairs), and the London District (late Twopenny Post) Office. On the left are the Newspaper, Inland, Ship, and Foreign Letter Offices. A staircase at the eastern



end of this aisle leads to the Dead, Mis-sent, and Returned Letter Offices. The Inland Office, in the northern portion of the building, is 88 feet long, 56 wide, and 28 high; and there is a vestibule in the eastern front where the letter-bags are received, and whence they are despatched from and to the mails. The Letter-Carriers' Office adjoins the Inland Office, and is 103 feet long, 35 wide, and 33 feet high. The business of assorting the letters and newspapers for delivery and for dispatch into the country is carried on in these two offices. The whole building is warmed by means of heated air, and the passages and offices are lighted by about a thousand Argand burners.

We now proceed to give the regulations of the Post Office in the official terms:—

#### GENERAL REGULATIONS.

General post letters are charged by weight, as follows:—Letters not exceeding  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz., one postage; not exceeding 1 oz., two postages; and so on, adding two postages for every ounce; but parliamentary papers are an exception. The price of a postage is 1*d.*, which must be pre-paid by a stamp, or it will be charged double, and if the weight of the letter should exceed the value of the stamps attached, the excess will be charged double: thus, a letter weighing more than half an ounce, but not exceeding an ounce, if bearing 1*d.* stamp only, will be charged an additional 2*d.* on delivery. Shilling stamps and tenpenny stamps are also now issued.

Newspapers, to go the same day, must be put into the General Post Office before six o'clock; but those put in before half-past seven o'clock will go the same evening by paying a halfpenny with each. In the branch offices they must be put in before half-past five, and at the receiving houses before five. They must be sent in covers, open at the sides, and, to go free, no words or communication must be printed on such paper after the same shall have been published, nor any writing or marks upon such printed paper, or the cover thereof, other than the name and address of the person to whom it is sent; but, by affixing a stamp conspicuously on the cover, the paper itself may be written on, but this exemption does not apply to papers sent abroad. If addressed to persons who have removed, they may be re-directed, and sent free of extra charge. Failure in these conditions subjects the paper to the same rate of postage as an unpaid letter. Single books may also be sent by post, open at the ends, at the rate of 6*d.* per pound, which must be pre-paid by stamps, every fraction being reckoned as a pound.

British newspapers sent to foreign countries (where they are permitted to go free through the foreign post) go free: but if otherwise, they are charged a British postage of 2*d.* each; or a rate equivalent to the foreign rate. French and Belgian newspapers are subject to a postage in England of one halfpenny. English papers pay in France a postage of five centimes.

Letters exceeding 4 oz. in weight *must* be pre-paid in money or in stamps. With this restriction, any weight may be sent by post; but the packet must not exceed two feet in length, and nothing should be posted which will not bear the crush in the letter bags.

The rate of postage for Parliamentary Papers is 1*d.* for every 4 oz. They may be also sent to Hamburgh, Bremen, or Lübeck, viâ Hamburgh, open at the ends and pre-paid, if not exceeding 2 oz. for 1*d.*; above 2 oz. and not exceeding 3 oz. for 6*d.*; above 3 oz. and not exceeding 4 oz. for 8*d.*; and 2*d.* per oz. extra up to 16 oz.

Letters containing coin or articles of value are recommended to be registered. Such letters and any others may be registered at any of the receiving-houses in London till five o'clock for the evening mail, and at any post-office in the country



until within half an hour of the closing of the bag to the place for which they are directed. The fee in any case in Great Britain is 6*d.* and the postage, and to France 6*d.* and double the French postage. Such letters bearing a sufficient number of stamps will pass as paid letters, but the registration fee must in every case be paid in money.

#### FOREIGN LETTERS.

Foreign letters, when transmitted by packet, will be liable to the single rates of packet postage as given in a Table issued monthly by the Post Office.

The single uniform rate on letters between the United Kingdom and places beyond sea (Hamburgh and Lübeck excepted, to which the postage is 6*d.* only), when conveyed by *private ship* will be 8*d.*, Holland 1*s.*, in whatever part of the United Kingdom they may be posted or delivered. The rate of 8*d.* must be taken on letters between the United Kingdom and the East Indies, &c., when conveyed by private ship.

It is clearly to be understood that the single rates of postage given in the above instructions are applicable only to letters not exceeding *half* an ounce in weight. Letters exceeding half an ounce advance in proportion to their weight.

It must, however, be borne in mind that this scale does not apply to *French* and *Belgian* rates on letters to and from France, Belgium, and through France, as the present system of charging *French* rates on such letters must continue in force, namely, a single French rate for each quarter of an ounce exclusive. Letters to and from warm climates are recommended to be sealed with wafers instead of wax.

Mails made up in London as follows :—*Via London*—France, twice daily: till seven p.m. Belgium, daily. Holland every Wednesday and Saturday: Letters received till half-past eight a.m. Germany and the north part of Europe on the evenings of Tuesday and Friday: *Via Southampton*—Channel Islands, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday: Portugal, Madeira (via Lisbon), Spain, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of every month. Gibraltar, Malta, Greece, Ionian Islands, Egypt, Ceylon, and India, the 20th of every month. British West Indies (except Honduras and Bermuda), Foreign West Indies (except Havana), Venezuela, and Jacmel (Hayti), 2nd and 17th of every month. Nassau, Havana, Honduras, 17th, Vera Cruz, Tampico, 2nd, and St. Juan (Porto Rico), 2nd and 17th of every month. Madeira, Grey Town (St. Juan de Nicaragua), 2nd and 17th, New Granada, Chili, and Peru, on the 17th of every month only. *Via Fulmouth*—Madeira, Brazil, and Buenos Ayres, 4th of every month. *Via Liverpool*—British N. America, and United States. There are now two lines of packets, one British and one American, and letters are sent by the first that starts; Saturday is the usual day, but there is occasionally an extra one on a Wednesday. One of the United States packets that communicates with Hamburgh calls at Southampton in and out.

#### LONDON DISTRICT POST.

The principal office is at the General Post Office.

*Letters going from one Part of the Town to another*, if put into the

*Receiving Offices*—at  $\frac{1}{4}$  bef. 8, 10, 12 a.m., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 p.m., or

*Chief Office*—at 9, 11 a.m.,  $\frac{1}{4}$  bef. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and at 7 and 9 p.m.

*Will be sent out*—at 10, 12 a.m., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 p.m., and at 8 a.m. following morn.

The above deliveries are confined to London; and in the environs, within a circle of three miles, including Camberwell, Camden Town, Dalston, Hackney, Holloway, Islington, Kent Road (Old), Kennington, Kentish Town, Kingsland, Newington Butts, Pentonville, Shacklewell, South Lambeth, Somers Town, Vauxhall, and Walworth;

there are six deliveries a day, and letters posted in London before six are delivered the same evening. All places within six miles of the General Post Office have letters delivered the same evening if posted before five o'clock at the receiving-houses, or before a quarter to six at the chief office. The district extends twelve miles round London, but includes Hampton Court, Hampton, and Sunbury, though beyond the limits; and the number of deliveries vary from five to two. Formerly the stranger might wander a long time in search of a receiving-house, and he might be compelled to pass one intended only for the reception of letters for the country, but for seven or eight years the situation of the receiving-houses has been indicated by a plate of tin affixed to the nearest lamp-post, on which is shown the street number of such house, a crown being conspicuously placed at the top of the lamp. The keepers of the receiving-houses are shopkeepers, who were formerly paid according to the number of letters they received, but they have now fixed salaries, usually varying from £5 to £40, though a few, where the duties are heavier, receive considerably more.

#### MORNING MAILS.

For the *Morning Mails* the letter boxes at the receiving-houses are open till seven A.M. for newspapers, and three-quarters past seven A.M. for letters; and those at the Branch Offices, Charing Cross, Old Cavendish Street, and the Borough, for the reception of newspapers until half-past seven A.M., and for letters until eight A.M. At the General Post Office and the Branch Office in Lombard Street, the boxes close for newspapers at a quarter before eight A.M., and for letters at half-past eight A.M. Mails dispatched at half-past nine A.M. Letters and newspapers for Ireland, posted at any receiving office before two, or any branch office before three, or at St. Martin's-le-Grand by half-past three, are dispatched at five, and reach Dublin early on the following morning.

#### EVENING MAILS.

The receiving houses are open for general post letters till half-past five, or till six P.M., if the letters be pre-paid by stamps, and bear an additional 1*d.* stamp as a fee; and at St. Martin's-le-Grand and the Branch Offices at Charing Cross, Old Cavendish Street, Stones' End, Southwark, and Lombard Street, till six without fee; at the first three Branch Offices till a quarter to seven; at Lombard Street and the General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, till seven, with an additional 1*d.* stamp; and at St. Martin's-le-Grand till half-past seven P.M. with a fee of 6*d.* The extra penny on all inland letters to be paid by a stamp, but upon foreign, colonial, or ship letters the penny must be paid in money.

On a Saturday the number of letters dispatched into the country is above a hundred thousand, and there are as many newspapers. Each of the receiving-houses contributes its proportion, those from the greatest distance being received by horse-posts and mail-carts, which call at each office along their respective lines of road, and arrive at the central office between five and six o'clock. At five o'clock the receiving-houses in the three-mile district close, and at six o'clock the four principal branch offices are closed for the evening's dispatch. A minute or two before the boxes are closed for the receipt of newspapers, the late editions of the evening papers, with an account of the proceedings in Parliament, and of other events which have transpired before seven o'clock, are brought on horseback in bags; and it often happens that intelligence reaches Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and other great towns as far north as Lan-

caster, distant two hundred and forty miles from the metropolis, which the merchant or tradesman who has retired to his house at Hampstead, Highgate, or Norwood, does not hear of until a later period on the following morning. The great exertions for effecting the dispatch of the mails are crowded into the two or three preceding hours. The appearance of the large hall a few minutes before six is very striking. Men and boys with sacks of newspapers pour in in a continued stream; the newspaper window is raised for their reception, and one or two porters inside empty the contents into large baskets, which are wheeled forward for sorting, and pitch the bags outside to their owners. Within three or four minutes of the time for closing, the discharge of bags into the office-window, and the hurling of those which are emptied, take place as fast as it is possible for the two or three porters inside to perform the operation. When the clock has finished the sixth stroke the window descends as if it were impelled by a powerful spring. At the same instant all the letter-boxes close as if by some similar means. The scene there is as animated as at the newspaper window.

Before an attempt is made to assort the letters, they are placed with the address uppermost, and stamped at the rate of two hundred a minute. They are then assorted in about twenty great divisions, all those letters which are intended for a particular series of roads constituting one division. While this process is going on, the letters already placed in their proper division are taken to other tables, where other sorters are employed; they are then classed according to the separate roads, and next according to the different post-towns, for which bags are made up, and which are about seven hundred in number. The newspapers merely require to be faced and sorted. Every letter and newspaper passes more than once through the hands of the sorters, and about three hundred persons are engaged as sorters, including a considerable number of letter-carriers. An account is taken of the unpaid letters to be sent to the postmaster of each town, and the bags are then sealed up.

As the clock strikes eight the sacks with the letters and newspapers are dragged into the Post Office yard, and put into the mail-carts and omnibuses. The total weight of the newspapers and letters dispatched on a Saturday night, including the bags, is above eight tons. Omnibuses, or accelerators, proceed to the stations of the various railways. On the arrival of the accelerators at the stations, the servants of the Company carry the bags to a large vehicle, sixteen feet long, seven and a half wide, and six and a half feet high, fitted up as a sorting room, with counters and desks, and neatly labelled pigeon-holes. This is the Railway Post Office. While the train is proceeding at a speed of twenty-five or thirty miles an hour, a couple of clerks are engaged in sorting letters and arranging the bags for the different towns. By an ingenious contrivance, letter-bags are taken up while the train is at full speed. They are suspended from a cross-post close to the line, and as the train passes the bag is caught by a projecting apparatus, which drops it into a net hung from the exterior of the Railway Post Office. Bags for delivery are simply dropped as the train passes. The bag taken up is examined, and the letters for places onward are put into the proper bags, which are left during the passing of the train. The same process goes on in the day-mail, and the services of many clerks are required for the day and night work. In 1717, and for above half a century afterwards, a week would have elapsed before a reply could be received in London to a letter addressed to a person at Lancaster. Now a letter may be written to the latter place on one day, and an answer received to it on the next day. It is not only the internal means of communication which have been accelerated, but the change has been complete. Letters are conveyed in eleven days from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to London; and from London to Bombay in thirty-one days. There are lines of steam-boats from England to Halifax and



Boston; to the West India Islands; and to India by the Mediterranean and Red Seas. The post has become the safest and quickest of all modes of conveyance.

The business of the General Post Office commences at six o'clock in the morning, by which time all the mails have arrived. There are about seven hundred bags to be opened, and as many accounts of unpaid letters to be checked. It is said that expert persons will open a bag and check the account in a minute and a half. The letters are then sorted into districts, and afterwards into "walks" corresponding to the districts of actual delivery. A bill is made out against each letter-carrier, and the whole number start at the same time. The letter-carriers whose walks are farthest from the office are conveyed by accelerators or omnibuses as near as possible to the scene of their duties, dropping them one by one in rapid succession. The effect of this excellent arrangement is to give the most distant parts of the town nearly the same advantages as those in the immediate vicinity of the Post Office. The work is so subdivided that the deliveries are finished in from one hour and a half to two hours. The dispatch of letters to the suburbs, and villages, and towns not included within the limits of the General Post delivery, but comprised within the twelve mile boundary, is effected by the horse posts and mail-carts, which leave the bags at different offices, where letter carriers are in waiting to deliver the letters, or to take the bags to the respective receiving-houses to which they are subordinate, and which are in many cases at a distance from the line of road traversed by the mail-cart or horse post.

There is one department of the General Post Office to which we have not alluded, which has lately become of great importance. This is the Money-Order Office. A few years ago the business was transacted in apartments at a house in Noble Street, a little distance east of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and subsequently it was transferred to offices in the present building, but it was again removed to a large building in Aldersgate Street, a little north of the General Post Office, and on the opposite side of the way. About five years ago, the cost of transmitting a few shillings to a place 160 miles distant was 2s. 2d., the order being on a separate paper, which rendered the enclosure liable to double postage. Money orders for sums under £5 are now granted by every post-town upon every other post-town in the United Kingdom, on application at the various offices; and also by and upon certain offices in the metropolis, of which the postmasters are furnished with a list, for which a commission of 3d. for Two Pounds, and 6d. for any sum above Two Pounds and not exceeding Five Pounds, is charged. They must be presented for payment within the second calendar month after their issue or a fresh order will be charged for, and within the twelfth calendar month, or they will not be paid at all. Post Office Orders are recommended for small sums; and, if neither that nor registration be adopted, that all bills, notes, &c., be cut in halves, and sent by different posts; the numbers, dates, &c., should also be carefully taken. No money orders are issued or paid on a Sunday. A money order granted upon London, without specifying any particular office in London, can only be paid at the General Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand. Where personal attendance is inconvenient payment may be obtained by receipting the order and giving the bearer information as to the Christian name, surname, and occupation of the person who obtained the order. The total number of Post Office orders issued and paid in 1849, in England and Wales, was 4,248,891, and the amount was £8,152,643.

We cannot conclude without a tribute to the admirable management of the Post Office in this country. It has in a great measure ceased to be an engine of taxation; and within the last few years a series of improvements have been adopted which renders the institution a most valuable auxiliary in the diffusion, both directly and indirectly, of most important moral advantages.



THE NEW BUILDINGS.

KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. VII. THE TOWER: I.

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## VII. THE TOWER OF LONDON.

### PROGRESS OF THE TOWER.

The Tower is the very germ of London. How many shadowy recollections arise as we contemplate the time-worn walls, the slight elevation of the ground, and the dædæmon repairs! Here, at least, tradition informs us, was a strong-hold of the Romans; here have been found traces of the Romans; here, no doubt, was a Saxon burgh or castle; and here yet exist the fortifications of the early Normans. The forest of masts which now stretches eastward as far as the eye can pierce, was in those days comparatively a blank, while a living forest, the haunt of the wolf and the wild boar, formed the boundary line on the hills to the north and west, and along the valley of the Lee and Essex on the north-east, with the "tillage lands of the city," Fitzstephen writes, lying between, which, he adds, "are not barren gravelly soils, but like the fertile plains of Asia, which produce abundant crops, and fill the barns of the cultivators 'with Ceres' plenteous sheaf.'" From the earthen mound with its timber palisades of Trinobantium or Troynovant have alike extended the city of London and the endless miles of streets which now form the immense town of London, while the Tower remains the oldest monument of the kingdom.

The earliest historical description of the Tower, that of Fitz-Stephen, who died in 1211, has something striking amidst its brevity. "It (London) hath on the east part a Tower Palatine, very large and very strong, whose court and walls rise up from a deep foundation. The mortar is tempered with the blood of beasts." There is no real connection between the fabulous blood-tempered mortar of the old monkish writer, and the subsequent history of the Tower of London. Yet, when we think of its history, how appropriate does it seem that the very foundations of those walls should be laid in blood! Fitz-Stephen was nearer than we are to the period when these foundations were laid, by almost seven centuries; and yet he tells us not *who* laid them. Tradition says, Julius Cæsar; and Poetry is the step-nurse of the child of Tradition:—

"Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame."

Why does the poet himself tell us, in a note upon his well-known line, that the east part of the Tower is *vulgarly* attributed to Julius Cæsar? He had authority enough for his apostrophe to the towers of Julius, even if the belief of the vulgar were not a sufficient basis. Stow, who endeavours to depreciate the value of its traditional history, tells us, "It hath been the common opinion, and some have mistaken (but of none assured ground), that Julius Cæsar, the first conqueror of the Romans, was the original author as well thereof, as also of many other towers, castles, and great buildings within this realm." How does the good painstaking antiquary prove the common opinion? how does he show that the old writers who adopted the common opinion had "none assured ground?" "Cæsar remained not here so long, nor had he in his head any such matter; but only to despatch a conquest of this barbarous country, and to proceed to greater matters. Neither did the Roman writers make mention of any such buildings erected by him here." He knows what is in Julius Cæsar's head, and he knows what is not in the Roman writers, but he knows no more. And then come other antiquaries, who would give us something not so far off as Julius Cæsar to rest our faith upon. Dr. Stukeley would have a

citadel raised here, about the time of Constantine the Great; and Dr. Miller *proves* that the Tower of London was the capital fortress of the Romans, their treasury, and their mint, from the circumstance that three coins of the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius were found within the Tower walls, in digging for the foundations of some modern building. When we talk of the beginnings of such a place as the Tower of London, we rejoice in these gropings and mystifications of the learned; for, unmolested by their facts, we desire to look into the depths of a fathomless antiquity. It is little to us that Stow the modern tells us, as if settling the matter, "I find in a fair register-book of the acts of the Bishops of Rochester, set down by Edmund of Hadenham, that William I., surnamed Conqueror, builded the Tower of London, to wit, the great white and square tower there, about the year of Christ 1078, appointing Gundulph, then Bishop of Rochester, to be principal surveyor and overseer of that work, who was for that time lodged in the house of Edmere, a burgess of London." But mark how the modern antiquary is presently lost in the dim morning of history; and how even he falls back upon tradition:—"Ye have heard before, that the wall of this city was all round about furnished with towers and bulwarks, in due distance every one from other; and also that the river of Thames, with its ebbing and flowing, on the south side had subverted the said wall and towers there. Wherefore, *it is supposed*, King William, for defence of this city, in place most dangerous and open to the enemy, having-taken down the second bulwark in the east part of the wall from the Thames, builded this tower, which was the great square tower (now called the White Tower), and hath been since at divers times enlarged with other buildings adjoining, as shall be showed hereafter." Fitz-Stephen is Stow's authority for the fact of the Thames washing away the south wall; all the rest is conjecture. But since Stow's time—that is in 1720, and again in 1777—foundations of buildings long swept away were discovered near the White Tower. They were of stone, of the great width of three yards, and so strongly cemented that they were with difficulty removed. Who built these walls, which correspond so remarkably with Fitz-Stephen's description? How are we sure that the White Tower was the building of which Gundulph was the architect? Can we be certain that the White Tower was the *Atræ Palatina* described by Fitz-Stephen? These are questions which the antiquaries will not solve for us, even while they command us to believe in no vulgar traditions. Let them remain unsolved. We have got our foot upon tolerably firm ground. We see the busy Bishop (the same who built the great keep at Rochester) coming daily from his lodgings at the honest burgess's to erect something stronger and mightier than the fortresses of the Saxons. What he found in ruins, and what he made ruinous, who can tell? There might have been walls and bulwarks thrown down by the ebbing and flowing of the tide. There might have been, dilapidated or entire, some citadel more ancient than the defences of the people whom the Norman conquered, belonging to the age when the great lords of the world left everywhere some marks upon the earth's surface of their pride and their power. That Gundulph did not create the fortress, is tolerably clear. What he built, and what he destroyed, must still, to a certain extent, be a matter of conjecture.

Here then, about the middle of the eleventh century, was a Bishop of Rochester, with that practical mastery of science and art which so honourably distinguishes the ecclesiastics of that age, building some great work at the command of the King. The register referred to by Stow speaks of it as *the Great Tower*. But the chroniclers tell us that in the year 1090 the Tower of London was "sore shaken by the wind." There was a mighty tempest in that year, which they inform us blew down more than five hundred houses in London. These were houses of wood and mud,—huts not built to brave the elements. But the great White Tower to be sore shaken with the

wind! The wind might as well attempt to shake Snowdon or Ben Nevis. This single fact is to us a pretty satisfactory proof that the Tower, in the reign of Rufus, was a collection of buildings of various dates, and of various degrees of strength. Stow, describing the additional buildings of Rufus and his successor Henry I., says, "They also caused a castle to be builded under the said tower, to wit, on the south side toward the Thames, and also encastelated the same round about." The castle under the Great Tower is held to be that anciently called St. Thomas's Tower, beneath which was Traitor's Gate. Here, again, the precise building erected is not very clearly defined. That the Tower gradually assumed the character of a regular fortress, by successive additions, there can be little doubt. At the period of which we are speaking its limits were not very exactly defined; and its liberties or juridical extent continued to be a matter of controversy for several centuries. The chroniclers tell us that the first four constables of the Tower of London after the Conquest made a vineyard of the site now known as East Smithfield, which they held by force from the Priory of the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate, to which it pertained. It was restored to the Church in the second year of King Stephen. It cannot be exactly determined whether, previous to the reign of Stephen, the Tower was capacious enough for a royal residence; but as early as the reign of Henry I. it had been employed (as probably all places of strength were then occasionally employed) as a prison for state offenders. In the first year of that king, Ralph Flambard, the belligerent Bishop of Durham, was here confined. He kept a sumptuous table, and his jovial character was agreeable enough to his keepers, amongst whom he circulated the wine-cup with a very unclerical intemperance. A rope was conveyed to him in a fresh tun of the generous liquor wherewith he made the hearts of his companions glad. Their wassail was prolonged to the point of the most helpless drunkenness; and the bishop escaped from the window by the aid of his good rope, whilst his warders were soundly sleeping. A century or so later, Griffin the eldest son of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, tried a similar experiment with a rope, with no such happy result:—the bishop got safe to Normandy; the Welsh prince broke his neck.

During the absence of Richard I. in the Holy Land, in 1190, Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, held the Tower against John and his partisans. He "enclosed," say the chroniclers, "the tower and castle with an outward wall of stone, and also caused a deep ditch to be cast about the same, thinking to have environed it with the river of Thames." Stow has looked upon this occurrence with the eye of one skilled in local bound-marks. He tells us, with delightful simplicity, "by the making of this ditch in East Smithfield the church of the Holy Trinity in London lost half a mark rent by the year, and the mill was removed that belonged to the poor brethren of the Hospital of St. Catherine, and to the church of the Trinity aforesaid, which was no small loss and discommodity to either part. And the garden which the King had hired of the brethren for six marks the year for the most part was wasted and marred by the ditch." He complains, too, that the enclosure and ditch took away the ground of the City on Tower Hill, besides breaking down the city wall. The citizens, however, did not complain, because they thought all was done for "good of the city's defence." But in the reign of Henry III. their opinions underwent a material change. That King saw the weakness of the Tower as a fortress; and, whilst he made it his chief residence, adding to its internal comfort and beauty, he was careful to strengthen its bulwarks, especially towards the west. The work was probably hurried on, for the walls twice fell down, "shaken as it had been with an earthquake." Matthew Paris, who tells us this, adds, "for the which chance the citizens of London were nothing sorry, for they were threatened that the said wall and bulwarks were builded to the end that if any of them would contend for the liberties of the city they might be



imprisoned; and, that many might be laid in divers prisons, many lodgings were made, that no one should speak with another." Henry III. had, however, other and fiercer prisoners within those new walls than the valiant citizens of London. They had many contests with him; they insulted his queen and pent her up within the bulwarks of the Tower; but the royal clemency was to be bought with money, and good round sums did the citizens pay for it. The prisoners that Henry III. chiefly kept here were three leopards; and their abode, and that of their successors, was for centuries in the gate called the Lion Tower. This tower also was built by Henry III. The leopards which were presented to Henry III. by the Emperor Frederick, formed, no doubt, part of the royal state with which that King here surrounded himself. Although we have no very full traces of what he effected during his long reign in rendering the tower a fitting palace for the English kings—the records of what he did leave no doubt that he accomplished many things of which there is no record. Mr. Bayley says, "To him the Tower owed much of the splendour and importance which it possessed in early ages; and to his time may be ascribed the erection of some of the most interesting of the buildings that are now extant. The records of that era, which abound with curious entries, evincing Henry's great and constant zeal for the promotion of the fine arts, contain many interesting orders which he gave for works of that kind to be executed in different parts of the Tower. The royal chapels there, as well as the great hall and the King's chamber of state, are subjects of frequent and curious mention." These fragmentary notices are more interesting to the antiquary than to the general reader; but, like every other such authentic record, they throw light not only upon the state of national industry, but of the manners of the period. The King, for example, orders the garner to be repaired: this was probably a storehouse of corn. The leaden gutters of the Great Tower, through which the rain-water must fall down from the top, are to be lengthened and brought even with the ground. This was a progress in domestic architecture which we should have scarcely expected, when we know that five centuries afterwards the roofs of the London houses were furnished with spouts which bestowed their torrents during every shower upon the unhappy passengers below. The Great Tower, and the old wall about it, are ordered to be whitened; and Stow holds that the Great Tower was thenceforward called the White Tower: this we doubt. The church of St. Peter within the Tower was also the object of the King's especial care. It was not only to be brushed and plastered with lime, but its images were to be coloured anew, and a new image of St. Christopher was to be made, and two fair tables to be made, painted of the best colours, concerning the stories of the blessed Nicolas and Catherine. Edward I. completed the ditch and bulwarks erected by his father, and he raised some additional fortifications to the west. Mr. Bayley, the historian of the Tower, considers the works of Edward I. to be the last additions to the fortress of any importance. Some of the works of this period were perishable enough, from the nature of their construction. It is recorded, for example, that in 1316 the citizens of London pulled down a *mud* wall between the Tower Ditch and the city, supposed to have been erected by Henry III.: they were compelled to restore the same, and were fined a thousand marks for their exploit.

In the reign of Edward III. a commission was issued for inquiring into the state of the Tower. The original return to that commission is at the Record Office; and has been printed by Mr. Bayley in his 'History of the Tower.' We have here a detailed estimate of the expense of repairing particular buildings, the several items amounting to £920 3s. 4d. It is not very easy to assign the various items to the buildings which now exist: for example, we have the "High Tower," and the "White Tower;" as well as the "Round Tower," the "Money Tower," and "Corande's Tower." Other items indicate the palatial character of the fortress, such as the

King's hall and chapel; the Queen's kitchen, bakehouse, chamber, and chapel; the waiter's chamber; the wardrobe. In the reign of Edward's unhappy grandson we find the outer walls of mud already noticed still remaining. In a document of the fourth year of Richard II. it is stated that "the franchise of the Tower stretcheth from the water-side unto the end of Petty Wales, to the end of Tower Street, and so straight unto a mud wall, and from thence straight east unto the wall of the city; and from thence to the postern, south; and from thence straight to a great elm before the Abbot of Tower Hill's rents; and from thence to another elm standing upon Tower Ditch; and from that elm by a mud wall straight forth into Thames."

Charles Duke of Orleans, and his younger brother, John Count of Angoulême, who were taken prisoners at the battle of Agincourt, suffered a long captivity in the Tower of London. We mention this circumstance here, because in a copy of the poems of the Duke, now preserved in the Harleian collection in the British Museum, there is a most curious illumination representing the Tower and the adjacent parts of London at the period of the Duke's captivity.

In the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. some considerable repairs of the Tower appear to have taken place. In connection with the fortress-prison, Edward IV. made a movement highly characteristic of the period. His officers set up a scaffold and gallows upon Tower Hill; but the city of London insisted upon its ancient right of dealing with offenders within its own precincts: so the King's scaffold and gallows were taken down with many apologies, and the sheriffs maintained their ancient privileges of superintending all heading and hanging beyond the Tower walls. In the time of Henry VIII. extensive repairs again took place; and the specifications furnish a pretty accurate notion of the character of the several buildings and of the extent of the royal apartments. Amongst other towers whose ancient names have now fallen into oblivion, such as "Broad Arrow Tower" and "Robin the Devil's Tower," we have "Julius Cæsar's Tower;" but this, be it remarked, is not the great White Tower, which in later times has been called Cæsar's—it is the "Salt Tower," at the south-eastern angle.

We are now arrived at a period—that of the reign of Elizabeth—in which we can ascertain with great exactness the condition of this fortress. In 1597 a survey was made of the Tower and its liberties under the direction of Sir John Peyton, then governor. A "true and exact draught" has been preserved; but before we proceed to exhibit this very curious plan we may transcribe the brief description of the Tower by an intelligent foreigner, Paul Hentzner, who visited England in 1598:—

"Upon entering the Tower of London we were obliged to leave our swords at the gate, and deliver them to the guard. When we were introduced we were shown above a hundred pieces of arras belonging to the Crown, made of gold, silver, and silk; several saddles covered with velvet of different colours; an immense quantity of bed-furniture, such as canopies and the like, some of them richly ornamented with pearl; some royal dresses, so extremely magnificent as to raise any one's admiration at the sums they must have cost. We were next led to the Armoury, in which are these particularities: spears out of which you may shoot; shields that will give fire four times; a great many rich halberds, commonly called partisans, with which the guard defends the royal person in battle; some lances covered with red and green velvet, and the suit of armour of King Henry VIII.; many and very beautiful arms, as well for men as for horse-fights; the lance of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, three spans thick; two pieces of cannon—the one fires three, the other seven balls at a time; two others made of wood, which the English had at the siege of Boulogne in France—and by this stratagem, without which they could not have succeeded, they struck a terror



as at the appearance of artillery, and the town was surrendered upon articles; nineteen cannons of a thicker make than ordinary, and in a room apart thirty-six of a smaller; other cannons for chain-shot, and balls proper to bring down masts of ships; cross-bows, bows and arrows, of which to this day the English make use in their exercises. But who can relate all that is to be seen here? Eight or nine men employed by the year are scarce sufficient to keep all the arms bright.

"The mint for coining money is in the Tower. N.B. It is to be noted that, when any of the nobility are sent hither, on the charge of high crimes, punishable with death, such as murder, &c., they seldom or never recover their liberty. Here was beheaded Anna Bolen, wife of King Henry VIII., and lies buried in the chapel, but without any inscription; and Queen Elizabeth was kept prisoner here by her sister Queen Mary, at whose death she was enlarged, and by right called to the throne.

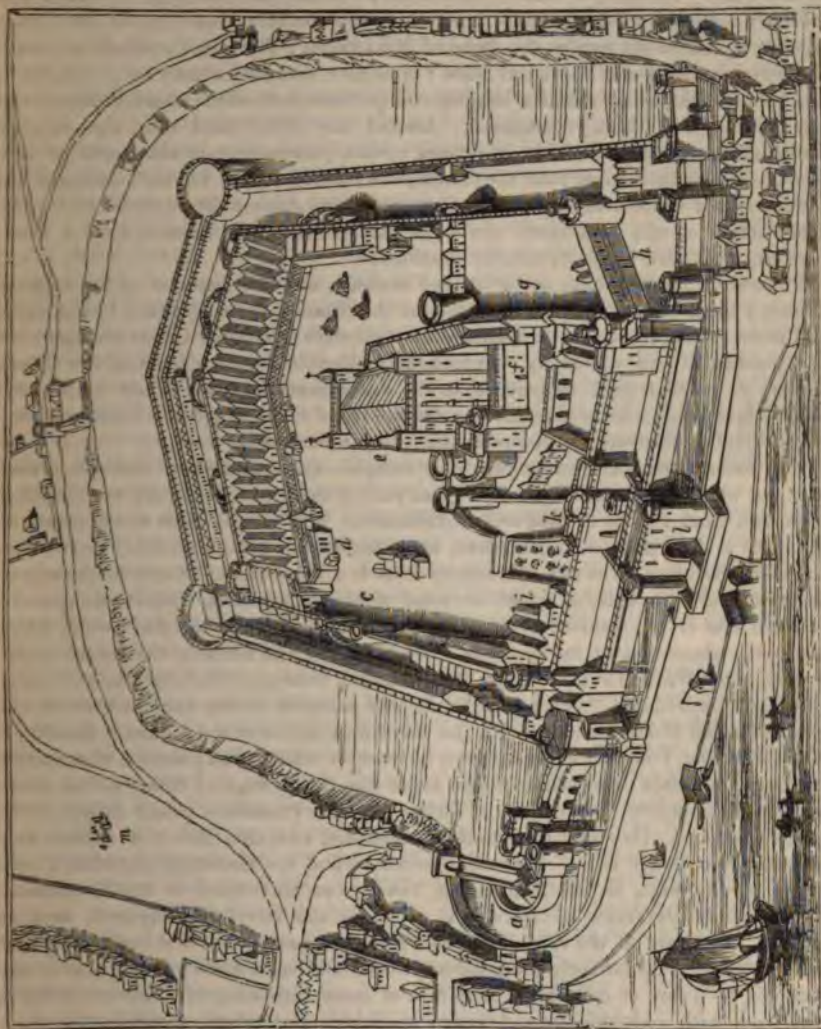
"On coming out of the Tower we were led to a small house close by, where are kept variety of creatures, viz., three lionesses, one lion of great size called Edward VI., from his having been born in that reign; a tiger, a lynx, a wolf exceedingly old; this is a very scarce animal in England, so that their sheep and cattle stray about in great numbers without any danger, though without anybody to keep them: there is, besides, a porcupine and an eagle: all these creatures are kept in a remote place, fitted up for the purpose with wooden lattices, at the Queen's expense.

"Near to this Tower is a large open space: on the highest part of it (Tower Hill) is erected a wooden scaffold for the execution of noble criminals; upon which they say three princes of England, the last of their families, have been beheaded for high treason. On the Thames close by are a great many cannon, such chiefly as are used at sea."

The plan which we subjoin receives an additional value from being of the exact period of Hentzner's description.

The names which we have affixed to this plan are those which the respective portions of the fortress at present bear, with the exception of those parts here called "the Queen's lodgings" and "the Queen's gallery and garden." This plan is also sufficient to show the buildings which remain, and their positions. The area within the walls somewhat exceeds twelve acres, and may be called a circle, formed by a wide and spacious ditch or moat that runs all round the walls, leaving a narrow slip of wharf or quay between it and the river; the waters of which were admitted to the moat by a passage beneath St. Thomas's Tower, better known as Traitor's Gate. The whole of the ditch is now dry, and the sloping banks are railed in from Tower Hill, and laid out as an ornamental plantation, with gravel walks and seats, while a part of the south is occupied by temporary sheds for workmen. The principal entrance into the Tower is at the south-western angle, by a series of gates leading through an enclosure, and over a stone bridge thrown across the moat. The first gate is called the Lion's Gate, from the court adjoining having been appropriated to the menagerie, first commenced by Henry III., and which was continued until the whole collection was transferred to the Zoological Gardens in Nov., 1834. At this entrance there were formerly, as we are told by Mr. Bayley, considerable outworks, which were enclosed by a small moat, forming what is termed a barbican. This was the post of an advanced guard, where a porter was stationed to keep "watch and ward," and to announce in due form all state arrivals; and where strangers were detained until their business was made known to the governor. These feudal ceremonies were observed down to the reign of James I., when they gradually fell into disuse. The next gate stands outside the present moat and is called the Middle Tower, which, with the Byward Tower on the other side of the moat, are arched gateways, each





[The Tower of London.]

From a Print published by the Royal Antiquarian Society, and engraved from the Survey made in 1597, by W. Halward and J. Gascoigne, by order of Sir J. Peyton, Governor of the Tower.—*a.* Lion's Tower; *b.* Bell Tower; *c.* Beauchamp Tower; *d.* The Chapel; *e.* Keep, called also Caesar's, or the White Tower; *f.* Jewel-house; *g.* Queen's Lodgings; *h.* Queen's Gallery and Garden; *i.* Lieutenant's Lodgings; *k.* Bloody Tower; *l.* St. Thomas's Tower (now Traitor's Gate); *m.* Place of Execution on Tower Hill.

furnished with double portcullises, and flanked by massive round towers on each side. On the right, under the Byward Tower, is a passage leading to a drawbridge on to the quay. In front, is seen a narrow paved street, the buildings in which were formerly occupied by the ancient moneyers, when the Mint was kept in the Tower, whence the street yet retains the name of Mint Street: this street extends all round the fortress, and forms the outer ward: it is now occupied chiefly by a number of miserable brick hovels used for lodging the garrison, and which there is hope—and some signs—will shortly disappear. Around the outer ward runs the external rampart, strengthened formerly by several towers, particularly on the south or river front, of which little more than the foundations remain, except Traitor's Gate, and the towers at the western extreme. The outer ramparts have a few bastions of modern construction on the land sides; the walls are mounted with cannon, with a raised platform walk, not, however, entirely continuous.

Proceeding onward from the principal entrance, at some distance on the right, is Traitor's Gate, beneath which the waters of the Thames were admitted to the moat, and under whose gloomy arch prisoners of state were conducted to the fortress; but the passage is now walled up. Immediately opposite Traitor's Gate is the Bloody Tower, so called from a tradition that the unfortunate Edward V. and his brother were lodged here; but it certainly was not the scene of their murder. Under an archway adjoining, furnished with a portcullis, we enter the inner ward.

The inner ward was surrounded by a rampart strengthened by thirteen towers, many of which remain, as does also a great part of the wall. This wall was forty feet high, and from twelve to nine feet in thickness. The ground rises as we enter; on the right is the guard-house, a modern, uncharacteristic, though probably convenient, low stone building. On the left and in front is a large paved square or parade, on the west and south sides of which are some mean-looking brick dwelling-houses, one of them that of the resident governor, at the back of which is the Bell Tower, where hangs the alarm-bell of the garrison. On the right, and forming the centre of the square, is the White Tower, or Keep of the ancient fortress, to the south side of which is attached a building erected in 1826, for the reception of the ancient armour, and now called the Horse Armoury. At the north-west corner of the square, is the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula (of the fetters), in front of which the execution of criminals formerly took place; and behind which there was, in the reign of Henry III., a cell or hermitage inhabited by a recluse of either sex, who received a penny daily "of the king's charity." How odd a combination appears, now, the idea of a recluse in a hermitage on Tower Hill! Between the chapel and the lieutenant-governor's residence on the west, is the Beauchamp Tower, and northward of the Beauchamp Tower stands Devereux, or Develyn's, or Robin the Devil's Tower, both used as prisons. Eastward of the chapel, and occupying a great part of the northern side of the enclosure, stood formerly the armoury, which was burnt down in 1841, and is now occupied by a sort of castellated structure of stone, consisting of a square tower at each end, with battlements and heavy machicolations above, divided into three stories, the windows of the upper two stories projecting in a stone frame, so as to appear like the large oriel of a Tudor dwelling-house. The centre is formed of two octagonal towers, with narrow apertures for lights, flanking an arched gateway. The body stands somewhat back, and connects the central towers with the end towers: each contains three stories with seven windows in each story, and all are battlemented and machicolated, while two stacks of heavy chimneys rise from their centres. There is no doubt that there is great difficulty in providing for the wants of modern society, when making additions or alterations to an ancient edifice; and if there is not an

entire congruity in this, which is intended for a barrack, it is at least infinitely preferable to the wretched hovels which have hitherto served for that purpose, and disgraced alike the building and the country.

North-eastward of this, and on the line of the inner wall, stood the Flint, the Bowyer, and the Brick Towers. The Flint Tower fell into decay, and nothing remains but the foundation story. The great fire of 1841 broke out in the Bowyer Tower, and the upper part, a comparatively modern erection, was destroyed. On the sites, or nearly so, of these towers, others are now being built more in character with the original structure; the hovels that encumbered them are removed, and the old wall is being restored and repaired. At the north-east angle is the Martin Tower, formerly used as a prison, and subsequently as the depository of the crown jewels, which were placed in a vaulted chamber, and the tower thence received the name also of the Jewel Tower. Along the eastern wall, south of the Jewel Tower, is the Constable Tower, which corresponds with the Beauchamp Tower on the west, but is smaller, and, like that, was a prison; the Broad Arrow Tower; and the Salt Tower. Almost in front of the Jewel Tower, and on the east side, is a small stone building of an undescribable but castellated style, erected in 1841-2 for the reception of the Regalia, which are here very conveniently disposed for exhibition. Nearly adjoining, but more advanced into the quadrangle, is the barrack for the officers of the garrison: another mixture of the castle and the dwelling; two octagonal towers, or rather turrets, flank the arched entrance, which has two stories above it, and on each side is a wing of two stories, with battlements and large bay windows.

On the south side of the White Tower stands the Ordnance Office, a plain modern building, erected about 1790, which occupies a part of the site where formerly stood the royal apartments, at the back of which were the King's and Queen's gardens. Of these apartments there are no remains, and though the names are recorded of the Great Hall, the King's Chamber, King's and Queen's Galleries, we know little of their form, or extent, or when they ceased to exist.

The Salt Tower is placed at the south-eastern angle; thence westward the next is the Lanthorn Tower, which formed a part of the royal apartments, and is said to have contained the King's bedchamber. Still farther westward is the Wakefield or Record Tower, and next we again reach the Bloody Tower. The Wakefield and Lanthorn Towers are supposed to belong to the earlier parts of the construction, and to date their origin from William Rufus. The Wakefield or Record Tower consists of only two stories, the upper one a restoration: it has been a depository for the records of the kingdom from, at latest, the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

Having completed the circuit, we may mention that the southern front, a little east of the Lanthorn Tower, is broken by a wharf-like warehouse, furnished with cranes and tackle for hoisting goods, and a tram-road leading from the quay in front: this belongs to the Ordnance Office. At the south-eastern angle also there is a draw-bridge for foot passengers on to the quay, the exit from which is by Iron-gate.

In this sketch of the plan of the fortress, we have purposely avoided any detailed description, as that will be given in treating of the various portions.

At the date of the plan we have given, the Tower had ceased to be the residence of the sovereign. Whitehall had become the centre of courtly splendour; but the Tower was still the seat of all the great attributes of royalty, and it was occasionally occupied by the monarch upon extraordinary solemnities. James I. came here in 1604, previous to his procession through the city to open his first parliament. In a Latin oration by William Hubbocke, which was subsequently published with a translation, the King is welcomed to the Tower, in a style inflated enough indeed, but which



does not disregard those facts that afford us a notion of the purposes to which the Tower was then applied, as well as a tolerable description of the place itself.

"At the post gates whereof there saluteth you by my words not only your faithful Lieutenant, a knight graced with ornaments of war and peace, and the whole troop of armed men (the wardens) that surround your princely person, your servants the guard in this place, but together also there welcomes you, as it were with one obeisance, whole England, France, and Ireland, the sovereign authority of all which, by the possession of this one place, you do clasp and as it were gripe in your hand. For this Tower and Royal Castle is the pledge for them all, and not only the gate of good hope, but the haven of the whole scope. Here the stately and princely beasts the lions (couchant) of England do bow down to the lion (rampant) of Scotland; even to you, a true offspring of the Lion of Judah, and rightly descended of kings your great-great-grandfathers. Here is money coined, the joints and sinews of war, which now a good while since hath borne the image and superscription of your own Cæsar. There are the Records of Estate, the closet of the acts and patents of our princes, your renowned progenitors, out of which, I may boldly avouch it, a truer story of our nation by far may be compiled than any is yet extant. Here are, dispersed in the several quarters of this place, certain round turrets for the custody of offenders against the King. This which is next our elders termed the Bloody Tower, for the bloodshed, as they say, of those infant princes of Edward IV., whom Richard III., of cursed memory (I shudder to mention it), savagely killed two together at one time. Then there presenteth itself, looking dutifully from a great height upon you, but holding out brazen pieces of shot, threatening flashes of fire and thunderbolts to your enemies, a great and square tower for martial service, the strength of this place, a watchman for the city, a keeper of the peace, a commander of the country round about, wherein antiquity hath specially made memorable the Hall of the Roman Cæsar. Here is the Jewel-house and the wealth of the kingdom, containing implements of great value above number, and all the gold and silver plate, with a most rich princely wardrobe; all which have now long since poured themselves into your bosom, as the just owner and full heir to them all. Here are, that I may not name everything, mountains of bullets, and most large places above and below for receipt of armour, with ordnance, darts, pikes, bows, arrows, privy coats, helmets, gunpowder, finally with the whole furniture to chivalry, for service on horse, on foot, by land, by sea, exceedingly stored; and all these to subdue your enemies; to defend your friends, citizens, subjects, associates, and confederates; and to propulse danger, annoyance, violence, fear, from your own person, most puissant King, from your dearest spouse, our sovereign Queen, your progeny, estate, and whole train."

The preceding extract we give from the reprint of Hubbocke's scarce tract in Mr. Nicholls's 'Progresses of James I.' In the same valuable collection we have a tract entitled 'England's Farewell to the King of Denmark,' in which the writer gives an account of the festivals with which the royal brother of James was entertained, and the sights that he went to see, in 1606. At the Tower, says the writer, "our gracious sovereign, his dear esteemed brother, King James, met his Highness, and with kingly welcomes entertained him, and in his own person conducted him to the offices of the Jewel-house, Wardrobe, of the Ordnance, Mint, and other places, where to their kingly presence in the Jewel-house were presented the most rare and richest jewels and beautiful plate, so that he might well wonder thereat, but cannot truly praise or estimate the value thereof by many thousands of pounds."

But there was a place, after the party had viewed the Mint, in which James especially delighted. "From thence to the lions and other wild beasts there kept and

maintained for his Highness's pleasures and pastimes." The only additions which this eccentric monarch made to the Tower were in connection with these amusements. "This spring of the year (1605) the King builded a wall, and filled up with earth all that part of the moat or ditch about the west side of the lions' den, and appointed a drawing partition to be made towards the south part thereof, the one part thereof to serve for the breeding lioness when she shall have whelps, and the other part thereof for a walk for other lions. The King caused also three trap-doors to be made in the wall of the lions' den, for the lions to go into their walk at the pleasure of the keeper, which walk shall be maintained and kept for especial place to bait the lions with dogs, bears, bulls, boars, &c."

In the reign of James I. the general condition of the Tower was inquired into by the Privy Council; and it was reported that, through successive encroachments, the splendour and magnificence of this royal castle was much defaced, and the place itself as it were besieged in the wharf, ditches, and liberties. Commissioners, in 1623, reported that on the side of Tower Hill and East Smithfield "the moat is much overgrown and filled up with earth for gardens; and round the counterscarp, and within the moat also there are placed many houses, sheds, timber-yards, coal-yards, wheelers' yards, &c." This is indeed a curious record of the steady encroachments of peaceful industry upon the outworks of a slumbering despotism. But the cause of these encroachments is pretty obvious. The report of 1620 talks of the "evil toleration of some lieutenants," and mentions the odious words "private profit." Mr. Bayley has preserved a curious paper which appears to have been drawn up by a yeoman warder in 1641, stating the appropriation of the various buildings at that date. It shows us little of the splendour, but a great deal of the melancholy gloom, of the then Tower. It appears to have been some time deserted by the Crown, and almost wholly appropriated to the detention of prisoners of state. The White Tower, according to this, belonged to the office of the Ordnance, the Martin Tower to the porter of the Mint, the Byward and Watergate Towers to the warders. But of eleven other towers each bears the fearful appellation of "*a prison lodging*."

In the latter part of the reign of Charles II. very considerable repairs were effected in the Tower, "for the safety and convenience thereof and the garrison therein." The survey which was previously made is accompanied with a plan. Compared with the previous plan of the reign of Elizabeth, we see that during the lapse of less than a century much of the ancient character of the old fortress had been obliterated, and that clusters of small buildings had grown up amidst its towers and courts. During the civil wars and the Commonwealth the place had been left pretty much under the control of its military officers; and after the Restoration, Charles troubled himself but little about a gloomy fortress far away from the scenes of his voluptuousness. Pepys has a curious notice of one visit of the King to the Tower, under date of the 24th of November, 1662:—"Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, going forth toward Whitehall, we hear that the King and Duke are come this morning to the Tower *to see the Dunkirk money*." The notion of Charles going to the Tower to look upon the price of his shame is highly characteristic. In the same month Pepys was himself engaged in an adventure at the Tower. Some person, with a prodigious show of mystery, had affirmed that there was treasure concealed in the vaults of the Tower, and Pepys—the busy prying Pepys—was to be the chief agent in bringing the riches to the light of day. The sum alleged to have been hidden was seven thousand pounds, of which the discoverer was to get two, Lord Sandwich two, and the King three. A warrant for the search was given by the King, and the Lieutenant of the Tower and the Lord Mayor were to aid and assist. Four separate attempts to find this treasure were made, but without any success.



In the reign of James II. was commenced the grand storehouse, on the north side of the inner ward. This building was completed in the reign of William III., and was utterly destroyed by fire in the reign of Queen Victoria. The principal buildings that were added to the Tower in the next century were houses for heads of departments, storehouses, and barracks. All these, as it may be supposed, are perfectly incongruous with the ancient character of the place.

The great fire at the Tower on the 30th of October, 1841, drew the public attention, with an earnestness previously unknown, to this most interesting of all the monuments of our ancient history.

The brief history which we have given of the progressive increase of the Tower has purposely avoided any notice of the surpassing historical associations which belong to this fortress. They will group themselves around it in its aspects of a *Palace*, a *Prison*, and an *Arsenal* and *Fortress*.

#### THE PALACE.

Motives of safety induced an English monarch first to make the Tower his palace within the walls of the then almost impregnable fortress. In 1140, we are told, Stephen, whilst his affairs were in a very unpromising state, came hither with a slender retinue, and during the feast of Whitsuntide held his court in the Tower halls. John was also a frequent resident; and, after his death, Prince Louis of France stayed some short time, prior to his renunciation of all right of sovereignty in England, and his return to his native country. The youthful king, Henry III., spent a considerable portion of the years of his minority in the Tower, and gave it a kind of celebrity for the performance with great pomp of religious festivals. These were, no doubt, expensive affairs; and perhaps rather severely taxed the kingly resources. When Henry kept his court in the Tower during Lent in 1220, he had to borrow two hundred marks of Pandulph, the Pope's legate, and one hundred of "Henry of St. Alban's," for the necessary use of his household. In this, as in the preceding reign, the growing dissensions between the nobles and the monarch caused the Tower to be besieged; but such matters will be more appropriately noticed in our account of the Tower as a fortress and arsenal. During these troubles, Henry, in the year 1236, summoned a great council or parliament to meet him in May within the Tower; but such was the opinion his subjects had of his good faith, that the barons unanimously refused to assemble in any such place; the king was accordingly compelled to return to Westminster and meet them there as usual. In the subsequent years of Henry's reign we find the king frequently retreating to the Tower for safety, till his son's success at the battle of Evesham annihilated the opposing party. It is in connection with this reign that we find the first mention of the chapel in the White Tower, forming at this day perhaps the most perfect Norman remain in the kingdom.

The White Tower is a large massive quadrangular edifice, occupying a central space in the great area of the Tower of about one hundred and sixteen feet north and south, and ninety-six east and west. Turret towers at the corners (that at the north-east formerly used by Flamsteed as an observatory), a circular projection rising to the summit of the building (ninety-two feet) on the southern part of the eastern wall, tall blank Norman arches, and low Norman windows, complete the essential features of the exterior; though, we must add, there are on the south and west sides low ranges of attached building, one forming the horse armoury, the other a guard-house. The interior is divided into four stories including the vaults, connected by stairs in the spacious circular turret at the north-eastern angle. The first floor consists of two



large apartments, and one small, with a semicircular end, and a plain vaulted roof, which is interesting from its evident antiquity. These were formerly prisons, and in that view we shall have occasion again to return to them. On the second story are two other large rooms, used, like the first, as armouries, or for the deposit of ordnance stores, and the chapel, which, rising to the roof of the Tower, contracts the third story to two apartments corresponding in size and position to those in each of the stories below. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the chapel to one who like ourselves has seen the Choir of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield (the present parish church), is its striking resemblance in shape and style to that fine edifice. It wants the size, and partially therefore the grandeur, of St. Bartholomew's; it wants also the peculiar beauty of form which some of the arches of the latter present; but there are the long-continued aisle and the circular altar end. On the other hand, whilst St. Bartholomew has undergone many and most injurious alterations, this is genuine, unaltered, and, it is pleasant to add, unalterable Norman in every part. From various rolls quoted by Mr. Bayley, it appears service was regularly performed here during the reign of Henry III. by a chaplain who received a yearly stipend of fifty shillings.

An interesting memory of Henry III.'s son and successor, Edward I., in connection with the palace, has been preserved by the famous alchemist of that day, Raymond Lully, who visited England at Edward's express request. The alchemist states, in one of his works, that in the secret chamber of St. Katherine, in the Tower of London, he performed in the royal presence the experiment of transmuting some crystal into a mass of diamond, or adamant as he calls it, of which he says the king made little pillars for the tabernacle of God. The popular belief went so far as to credit the rumour that Lully had by means of his art furnished Edward with a large quantity of gold to defray the expense of a projected expedition to the Holy Land. What with his Welsh and Scottish expeditions, Edward had little time for rest anywhere, and the Tower appears to have enjoyed a small share of his presence. The effeminate Edward II. also seldom visited the Tower, except when he sought shelter within its walls; although his queen there gave birth to her eldest daughter, called from that circumstance Jane of the Tower. On the deposition and murder of the king, his son, the third Edward, was here for some time kept carefully secluded from public affairs, by his mother, Isabel, and her coadjutor, Mortimer; but they soon found to their cost that the spirit of the conqueror of Wallace was alive again in the person of his grandson; Mortimer was suddenly arrested at Nottingham in 1330, and thence conveyed to the Tower gallows, to taste the bitterness of the death he had dealt out to his late monarch. During the years 1337-8 Edward resided principally at the Tower, busying himself in the preparations for his intended expedition to France. Never did the day-dream of French sovereignty, which was so constantly before the eyes of our early kings, seem more bright or full of promise than now; and certainly never was there a better chance of success had success been possible, for almost every man of that brilliant court, from Edward himself, and his son the Black Prince, downwards, was a man of mark and likelihood, if not of positive reputation in the annals of war and chivalry. The long list of illustrious prisoners who during this reign were pouring continually into the Tower, including the Kings both of France and Scotland, is a sufficient attestation of their military excellence. Edward died at Richmond in 1377, and his grandson, Richard II., soon after removed from Westminster to the Tower to prepare for his coronation, which took place on the 16th of July in the same year. The procession, which now first began to be an essential part of every coronation, appears to have taken place the day before; when the Mayor,

Sheriffs, and Aldermen, and a large body of citizens and others, assembled on St. Martin's Hill, and the young sovereign, clad in white robes, rode forth, attended by a number of nobles, knights, and esquires. The streets were gaily decorated with draperies, the conduits flowed with wine, and at the principal thoroughfares a procession was delayed to witness the exhibition of pageants. A single specimen will suffice to give some idea of their character. In Cheapside was stationed a cart with four towers, from which, on two sides, "the wine ran forth abundantly, and on the top stood a golden angel, holding a crown, so contrived that, when the King rode near, he bowed down and presented it to him. In each of the towers was a virgin, of stature and age like to the King, apparelled in white vestures, that blew in the King's face leaves of gold and flowers of gold counterfeit."\* On the nearer approach the damsels took cups of gold, filled them with wine from the spouts, and presented them to the King and the chief nobles. Like most of his predecessors, Richard spent little of his time in the Tower, except in cases of rebellion, which during his troubled reign occurred but too often, and left him little leisure for the gaieties and splendours of a court. But in 1389, Charles VI. of France coming on his marriage, given a magnificent fête, Richard ordered a tournament to be held in London, which was proclaimed through France and Germany—a challenge being offered by the English. Many foreigners of distinction accordingly came over, and became the King's guests in the Tower during the continuance of the festivities. On the day appointed, the first Sunday after Michaelmas, 1390, the gates flew open, and displayed to the eager eyes of the countless thousands a cavalcade of peculiar character and extraordinary magnificence issuing forth from the Tower. "first," says Froissart, "threescore coursers apparelled for the jousts, and one an esquire of honour, riding a soft pace; and then issued out threescore knights of honour, mounted on fair palfreys, riding on the one side richly apparelled, and every lady led a knight with a chain of silver, which knights were appointed to joust; and thus they came riding along the streets of London, with great noise of trumpets and other minstrels, and so came to Smithfield, where the King, the Queen and many ladies were ready in chambers, richly adorned, to see the jousts. The English challengers had their armour and apparel garnished with white and gold, and their necks with crowns of gold. On Richard's second marriage, in 1392, the young Queen Isabel also went in great pomp from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster prior to her coronation. Events of a very different character now attracted the unfortunate King's attention. We have said in our description of the Tower that the third or upper story is occupied by two large apartments: the one is as remarkable as the events which have distinguished them. Let the reader imagine a room of the largest proportions—length, breadth, and height—supported by two rows of beams, the ceiling flat, of timber, the walls pierced with windows on one side and arches on the other; the whole of the plainest, we might almost say the rudest, construction, yet grand-looking withal,—and he will have some idea of the Council Chamber of the White Tower, the room in which some of the most important events of our history have taken place. Here it was that on Monday, the 29th of September, 1399, the deposition of Richard II. was enforced, so well described by Shakspeare:—

"I give this heavy weight from off my head,  
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand;  
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;  
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,

\* Holinshed.

With mine own hands I give away my crown,  
 With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,  
 With mine own breath release all duteous oaths :  
 All pomp and majesty I do forswear ;  
 My manors, rents, revenues, I forego ;  
 My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny :  
 God pardon all oaths that are broke to me !  
 God keep all oaths unbroke are made to thee !  
 Make me, that nothing have, with nothing griev'd ;  
 And thou with all pleas'd, that hast all achiev'd !  
 Long mayst thou live, in Richard's seat to sit,  
 And soon lie Richard in an earthen pit !  
 God save King Henry, unking'd Richard says,  
 And send him many years of sunahine days !"

say the unhappy monarch ask, in addition—

"What more remains?"

this and the subsequent reigns there is nothing requiring notice in connection with the Tower as a palace ; neither Henry IV. nor his son were often in it, and the coronation procession of the latter presented no peculiar features. With the sixth Henry its interest again revives. That monarch was often in the Tower, sometimes as king, sometimes as prisoner—such were the alternations of his reign and the troublous character of the times. The end was to be in too complete accordance with the rest. The battle of Barnet, in 1471, finally annihilated his army, and he returned to the Tower, Edward IV. entered London in triumph on the 21st of May, and the next day it was whispered abroad that Henry was dead ! Shakspeare's account of the affair is too well known to be repeated ; it is in all probability the true one.

During the preceding and following years of Edward's reign the Tower was used as a kingly palace than perhaps it had ever before been. That monarch resided in the Tower with great splendour on more than one occasion, and in addition to the coronation procession there was that of his Queen, Lady Elizabeth Gray. The death of Edward IV. and the accession of his youthful son bring us to events of great interest and importance, that the very mention of the Tower recalls their mystery to our minds ; though for that, as for many other historical reminiscences, we attribute no small portion of the popular knowledge to the great popular story of Richard III.—the Princes—the Tower—have indeed become household words. The most important events in connection with the fate of the Princes have been matter of controversy ; but really, after all, there appears no solid reason to distrust Sir More's statement, who wrote only five-and-twenty years after their occurrence, or a variety of sources, that he might not be able to acknowledge publicly, or to him for the acquisition of materials : the Chancellor's character, at all events, ought to free him from any suspicion of giving currency to mere rumours. The account is as follows :—"King Richard, after his coronation, taking his way to London, to visit in his new honour the town of which he bore the name of old London, as he rode to fulfil that thing which he had before intended. And forasmuch as he had heard and misgave him that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he would be right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them ; as counselling of his kinsmen might aid his cause and make him kindly King. So he sent John Greene, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brakenbury, Master of the Tower, with a letter, and credence also, that the same Sir Robert should put the two children to death. This John Greene did his



errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death to die therefore. With which answer Greene returned, recounting the same to King Richard at Warwick, yet on his journey wherewith he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night he said to a secret page of his, 'Oh! whom shall a man trust? They that I have brought up myself, they that I thought would have mostly surely served me, even those fail, and at my commandment will do nothing for me.' 'Sir,' quoth the page, 'there lieth one in the pallet-chamber without that I dare well say to do your grace pleasure: the thing were right hard that he would refuse:' meaning by this Sir James Tyrell." This man was seen and tempted, and the result was that he "devised that they should be murdered in their beds, and no blood shed: to the execution whereof he appointed Miles Forest, one of the four that before kept them, a fellow flesh-bred in murder before time; and to him he joined one John Dighton, his own horse-keeper, a big, broad square, and strong knave." "Then, all the other being removed from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight, came into the chamber and suddenly wrapped them up amongst the clothes, keeping down by force the feather-bed and pillows hard upon their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them and, their breaths failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to their tormentors their bodies dead in bed; after which the wretches laid them out upon the bed, and fetched Tyrell to see them; and when he was satisfied of their death, he caused the murderers to bury them at the stair-foot meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones." We quit these melancholy but romantic details with the observation that the stranger who now visits the Chapel of the White Tower will see, at the end of the passage which leads from the outer door to the foot of the circular staircase winding upwards to the sacred edifice, the old trunk of a mulberry-tree reared against the wall in the corner. The passage is formed on one side by the outer wall of the Tower, and on the other by a modern erection; originally the stairs here were open to the air, and formed the outer entrance. Beneath these stairs, in 1674, were found bones of a proportion "answerable to the ages of the royal youths," which were accordingly, by Charles II.'s orders honourably interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster. The spot was marked by the erection of the mulberry-tree referred to, which was cut down several years ago when the present passage was enclosed.

The battle of Bosworth Field and the death of Richard took place in August, 1485 and in October following Henry was crowned, with the usual procession and splendour. On Nov. 25, 1487, his Queen, Elizabeth, was crowned. Two days before she came by water from Greenwich, attended by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, and many citizens, chosen some from each craft, wearing their liveries, in barges "freshly furnished with banners and streamers of silk." Henry received her at the Tower, and conducted her to the royal apartments, where their majesties "kept open household and frank resort" for all the Court. The whole ceremony appears to have been conducted in a fine poetical spirit: thus, in many parts of the City, instead of the usual absurd conceits meeting her eye, she was welcomed by fair children arrayed in angelic costume, singing sweet songs as she passed. Another festive period marks the history of the Palace-Tower in this reign, on the occasion of the marriage of Henry's son Prince Arthur, to Katherine, daughter of the King of Spain, when a splendid tournament was held here. Two years later, the Queen died in the Tower a few days after giving birth to a daughter, who did not long survive her.

The accession of a young king, and that king the tasteful, magnificent-minded Henry, for such he was in the first few years of his rule, gave the Tower a new perio

splendour ; and subsequent events, indeed, promised to make coronation processions come almost as frequent, and to be almost as much looked for, as those which still usually regale the eyes of the citizens of London. But after two ceremonies of the kind, the first being prior to his own and Katherine of Arragon's coronation, and the second prior to that of Anne Boleyn, Henry began to find such displays very expensive, and at once stopped short. Jane Seymour and her successors accordingly remained uncrowned, so far as the ceremony was concerned. With the exception of the visit of French nobles after the conference of Guisnes and Arde, who were brought from Warwick to the Tower in the royal barge, by the Earls of Essex and Derby, and where sumptuously feasted, we find little matter for observation during Henry's reign ; he does not appear latterly to have been a very frequent visitor. Little susceptible of any sense of decency or remorse as he lived to show himself, the sight of the spot where Anne Boleyn, the mother of one of his children, had perished on the scaffold, innocent in all probability of any real crime, except that of standing betwixt him and the gratification of his reckless passions, could scarcely be agreeable even to the callous King. He died in 1547, and his son, Edward VI., was immediately conveyed from Hatfield to the Tower, where he resided until the day preceding his coronation.

As to Jane Grey's sovereignty, if sovereignty it may be called, was too brief even for the performance of the coronation ceremonies ; so we pass on to those of Mary, first Queen of England crowned in her own right. With pious and sisterly affection, Mary delayed that ceremony till her brother's funeral, who was buried in Henry VIII.'s Chapel, Westminster, according to the forms of the Protestant Church, she contenting herself for the present by the very significant intimation of her religious views exhibited in the performance of *mass*, to celebrate the exequies of her brother, in the Tower Chapel. During this period, and whilst the preparations for her coronation were in progress, Mary held her court in the Tower, formed her council, and prepared her measures for the subversion of the new faith. The coronation procession took place on the 30th of September, 1553. The Queen rode in a chariot covered with cloth of gold, and after her, in another chariot, Henry's fourth daughter, Anne of Cleves, who, not having enjoyed the luxury of a coronation in her own right, seemed by her smiling face quite contented to enjoy it now in another's. A crown of gold beset with precious stones had been provided for the Queen, which during the ceremony proved so massy and ponderous, that she was fain to bear up her head with her hand ; this same crown her sister Elizabeth carried in the procession, and complained to Noailles of its weight. "Be patient," was the adroit answer ; "it will seem lighter when on your own head."

The Princess had little reason to be impatient, for five years only elapsed before she found herself again passing along through that line of crowded streets, herself the centre of all "eyes ;" and, as she was sure to have remarked, the object of a more than felt welcome than had been accorded to her sister. All that ingenuity or wealth could do in the preparation of stately pageants, sumptuous shows, and cunning disguises, was done ; the figures of the Queen's ancestors, including, with a delightful truthfulness of the past, Henry and Anne Boleyn (her mother) walking most affectionately together, were represented on stages at the street corners—prophecies and oracles were showered upon her ; here Time led forth his daughter Truth, who presented a Bible to her Majesty, which she took, reverently pressing it to her bosom ; the Gog and Magog, having left Guildhall for Temple Bar, spread before her eyes a spectacle of Latin verse, expounding the mysteries hidden beneath the recondite pageants she had beheld. But the day had its pleasanter, because more genuine, evidence of



the popular joy, which for once proved to be well founded. Holinshed deserves our gratitude for recording the following charming passage :—"How many nosegays did her grace receive at poor women's hands !—how often stayed she her chariot when she saw any single body offer to speak to her grace ! A bunch of rosemary given her grace, with a supplication by a poor woman about Fleet Bridge, was seen in her chariot till her grace came to Westminster." Better feelings, and higher thoughts too, than gratified vanity could originate, were evidently at work in Elizabeth's mind : "Be ye well assured," said she at one part of her progress, "I shall stand your good Queen ;" nor did her reign on the whole belie this earnest and solemn promise.

James I. "passed triumphantly," we are told, from the Tower to Westminster, that he might not altogether disappoint the people ; but no proper procession took place, on account of the plague. James, however, frequently visited the Menagerie to witness the combats of lions with dogs. The Menagerie continued to be a place of public exhibition until its inhabitants were removed to the Zoological Gardens.

The last coronation procession from the Tower took place on the restoration of Charles II., on the morning of the 22nd of April, 1661. At an early hour, the King came thither by water from Whitehall, attended by a crowd of nobles and gentlemen, among whom many a proud spirit dwelt with secret exultation on the realisation of its long-cherished hopes of the "golden round," and many a youthful heart beat fast with expectation as he thought of the event, more important to him than the coronation itself, of which it was but one of the incidental splendours—his installation as a Knight of the Bath. And, we may conclude, the King must have satisfied all reasonable expectations of this nature raised by the event, for he created in honour of the occasion no less than eleven peers and sixty-eight knights of the bath. The City also had its preparations for the day. Four triumphal arches were erected in different parts—one representative of the King's landing at Dover, and the others of the consequences that were expected to flow therefrom, namely, Commerce, Concord, Plenty. The procession was a splendid one, and with that day the palatial character of the Tower may be said to have ceased.

One and one only visible evidence of the palatial splendours of the Tower in times past now remains within its walls,—the Regalia. Of the building in which they are now deposited we have spoken. The first express mention of the jewels being kept here occurs in the third Henry's reign, when, on that monarch's return from France, he commanded the Bishop of Carlisle to replace them in the Tower as they were before. Seldom, however, did they remain there for any length of time. Once they were pledged by Henry III. to certain merchants of Paris, another time by Edward III. to the merchants of Flanders, and again, soon after the accession of Richard II., to those of London, during which period they were deposited in the hands of the Bishop of London and the Earl of Arundel. Henry VI. also pledged to his rich uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, as security for 7000 marks, an immense quantity of such valuables, the mere enumeration of which occupies above three pages of Mr. Bayley's history ; and which were all to become the absolute property of Beaufort if the borrowed money were not repaid by the feast of Easter, 1440. An inventory of the jewels in the Tower, made by order of James I., and given in the same work, is of still greater length ; although Henry VIII., during the Lincolnshire rebellion in 1536, must have somewhat reduced the value and number of the contents ; for he then ordered his minister Cromwell to go to the Jewel House and take therefrom as much plate as he thought could possibly be spared, and coin it immediately into money.



Of the present state of the Regalia our space will allow us only to give a short account. There are five crowns, known respectively as St. Edward's (so called from its having been made at Charles II.'s coronation to replace the previous crown, which the Confessor was supposed to have worn), the Crown of State, the Queen's circlet of gold, the Queen's crown, and the Queen's rich crown. Of these, the first and the fourth are the proper coronation crowns. The crown of state is remarkable for having three jewels, each of almost inestimable value, a ruby, a pearl, considered the finest in the world, and an emerald seven inches round. The other chief treasures are the Orb, an emblem of universal authority borrowed from the Roman Emperors, which is held by the monarch during the act of coronation; the Ampulla, or Eagle of Gold, containing the anointing oil; the Curtana, or Sword of Mercy, borne naked before the sovereign during the coronation procession into the Abbey, between the two swords of Justice, Spiritual and Temporal (what a significant type of ideas now happily fast disappearing from among us is that spiritual sword!); St. Edward's Staff, also carried before the sovereign in the procession,—a sceptre of gold four feet seven inches and a half long, with a small foot of steel, and a mound and cross at top; four other sceptres of gold and precious stones, one of which was discovered in 1814, behind some old wainscoting in the Jewel House; the Queen's Ivory Rod; another short sceptre of ivory and gold, made for James II.'s Queen; Bracelets, or armilles, worn on the wrists during the coronation; royal spurs, salt-cellar, and a large silver gilt wine fountain of beautiful workmanship, presented by the corporation of Plymouth to Charles II. The sacramental plate, used at coronations, and in St. Peter's Chapel, is also shown, which is of gold and beautifully wrought. Gold tankards, dishes, and spoons, also used at coronation banquets, likewise form a part of the display. They are enclosed in a large glass case, surrounded by a railing. It was not until the reign of Charles II. that the Regalia were allowed to be publicly exhibited. The office of keeper up to that time had been one of honour and emolument. In Charles's reign, some reductions being made in the emoluments, on the appointment of Sir Gilbert Talbot as Master, the exhibition of the jewels was permitted in compensation; Sir Gilbert giving the receipts, by way of salary, to an old and confidential servant, who had the care of them, one Talbot Edwards—a name familiar to most readers in connection with Colonel Blood's daring attempt to steal the crown in 1673. The story has been so often told, that a repetition is not necessary here.

#### THE PRISON.

Deeply interesting as the Tower appears from whatever point of view we look upon it, all other matters sink into comparative insignificance beside its pre-eminently distinctive feature—the State-Prison of England. Were it possible, indeed, to strip it of every other association, not the less would it remain one of the most interesting buildings in the world. It is useless to speak of single names, or single incidents. The Tower could spare a score of these, each of them important enough to immortalise any locality, without sensible diminution of its wealth. Kings, queens, statesmen, patriots, philosophers, poets, martyrs, form the almost unbroken line of illustrious captives for some five or six centuries. There is scarcely a single great event of our history wherein this terrible edifice does not appear looming in the

distance. It would be hardly possible to find one ancient family of distinction to which the Tower has not bequeathed some fearful and ghastly memories.

But these remarks refer only to the known—the recorded history. If we could learn the unknown! When we reflect on the partial and occasional glimpses which have been afforded into the depths of those gloomy dungeons, which still meet the eye of the stranger, telling their fearful secrets in their lowering aspect,—when we read the plainest matter-of-fact descriptions of such places as the Little Hell, or the Rats' Dungeon, the imagination recoils in horror at the thought of what must have met the eye, at almost any period of the earlier history of the Tower, could the entire buildings have been suddenly unroofed, and its most secret recesses laid open to the broad day! No refinement of physical cruelty ever devised by fiction but has here had its prototype in reality; no mode of mental suffering that has not here exhibited itself; and, we may add, no heights of human fortitude that have not been reached by the occupants of those earth-buried cells. It is not the greater inhabitants of the Tower only to whom these remarks apply. Inscriptions yet remain on the walls, like so many voices ascending from out the vast multitude of humbler prisoners, arousing our warmest sympathies and admiration for them too, whom we are but too apt to forget in the presence of their more distinguished fellows. How profoundly melancholy is this expression of grief, inscribed on the wall of the Beauchamp Tower!—"Since fortune hath chosen that my hope should go to the wind to complain, I wish the time were destroyed: my planet being ever sad and unpropitious. Wilim: Tyrrel, 1541."\* Who was William Tyrrel? No one can tell. He is but one of thousands who have passed from the cheerful sunshine and great business of life into inscrutable darkness, and perhaps into the welcomed, because tortureless, and quiet grave. Dante's line, written over the infernal portals, "Renounce all hope who enter here," would indeed have been a suitable inscription for the Tower gateway, and there would have been little cause to fear a recurrence of an incident that did once take place—the death of a prisoner, who had so given up all hope, from mere revulsion of feeling at being informed he was free. Such liberations were never dangerously frequent. Yet there were men who could look upon so dread a trial as this without despair,—who would even take it to their bosoms whilst they wrote upon their prison walls in letters that, to our eyes, still make the place luminous:—"The most unhappy man is he that is not patient in adversities; for men are not killed with the adversities they have, but with the impatience they suffer."

The history of the Tower-Prison is necessarily, in a great measure, a reflex of the history of the monarchs of England, and, in every age, borrows its hues from their characters. So strikingly true is this, that there could be no doubt, for instance, as to the ambition of Edward I., or the weakness of Edward II., the lusts of Henry VIII., the bigotry of Mary, or the vanity of Elizabeth, if we possessed no other records than these walls could furnish.

Prior to the reign of the first of these sovereigns, the principal persons who had been confined in the Tower were Ralph Flambard, the minister of Rufus's extortion and tyranny, who escaped in the mode before described; his less successful imitator, Griffin, son of the Prince of North Wales; and Hubert de Burgh, the brave, single-minded, but unfortunate minister of John and Henry III. Edward kept the Tower in continual requisition. First, he fell upon the Jews (in 1282), who were seized without distinction in every part of England, on the pretence of clipping and adulte-

\* Translated from the old Italian original, as given in Mr. Bayley's 'History of the Tower.'



rating coin, and six hundred of their number thrown into the Tower. The Welsh next furnished a supply of victims for these insatiable walls; then the Scotch, during the King's attempts to subjugate these countries. The battle of Dunbar, in 1296, placed in Edward's hands not only the Scottish king, Baliol, but a large portion of the most influential Scottish nobility, many of whom shared their king's captivity in the Tower. But the great memory of the Tower in this reign is Wallace, who entered its gloomy walls in 1305, and, after undergoing a kind of trial, was dragged from thence through Cheapside to Smithfield, tied to horses' tails, and there executed with barbarities according but too well with the infamy of the deed. Lastly, the courts of law, and the monastic cloister, swelled the immense number of prisoners during this period, the chief justice of the King's Bench, and several other judges, having been committed for corruption, and the entire inmates of Westminster Abbey, abbot, monks, and servants, on suspicion of theft. This was a curious affair. Whilst Edward was in Scotland, in 1303, his treasury, then kept in the Abbey, was broken open, and robbed to the extent, it is said, of a hundred thousand pounds. No thief could be discovered, so Edward summarily packed off to the Tower the whole establishment, of eighty-one persons. They were tried, and acquitted. We have here a striking proof of Edward's determined character. The abbot, however, had perhaps as little of the spirit of Becket as the King of Henry II.

Edward II. troubled himself little with foreign acquisitions, but not the less did the Tower find a sufficiency of inhabitants. The Knights Templars were now dissolved, and all the knights south of the Trent committed to the great state-prison, where the Master died. The continued struggles of the Welsh to recover their independence again resulted in the imprisonment in the Tower of many of their bravest champions, some of whom died there; others were liberated after long confinement. But internal dissension was the chief feature of this reign, and, consequently, whichever of the two parties was uppermost, the weak King or his discontented barons, Englishmen still thronged the dungeons. Another escape marks this period. Elated by some little successes, the King all at once grew bold, and attacked the more powerful of his enemies on the borders of Wales, where he was little expected. Lord Mortimer and several other barons were seized, and committed to the Tower. Here he gained over his keeper, and having invited Stephen de Segrave, the constable, with the other chief officers of the Tower, to a banquet, he made them intoxicated, and got safely off to France. He then joined the Queen, and immediately set on foot the conspiracy which ended in Edward's imprisonment in his own palace here, and subsequent murder. A day of retribution was approaching. By the young King Edward III.'s order, Mortimer was suddenly arrested at Nottingham, and brought, with his two sons and others, to the Tower, loaded with chains, and there left in one of its darkest dungeons till the period of his trial and execution. Afterwards, when war had again broken out with Scotland, John Earl of Murray, one of the great supports of the Scottish throne, was taken prisoner in 1336, and, being unable to raise the immense ransom demanded, lingered here for some years. The mode of his liberation is not the least remarkable part of his history. In 1340 he was granted to William Earl of Salisbury, like so much land or live stock, "to do with him as most for his advantage;" and, remarkably enough, ultimately was exchanged for his own keeper (on Salisbury's being made prisoner in France), through the intercession of the King of Scotland. In 1346 another terrible blow desolated the hearths of half the nobility and knight-hood of Scotland; this was the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, in which David Bruce, the King, the Earls of Fife, Monteith, Wigtown, and Carrick, the Lord Douglas, and fifty other distinguished chiefs, fell into the hands of the English. The King



was immediately conducted, with all honour and ceremony, under an escort of twenty thousand men, to London, through the streets of which he passed towards the Tower, mounted on a high black courser; the civic companies lining the whole way on the occasion, habited in their liveries. Eleven dreary years did the unhappy monarch spend in the Tower before he could obtain his liberation, even on the high condition of engaging to pay one hundred thousand marks, and delivering some of his principal nobility as hostages. Some of his nobility were still less fortunate. The Earl of Monteith, having previously done fealty to Edward, was hanged and quartered. Let us turn next to the evidences of the French campaigns. In 1346, Edward having taken Caen, "a goodly town, and full of drapery and other merchandise, and rich burgesses, and noble ladies and damsels, and fine churches, and one of the fairest castles in all Normandy," sent off to the Tower, as the fruits of his success, the Constable of France, with the Count de Tankerville, three hundred opulent citizens, and an immense amount of booty. In 1347 the Tower gates opened to admit thirteen prisoners, twelve of whom had been known only as peaceful citizens a few months before; yet even the grim warders themselves must have warmed with something like admiration, as they looked upon these same citizens now, and learned they were the men whose fame had spread far and wide, as the heroic defenders of Calais whilst it could be defended, and its saviours afterwards by their giving themselves up to the conqueror as an expiatory sacrifice for the crime of their fellow-citizens in refusing so long to yield their beloved town to foreigners. The Governor of Calais, John de Viennes, was at their head. The next important French prisoner was Charles de Blois, whose struggle for the dukedom of Brittany, against De Montfort and his fair and gallant Countess, had cost both nations so much blood and treasure. He was not liberated till 1356, and then only after heavy ransom had been exacted. In 1357, news of a great battle that had taken place in France began to be bruited abroad, in which it was said the English had thrown all their other recent victories into the shade. Accordingly, on the 24th of May, the assembled multitudes of the metropolis beheld their favourite Black Prince enter at the head of a triumphal procession that surpassed even the wildest tales of rumour. The King of France, his son, four other princes of the blood, eight earls, and an innumerable train of lesser but still important personages, graced the pageant of the victor of Poitiers. The chief residence of John was the Savoy; the other illustrious prisoners were mostly confined in that prison, whose terrible walls must by this time have become almost as much an object of awe in France and in Scotland as in our own country. Another eminent member of the bench, William de Thorp, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was in the present reign degraded for venality and corruption, and thrown into the Tower. The frequent occurrence of cases of this kind is a noticeable commentary on the state of things at home, whilst our monarchs were wasting their talents, energies, and revenues, to say nothing of their slaughtered subjects, in attempts at foreign subjugation. We shall only mention one other captive of Edward's reign. Valeran, Earl of St. Paul, a young French noble, as distinguished for his elegance of manners as for his bravery, was made prisoner in a skirmish near Lyques, and presented to the English king. The rugged Tower itself seems to have grown gracious to the light-hearted young foreigner whilst he stayed in it; and when he left it, it was for a confinement of a gentler description. At Windsor he met the Lady Maud, who was then residing at the castle with her mother, the Princess of Wales; both, it appears, had a taste for "dancing and carolling;" the result was, that Earl St. Paul returned to his native country richer by a wife, "the fairest lady in all England," than he had left it.



BEAUCHAMP TOWER

KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON.

NO. VIII. THE TOWER: II.





THE TOWER OF LONDON: II.—THE PRISON (*continued*).

The weakness of the next sovereign, Richard II., produced again the lamentable results which had marked the reign of the second Edward,—internal warfare, jealousies, struggles of rival noblemen for power, &c. The closeness of the parallel indeed is extraordinary, for in the end, Richard, like his predecessor, was deposed, imprisoned in his own Palace-Tower—and only removed thence to be mysteriously murdered. During this period many distinguished men were confined here; some but as a step to their execution. Sir Simon Burley, the companion of the present King, chosen by his father, the Black Prince, whilst Richard was yet a boy, and one of the bravest and most accomplished men of his time, was the chief of these victims to the spirit of faction. He was executed on Tower Hill, on the spot afterwards destined to be famous for scenes of a similar kind. Froissart, noticing this event, says:—"To write of his shameful death right sore displeaseth me: for when I was young I found him a noble knight, sage and wise." On the breaking up of the confederacy, at whose instance this savage deed had taken place, its chief members fell into Richard's hands: of whom the Duke of Gloucester perished, no one knows how, in the castle of Calais; and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Cheyney, took their late victim's place in the Tower, and the first (Arundel) followed his footsteps still further—even to the gallows on the neighbouring hill. This improvement in the King's affairs was but temporary; the star of Bolingbroke was now in the ascendant. We need only add to the account of subsequent events given in the preceding pages, that Richard during his confinement had the anguish of beholding three of his adherents, who were supposed to have been implicated in the death of the Earl of Gloucester at Calais, brought under the very window of his room, tied to horses' tails, and dragged off towards Cheapside, where they were beheaded on a fishmonger's stall. One captive in the Tower during this reign yet remains to be mentioned, who has not been noticed by the historians of the edifice, though one of the most memorable of its unwilling visitants. The great poet Chaucer was confined in the Tower not less than three years, during which he wrote his prose work called 'The Testament of Love,' in imitation of the example of Boethius, who, under a similar calamity, produced his 'Consolations of Philosophy.' The work is in the form of a dialogue between the prisoner and Love, who visits him in his cell here, and listens to his account of his misfortunes and their cause, namely, the politics of London and his devotion to the Lady Marguerite, under which designation he fancifully refers to the spiritual comfort of the Church. Chaucer, like his great patron, John of Gaunt, was a firm Wickliffite, and took part in the struggle between the Court and the City concerning the re-election of John of Northampton, a follower of Wickliffe, and one of the Duke's partisans. A commotion ensued, some lives were lost, John of Northampton was sent to prison, and Chaucer, who was implicated in the affair, fled to Zeeland for a time; then returned to England, was arrested, and thrown into the Tower. He appears to have been liberated about 1389.

Among the prisoners in the Tower concerned in the conspiracy that broke out almost immediately after Bolingbroke's accession to the throne, was his own brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntingdon, who was beheaded without trial, and his head placed on London Bridge, till his wife (Bolingbroke's sister) obtained permission for its decent burial with the body in the college of Pleshy. Among other distinguished captives of this reign were a kinsman and son of Owen Glyndwr; and James I. of Scotland,

whom we have before mentioned, who was confined here at several different periods. This reign is also characterised by the passing of an act against heretics, or Lollards, which soon began to fill the Tower dungeons with a new species of sufferers, and invest them with a more melancholy interest. The first leader of these founders of English Protestantism was a man in every way worthy of the high but fearful mission allotted to him—this was Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, a man of talent and courage, who had been the intimate associate of Henry V. prior to his accession to the throne. In the first year of this King's reign Lord Cobham was accused of heresy; and Henry, having in vain endeavoured to convince his early friend of his errors, left him to the operation of the ecclesiastical law, by which he was ultimately sentenced to the flames. On hearing his fate pronounced, he fell on his knees in the Court and fervently prayed Heaven's mercy for his persecutors. Owing possibly in some way to the secret desire of the King that he should escape, Cobham managed to get out of the Tower, and in spite of the immense reward offered for his apprehension remained four years at liberty. In 1417 he unhappily again fell into the hands of his remorseless persecutors, and was drawn from the Tower to St. Giles's Fields, hanged by the middle with a chain, and burnt to death. Turning from this and other similarly unhappy recollections of the Tower during the reign of Henry V., the reverse of the bright picture which too often alone occupies our thoughts when we think of the conqueror of Azincour, we again meet with a continual stream of French captives pouring into the Tower; some of whom, including the Duke of Bourbon and Marshal Boucicaut, died within its walls. The Duke of Orleans, taken also in the great battle we have mentioned, spent many years in the Tower, amusing himself, as already noticed, with poetical recreations. He was released in 1440.

The young King of Scotland was all this time in captivity, though his marriage with Jane Beaufort had given a new colour to his residence in England. One of the earliest acts of the government on the accession of Henry VI. was his liberation; when the Tower received a brilliant troop of Scottish nobles, who were to be kept there as hostages for the payment of their King's ransom. Their confinement was of the pleasantest description; their relatives having free access to them, as well as their servants, with horses, hawks, and hounds. We must now pass over many events, interesting in themselves, but which our space will not allow us to dwell upon, such as the confinement of Owen Tudor, grandfather to Henry VII.; of the Duchess of Gloucester, who was charged with conspiring with one Margaret Jourdayn, the witch of Eye, to take away the life of the King by devising an image of wax representing his person, who would then consume and die away as the image should melt before a slow fire; and of the Duke of Suffolk, who, soon after leaving the Tower in pursuance of his sentence of banishment, was beheaded on the side of a boat at Dover, a sacrifice to popular vengeance. The Wars of the Roses now begin, and every page of the subsequent history of the Tower is recorded in blood. Among the victims of this terrible and long-protracted struggle whom the Tower at different times received within its walls, and sent forth again to the neighbouring scaffold, were the Earls of Oxford, Lord Aubrey de Vere and his son, Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, &c., &c. During this period the poor King was bandied to and fro between the contending parties, from the palace to the prison, from the prison to the palace, enjoying little more real respect or attention in the one case than in the other, till the battle of Tewksbury at once sealed alike the fate of his crown and of his life. The intrepid Margaret, his Queen, was perhaps even more than himself to be pitied. From the neighbourhood of Tewksbury, where her darling son, Prince Edward, had been so brutally murdered, she was brought to the Tower, where her husband, divided from

only by a few walls, experienced a similar fate. The impenetrable mystery in which this affair is wrapped extends to the death of Clarence, the brother of Edward who was committed to the Tower on some frivolous charges, tried at the bar of House of Lords,—where an advocate appeared against him that none dared to see, the King himself,—convicted, and sentenced to death. It will be remembered the fire of 1841 broke out in the Bowyer Tower; its name,—derived from the entrance in it of the master and provider of the King's bows,—bespeaking its antiquity. This consisted of two stories, but the original upper one having long disappeared, a modern erection was built in its place. The lower part of the ancient building consisted of a large vaulted chamber with walls of immense thickness, and large arched recesses. This, sayeth tradition, was the scene of the murder of Prince of Wales; who, according to the same authority, was drowned in a butt of his favourite wine, malmsey. A still more dreary vault extended beneath, opening from the base-chamber by a trap-door, where, if there be any truth in the tradition, we may imagine the murderers to have found the butt of malmsey, as they sought, in the words of Shakspeare, "to hide the body in some hole." We must not omit to add, there was also a secret passage leading from this cell to some unknown part of the fortress. The next event we have to mention calls our attention to a different part of the Tower. In front of the lowly-looking chapel of St. Peter was the place of execution. Lady Jane Grey, and many more, there perished. The area was paved, and the place of execution is marked by paving-stones of a darker colour than the surrounding ones; formerly the space all around was covered with grass, but nothing, it is said, would grow on *that* spot. This then was "the green field before the chapel, within the Tower," mentioned by Sir Thomas More as the place where Hastings was brought from the Council Chamber in the White Tower after the extraordinary scene mentioned in our account of the Palace, "and there, with time for confession or repentance, his head was struck off upon a log of timber which happened to be lying on the grass: the first instance, apparently, of those state executions which give a still deeper hue to the sanguinary history of the Tower-Prison. The brief reign of the author of this deed furnishes us with another remarkable case. A gentleman of the name of Collingbourne wrote the following lines in reference to Richard (whose crest was a wild boar) and his chief advisers, Catesby, Clifford, and Lovel:—

"The cat, the rat, and Lovel our dog,  
Rule all England under a hog."

By a hearty laugh no doubt greeted the publication of these lines; but the unfortunate author had to repent of his wit upon the scaffold at Tower Hill. Passing over the briefest mention the death of the poet Surrey, the imprisonment of Perkin Warbeck, the execution of the young Earl of Warwick (the descendant of the murdered Prince of Wales), a victim to Henry VII.'s jealousy of his royal descent), and that also of Sir William Stanley, who had helped to crown Henry at Bosworth Field, in the present reign; and the execution of that monarch's ministers, Empson and Dudley, in the commencement of the reign of his successor; we reach a period when almost every event in the Tower annals is marked by some existing memorial, occurring here in the shape of a name given to a particular tower, there in one of the numerous inscriptions yet visible on the walls, or by simple records and recollections attaching to particular incidents to particular places.

The reign of Henry VIII. presents us with a long list of eminent prisoners. The crime of Edward Duke of Buckingham appears to have been his royal descent,



which, coupled with some incautious expressions, led to his trial and conviction. As was usual, the Duke left the Tower for Westminster Hall in a barge, furnished with its carpets and cushions befitting the rank of the prisoner; but on his return, with a touching and yet dignified humility, he refused to take again the same seat. "When I came to Westminster," said he, "I was Lord High Constable and Duke of Buckingham, but now, poor Edward Bohun!" Sir Thomas More next follows, a still more illustrious victim. The Tower seems to have had little horrors for him, unless, indeed, it were from seeing their effect upon others. From his first entrance—when, according to custom, the porter demanded his uppermost garment as his fee, meaning, no doubt, his cloak, or some such valuable article, and Sir Thomas, taking off his cap (with a kind of latent consciousness, perhaps, that he should have little further need of it), said, *that* was his uppermost garment, and that he wished it were of more value, —to his final departure for the scaffold, where he remarked to the executioner, as he laid his head on the block, "Prythee let me put my beard aside, for that hath never committed treason," the light-hearted and high-minded Chancellor still preserved all the delightful playfulness of manner which made him as much the beloved of his friends as his more important qualities made him the admiration of his contemporaries and of posterity. One bitter moment, however, no temperament or fortitude could ward off. As he returned to the Tower after condemnation, Margaret Roper, the most beloved of his daughters, who had placed herself in waiting at the gate, suddenly rushed from among the crowd as he approached, tore her way through the guards, and flung herself, bathed in tears, on his neck, imploring in broken expressions his blessing. The officers were obliged at last to take her away by force, but she broke from them, and again threw herself upon his breast, crying, "Oh my father, oh my father!" The very guards partook of the general anguish. With Sir Thomas, Bishop Fisher had also been committed to the Tower, and for the same reason, refusing to acknowledge the King's supremacy. This aged and distinguished prelate was nearly eighty years old when he was thus dragged from the quiet home he so much needed. Here was a case for a little more than ordinary attention to the prisoner's comfort, which one would have supposed even Henry VIII. would have noticed. But had the venerable prisoner been at the mercy of men who, by some freak of nature, had been born without hearts in their bosoms, it would have been just as reasonable to have expected any kind of sympathy. In a letter written to Cromwell, the Bishop says, "Furthermore I beseech you to be good master in my necessity; for I have neither shirt, nor suit, nor yet other clothes that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too shamefully. Notwithstanding I might easily suffer that, if they would keep my body warm. But my diet also, God knoweth how slender it is at many times. And now, in mine age, my stomach may not away but with a few kind of meats, which if I want I decay forthwith." Bishop Fisher's residence was in the Bell Tower, a building of two stories, built in a circular shape, with the lower (or basement) curiously vaulted, and having deep recesses and narrow embrasures in the vast walls.

The crimson tide rolls on with increased velocity. The executions of More and Fisher were followed in the same year by that of Anne Boleyn, whose barge now again retraced the way from Greenwich to the Tower, though this time it stopped at a different entrance. The unhappy lady, as she looked upon the dread Traitor's Gate, read her fate in its aspect, and as she passed beneath its lowering arch, fell on her knees, and prayed God to defend her, as she was unspotted by the crime of which she was accused. But even death itself was not the worst. Her unnatural husband, having obtained her condemnation for treason as his wife, now

obtained a sentence of the spiritual court, declaring she was no such thing, and that their issue (Elizabeth) was illegitimate. She was beheaded on the Green, having resolutely refused to cover her eyes, which, as her head lay on the block, were fixed on the executioner. The man had not courage to strike. At last he took off his shoes, caused another person to approach and draw her attention to the one side, whilst he on the other gave the fatal blow.

On the death of Henry's son, Edward VI., the prison became almost immediately filled with the participators in the Duke of Northumberland's attempt to make Lady Jane Grey queen; and the Duke himself became the victim of his own schemes. Wyatt's insurrection, almost as short-lived, followed; and the brave, but imprudent leader, with Cobham, Bret, and others, was also brought hither. As he came to the wicket of the Bloody Tower, Sir John Bridges took him by the collar, using many violent and abusive expressions, and saying, "But that the law must pass upon thee, I would stick thee through with my dagger." "To the which," says Holinshed, "Wyatt, holding his arms under his side, and looking grievously with a grim look upon the lieutenant, said, 'It is no mastery now,' and so passed on." The origin of the name of this tower, with its immense circular bastion, its striking-looking low deep gateway, and iron-toothed portcullis, is very uncertain. At all events, it cannot refer to incidents older than the reign of Henry VIII., for it was then known as the Garden Tower. Mr. Bayley thinks it may possibly be so called from the death of the eighth Earl of Northumberland, who was said to have committed suicide, but under such mysterious circumstances, that we need not wonder the popular idea set it down as one of the "foul and midnight murders" that have but too often stained the Tower walls. Treason, in connection with Mary Queen of Scots, was his alleged crime. Various memorials of persons engaged with Wyatt still remain in the White Tower and in the Beauchamp Tower, and more particularly, in the latter, of the illustrious victims his ill-contrived movement was the indirect means of sending there. The Beauchamp Tower derives its name, in all probability, from Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who was confined in the state prison here prior to his banishment to the Isle of Man in 1397. It consists of two stories, ascended by a circular staircase; the lower story was subsequently used as the officers' mess-room. In this apartment there are several pointed arched recesses, originally admitting light into it from narrow embrasures, but these are now blocked up, and windows opened in another part. The walls of this exceedingly interesting place are almost covered with inscriptions, devices, coats of arms, and autographs.

The partakers in the insurrection in the north, produced by the religious policy of Henry VIII.'s government, have left here many records of the failure of their attempt. This was in 1537. In the following year, the Marquis of Exeter, Henry Pole, Lord Montagu, and others, were convicted, chiefly on the evidence of Lord Montagu's brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, of what was called treasonable correspondence with the famous Cardinal Pole, who had roused all the King's vindictive passions to the highest pitch by his eloquent denunciations of the murder of Sir T. More. The noblemen we have mentioned were executed on Tower Hill. The Marchioness of Salisbury, a sister of the Earl of Warwick mentioned in the reign of Henry VII., was kept in confinement till 1541, when, on the rising of a new commotion in Yorkshire, she was executed, chiefly on the ground of holding communication with her son, Cardinal Pole. Her death was almost too shocking for relation. When she was brought to the scaffold erected on the fatal green, she refused to lay her head on the block, stedfastly declaring she was no traitor, and the executioner actually killed her as he followed her round the platform. The miserable being who had thus been



the means of shedding his brother's and mother's blood was doomed to perpetual imprisonment within the Tower, where he has recorded his own infamy in the following inscription on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower: "Geffrye Poole, 1562."

On the right of the southern recess is the melancholy inscription referred to in the commencement of the present notice, by W. Tyrrel. Over the fireplace is a pious memorial of the Earl of Arundel, whose memory was so venerated that a late Duchess of the Howard family, according to Pennant, procured his skull, and, having had it encased in gold, kept it by her as a sacred relic. His chief crime was that of being a firm Papist. He lingered here in confinement till his death. This was indeed a most unfortunate family. Arundel himself told the queen that his great-grandfather, his grandfather, and his father, had all been attainted without being traitors; the last being the Duke of Norfolk, executed by Elizabeth for his connection with Mary, Queen of Scots. We now reach the memorials of Lady Jane Grey and her friends. Near the middle recess is a piece of sculpture, about thirteen inches square, representing a shield within an enriched border composed of roses, slips of oak, acorns, foliage, &c. The shield exhibits a lion, and a bear erect, grasping a ragged staff, and beneath are the following lines:—

" You that these beasts do well behold and see  
May deem with ease wherefore here made they be,  
With borders eke wherein [there may be found\*]  
Brothers' names, who list to search the ground."

The sculptor was John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Northumberland, Lady Jane Grey's uncle; and the brothers referred to, four in number, were all his fellow-prisoners, Ambrose, Robert, Henry, and Lady Jane's husband, Guilford. Mr. Bayley in part explains the enigma thus: the rose, for *Amb-rose*; the oak-sprigs for *Robert*, from *Robers*. In another part of the room the letters I A N E appear upon the walls, which Mr. Bayley attributes to the hand of Lord Guilford; but in the changes of residence which may have taken place during the period of this unfortunate pair's confinement in the Tower, we see no improbability in the circumstance that the same apartment may have received both her and her relatives, though at different times, within its walls. These old traditions should be respected so long as no decisive proof of their want of foundation be given. At the time of Lord Guilford's execution, we know, from an affecting circumstance, that his lady was not in the Beauchamp Tower, but in "Master Partridge's House;" where, on his way to Tower Hill, he passed beneath her window, and received her last tokens of remembrance. She then prepared herself for the scene in which she was to be chief performer. As she was about to pass forth to the Green, she beheld the headless corse of her husband carried in a cart to the Chapel; but she was armed against all that could happen to her. "O Guilford, Guilford," said she, "the ante-past is not so bitter that thou hast tasted, and which I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble: it is nothing compared to the feast of which we shall partake this day in heaven:" and so she went on towards the grim scaffold. When the executioner would have assisted to disrobe her, she desired him to let her alone, and turned to her two gentlewomen, who took off the necessary attire. He then desired her to stand on the straw, which she did, saying, "I pray you despatch me quickly." As she knelt, she inquired, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" "No, madam," was the answer. "Then," says Holinshed, in describing one of the most affecting scenes ever witnessed, "she tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and, *feeling for the block*, she

\* The inscription being incomplete, the remainder has been thus supplied by Mr. Bayley.



‘Where is it? where is it!’ One of the standers by guided her thereunto, and laid down her head upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, ‘Lord, thy hands I commend my spirit.’” Another inhabitant of the Beauchamp tower, confined at the same period and for the same cause, was the man afterwards so well known as Elizabeth’s unworthy favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who left us, as a memorial of his presence, a sculptured oak-tree with acorns, and his arms, “R. D.,” Robert Dudley. There are several inscriptions here by the author of the golden sentences before transcribed in our preliminary remarks, C. Bailly, a Fleming, or Brabanter, who was imprisoned in the Tower for his devotion to the king of Scots. He was the medium of those dangerous communications which passed between Mary, the Bishop of Ross, and Ridolfi of Florence, the Pope’s agent, effecting the attempts then making to induce foreign powers to take up arms against Elizabeth. He was racked once at least, without effect; and although he afterwards endeavoured to disclose all he knew, on Lord Burghley’s promise that he should be libelled without stain of his honour and credit, it seems very doubtful whether the king or Ross himself, the party in danger, might not have advised him to do so; as the ambassador of Mary, he knew Elizabeth dared not punish him as a traitor, the event proved him right. After a two years’ confinement in the Tower the king was set at liberty. Bailly, in all probability, had been previously discharged. religious prisoners, who were so numerous in Henry’s and Mary’s reigns, and a little less so in that of her successor, have left many memorials of their sufferings. Near Bailly’s inscription is the following: “1570. IOHN. STORE. DOCTOR.” An individual having offended the Protestants by his zeal during the period of Mary’s rule, was, in the reign of Elizabeth, treacherously seized at Antwerp, brought to England, and executed at Tower Hill, where he struggled with the executioner during the last and most revolting parts of his duty. In another place we receive a great A upon a bell, the rebus of Dr. Abel, executed in 1540 for denying King’s supremacy. On the wall of the third recess we read—

“ Thomas Miagh, which lieth here alone,  
That faine would from hence begone,  
By torture strange my truth was tried,  
Yet of my liberty denied.

“ 1581. THOMAS MIAGH.”

Mr. Jardine refers to this case in his ‘Criminal Trials.’ It appears Miagh was charged with treason, and the persons appointed to examine him secretly, stated, on 10th of March, 1581, that they had forborne to put him in Skevington’s irons, merely because the presence of a gaoler would be required, but also because they found the man so resolute, as, in their opinion, little would be wrung out of him but some sharper torture. The famous irons here mentioned were invented by Sir William Skevington, lieutenant of the Tower, during the reign of a congenial spirit, Mary VIII., and acted by compressing the limbs and body all up together. Both irons and the rack were tried in Miagh’s case, and probably other methods, for the word “strange” in the above inscription has a fearfully extensive meaning. In this same year, Alexander Briant, a seminary priest, being thrown into the Tower, only underwent the ordinary torture, but, according to Anthony Wood, was specially punished for two whole days and nights by famine, till he ate the clay out of the walls, and drank the droppings of the roof. The use of the Rats’ Dungeon is now referred to the period of Elizabeth, by Catholic writers, in connection with the sufferings of prisoners of that persuasion. This was a cell below high-water mark,

and quite dark. When the tide flowed, innumerable rats poured into it for shelter from the muddy banks. Who can conceive even the extent of the horrors of such a place? We quit this room with the mention of the inscription signed by Edmund Poole, and by A. Poole, 1564, which records the captivity of the last descendants of George Duke of Clarence, who both died here. They were tried in the fifth year of Elizabeth for conspiring to place the Queen of Scots on the throne of England, and to obtain for the elder brother, Arthur, the title of their eminent and unfortunate ancestor. The upper apartment, with its one grated window and rough oaken planked floor, is supposed to have been the prison of Anne Boleyn; but, in a letter from Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant, to Cromwell, it is expressly stated that he had told her she should be placed in the lodging that she lay in at her coronation. Well might the poor Queen cry out, half frenzied at such associations, "It is too good for me. Jesus have mercy upon me!" and kneel down, weeping apace, and in the same sorrow fall into a great laughing, as it is recorded she did. The most interesting memorial of this chamber of the Beauchamp Tower is a shield of arms within a circle, and various ornaments, sentences, &c., attached, which refer to Thomas Salmon, 1622, "close prisoner 8 months, 32 weeks, 224 days, 5376 hours." One person yet remains to be mentioned in connection with Wyatt's attempt—the Princess Elizabeth; who, being suspected by Mary of participation, was brought to the Tower, and entered it by the same mode as Wyatt and her own mother, the Traitor's Gate. The proud heart of Elizabeth was sorely tried. At first she refused to land there, but seeing force would be used, she cried out indignantly, "Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having none other friend than thee." Proceeding up the steps, she suddenly seated herself, and being pressed by the lieutenant to rise, answered, "Better sit here than in a worse place; for God knoweth, and not I, whither you will bring me." Sovereigns have had proverbially short memories, otherwise one might have expected the terrors of that time would have been remembered when Elizabeth was queen.

During the civil war, many eminent men, royalists, parliamentarians, and republicans, were confined in the Tower. We may instance Sir John Eliot, the two Hothams, executed for treason, the witty Henry Marten, Monk, and Strafford and Laud. The latter, in his Diary, gave many interesting particulars of the period. Amongst other matters he mentions his being searched by the well-known Prynne. He followed his fellow-captive to the scaffold on Tower Hill on the 10th of January, 1643. Other remarkable prisoners were Felton, the assassin of the Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles I.; Algernon Sydney and Lord William Russell in the reign of Charles II.; the seven bishops in the reign of James II.; Lord George Gordon, Messrs. Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and Hardy; the Cato Street conspirators, &c., &c.

In our notice of the Palace we alluded to certain rooms in the White Tower. The smallest of these is a place of strange aspect. It is semicircular in form; and the roof, something like a horseshoe in shape, is of the most unique construction, appearing at first glance as if made of large stones placed longitudinally in the direction of the room, but in reality formed of flat stones fixed edgewise in a deep bed of cement. It was originally lighted by narrow loopholes. This was the cage of the bird that Prince Henry said none but his father, James I., could have kept in captivity, Sir Walter Raleigh. He was implicated in the plot set on foot to place the royally-descended Arabella Stuart on the throne—a lady who, like the unfortunate Jane Grey, seems to have been the victim not of her own ambition but of that of her partisans. After her secret marriage, and a variety of adventures as melancholy as

they are romantic which deprived her of her senses, she died in the Tower in that state in 1615. Raleigh, after being sentenced to death, was left to pine away in this prison for thirteen years, during which time he wrote his famous 'History of the World,' studied chemistry, and in many ways added to his already rare amount of knowledge. His release, the failure of his Guiana expedition, and subsequent recommitment and execution on the *old sentence*, are well known. During the last night he spent in this room, or in the world, he wrote on a blank leaf of his Bible :—

" Even such is Time, that takes on trust  
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,  
And pays us but with age and dust ;  
Who in the dark and silent grave,  
When we have wandered all our ways,  
Shuts up the story of our days !"

The chief memorial of the Lieutenant's Lodgings refers also to the reign of James. In a room on the second floor of that building are some rude paintings, a bust of the king, and a monumental record of the names of the remarkable body of men who were there examined, the Gunpowder Conspirators. The monument is of differently coloured marbles, and gives an account of the conspiracy, the names of the actors, and of the commissioners who examined them, &c. We pass now to the Chapel of St. Peter.

This most interesting building was, in old times, splendidly decorated by the pious liberality of the different monarchs, who frequently performed their orisons within its walls. In the reign of Henry III. there were stalls for the King and Queen, a chancel dedicated to St. Peter, and another to St. Mary. It was also adorned with a fine cross, images of saints, paintings on the walls, and stained glass in the windows ; this may give some idea of the alterations the chapel has undergone. But it is not from such perishable sources the place derives its surpassing interest. Beneath that altar, unmarked by any visible memorial, lies the innocent Anne Boleyn, and her equally guiltless brother Lord Rochford, side by side with the guilty Catherine Howard, and her infamous pander, Lady Rochford. There too lie the venerable Countess of Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets in whose veins ran their unmixed blood ; and Cromwell, the great suggester and accomplisher of Henry's religious policy. The same spot contains the ashes of two brothers, both beheaded, and one by the warrant of the other ; the two Seymours, the Admiral Thomas, and the Protector Edward. Near them we find the Duke of Norfolk (whose royal mistress could never forgive the wooing of any one but herself, much less her beautiful cousin) ; the Duke's son, the pious Earl of Arundel, who died in his long confinement ; and Robert Devereux, Elizabeth's handsome favourite. Turning our eyes towards the Communion Table, we behold the last resting-place of the Duke of Monmouth. His courage was severely taxed during his latest hours. The King his uncle gave him audience, when the hopes that must have been thus raised ended in the unhappy prisoner's dismissal with insult ; from that moment, however, Monmouth steeled his heart ; and not even the frightful circumstances of his death could shake his fortitude. The executioner struck so feebly that the Duke looked him reproachfully in the face, when the horror-stricken man struck again and again without success, and at last threw down the axe in despair :—the sheriff was obliged to compel him to make a fifth and more successful attempt. Under the gallery, near the richly decorated altar-tomb of Sir Richard Cholmondeley, one of the heroes of Flodden Field, were buried the headless bodies of the Earls of Kilmarnock and Balmerino,



and the treacherous and profligate Simon Lord Lovat, all of whom perished for their participation in the Scottish rebellion of 1745. Finally, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher add two more names to this long list of the illustrious memories of St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower.

### THE ARSENAL AND FORTRESS.

The use of the Tower as an arsenal would of course naturally follow its occupation as the chief place of kingly residence: and the same security which the Tower promised whenever necessary to the royal person, would be equally desired for that important part of the royal property in the middle ages, his military stores. The first mention of matters of this kind occurs in the reign of John, when Geoffrey de Mandeville, being commanded to surrender the Tower to the Archdeacon of Durham, special attention is directed to the "arms and other stores." The nature of such stores appears in the following reign, in a mandate issued to the Archdeacon of Durham, to transmit to the Tower "twenty-six suits of armour, five iron cuirasses, one iron collar, three pairs of iron fetters, and nine iron helmets," which had been left in his charge. In subsequent notices referring to this and the following century, we find mentioned coat-armours, great engines, supposed to be battering-rams, espringalls, quarrells, hauberks, lances, arblasts, bows, arrows, and bow-strings. There were painted and plain bows, the price of the former being eighteenpence, of the latter a shilling. The arrows were a shilling per sheaf. But the most interesting document we possess in connection with the ancient Arsenal, is an inventory of the reign of Henry VI., from which we transcribe a few "items."

"First, eight swords, and a long blade of a sword made in wafters (that is, with the flat of the blade placed in the usual direction of the edge, so as to strike or waft the wind at every blow), some greater and some smaller, for to learn the King to play in his tender age.

"Item; a little harness (or suit of armour) that the Earl of Warwick made for the King, or [before] that he went over the sea, garnished with gold," &c. A great number of banners of satin woven with the arms of England and France, or of St. George, banners of the Trinity, banners of Our Lady, with pennons and feathers, are mentioned, with the accompanying marginal memorandum that most of them had been used at the interment of the "three queens, that is to say, Queen Katherine, the Queen of France, and Queen Johan," and of "my lord of Bedford, and my lady his wife," and that the pennons were "set about the hearses of them, and where that it liked him that had the rule thereof."

"Item; three little coat-armours, which be the sergeant's fee of the armoury, and so delivered by the King's commandment to him because that they were so little, and will serve no man, for they were made for him when he was but seven years of age." Some fifty standards of worsted, with the arms of England and France, or France only (the latter no doubt trophies of many a "well-foughten field"), are next mentioned, with the accompanying curious observation, "the which standards be worn and spenden in carrying of the King's harness in and out into his chamber for default of their stuffs." We have here an amusing exhibition of the *economy* of the King's household! Annexed to the list of certain quantities of coarse red silk, and red velvet, four gross of points, and six arming nails, is the observation, "all expended, and much more, to one of the King's harness." Among the other miscellaneous articles noticed in the inventory, are old jousting saddles painted of divers works; other saddles of different kinds, broken, and "old great coffers bound with iron, and

lacking keys, which were cast out of an old house in the Tower of London," because "they would serve for nothing." The writer must have been some sly, satirical humourist, who having been called to account probably for things he looked upon as of little moment, or as stray waifs that should be left to his own proper use and advantage, revenged himself in the only safe way. He appears determined to enjoy his joke whatever becomes of the perquisite. The last item we shall quote seems to us peculiarly rich. It refers to "*one bow-staff, worm-eaten, delivered by the King's commandment to my lord of Gloucester, when he went over to Calais.*"

In the reign of Edward VI., an inventory was taken of the stores and habiliments of war in the different arsenals of the kingdom, the manuscript of which is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. We there find reference to brigandines, or military jackets, the sleeves of some of which were covered with cloth of gold, others with blue satin; targets, with small gun-barrels projecting from the centre instead of boss and spike; (in one case a single target having twenty of these "guns;") "a target of the shell of tortoise;" barbs of steel for horses, graven and enamelled blue; pole-axes with gun-barrels in the end; gilt pole-axes, with the handles or staves covered with crimson velvet, and fringed with "silk of gold;" great and little "holly-water sprinkles;" which, according to Sir Samuel Meyrick, were staves with large cylindrical heads, and a spear point at the extremity, &c. We shall only add to these particulars that, in the time of Elizabeth, the Arsenal still included a large store of the popular old English weapons. There were, for instance, above eight thousand bows, with staves and bow-strings for six thousand more, fourteen thousand sheaves of arrows, also a considerable quantity of cross-bows, "slur-bows," and "long-bow arrows for fire-works."

The names of many of the former officers of the Tower, like those of the numerous old weapons we have mentioned, belong to a period and a system which have entirely passed away. There was the Balistarius, or keeper and provider of cross-bows, whose income in the time of Henry III. was a shilling a day, to which were added yearly a doublet and surcoat furred with lambskin, and allowance for three servants. The Attiliator Balistarum had the duty imposed on him of providing harness and other accoutrements for the cross-bows. He received sevenpence halfpenny a day, and a robe once a year. The Bowyer was intrusted with the care and provision of the ordinary long-bow; and the Fletcher with all that pertained to the arrows required for them. Lastly, the Galeater attended to that important part of every complete suit of armour the helmet, or head-piece; whilst the Armourer took the remainder under his management. All these officers were, in the reign of Edward IV., subordinate to the Master of the King's Ordnance. A Master-General remains still at the head of the establishment.

The Great Storehouse consisted of three stories, the lowest called the Train of Artillery, the second the Small Arms Armoury, the third the Tent Room. The building measured 345 feet in length, and 60 in width. The Train of Artillery was so called from its having been at first used as the place of deposit for field pieces intended for actual service; but many years ago these were all removed to Woolwich, and the place chiefly devoted to the collection and exhibition of such instruments or trophies of warfare as possessed some more than common interest.

This building, commenced in the reign of James II. and completed in that of William and Mary, was wholly destroyed by the fire on Saturday, October 30, 1841. "The ground floor (says the little pamphlet sold to visitors at the Tower) contained a collection of cannon of various periods, nations, and *calibre*—many of them commemorative of England's proudest glories, and altogether formed an interesting and beau-



tiful illustration of the progress of gunnery. Several pieces are still in good condition, others are partially injured, and many of course are lost: the remains are exhibited to the public; and we understand that orders have been issued, that those pieces which are injured or broken be sent to Woolwich, where models will be taken, and the same metal re-cast into its original forms.

"The Small Armoury, of which comparatively little was saved, consisted chiefly, as its name implies, of stores of small arms: but there were many curiosities deposited in that room which have been destroyed: amongst those saved, is a Brass Gun that formerly belonged to the Knights of Malta; it is finely ornamented and of exquisite workmanship: captured by the French, and taken from them by the English, in 1798. Also two Brass Guns, highly decorated; presented to the young Duke of Gloucester, son of Queen Anne: one uninjured, the other much defaced. The Sword and Sash of the late Duke of York are also preserved.

"It fortunately happened, that at the above time the number of arms in this depository was considerably under the usual average: the following is said to be a correct statement of loss sustained. The number of percussion muskets destroyed 11,000, with 26,000 bayonets; flint-locks, 22,000; percussion-locks, 7000; pistols, 12,158; 75 double-barrelled pistols with moveable butts; 1376 swords; 2271 sword-blades; 2026 plug-bayonets; 192 spears; 95 pikes; 210 musketoons; 709 carbines; 3 wall-pieces; 279 cuirasses; 276 helmets, and 52 drums."

As a fortress, the Tower, through all the changes of dynasties, or of the ministers who have so often made and marred dynasties, has ever been a place of the highest importance. To possess the Tower was to a great extent to possess London; and a thousand wiles of policy have been tried to that end in the many domestic broils and wars that characterise our history, even down to the period of Charles and the Commonwealth. Nor have bolder attempts been wanting, though certainly no very extraordinary exploits of this kind grace the Tower history. The first Constable of the Tower, as its chief governor is still called, was Geoffrey de Mandeville, who received the hereditary appointment from William the Conqueror in reward for his great services at the battle of Hastings. It was during the Constablership of a descendant of this brave warrior, of the same name, that we find the first notice of the Tower being besieged. The attacking party consisted of citizens of London, who endeavoured to seize it for Stephen, but without success. Mandeville's subsequent history is curious. He was taken prisoner at St. Albans in 1143, and compelled to surrender the Tower. From that time he supported himself by rapine and plunder, though on so large a scale, that, like other noble adventurers, he would perhaps have objected to the propriety of such epithets. Whilst attacking the royal castle at Burwell, his brain was pierced by an arrow. Having been excommunicated by the Pope, his followers were afraid to bury him in the usual manner. At last, some Knights Templars removed the body to the Temple, London, and there suspended it in a leaden coffin from a tree in their garden; thus for the time avoiding direct opposition to the Vatican; whilst, with covert satire, which some of the less orthodox Knights no doubt relished amazingly, they made the proscribed of the Church appear only the nearer to Heaven. During the absence of the Lion Heart from England, Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, was left as chief guardian of the kingdom as well as of that small but not unimportant part of it, the Tower. He was a man of humble descent, who had made himself distinguished by the exercise of his great worldly wisdom and powerful energies; and as soon as Prince, afterwards King, John began that series of movements by which he gradually, as it were, felt his way towards the throne during his brother's captivity, he set himself in earnest to oppose his measures,



and prove himself in every way equal to the trust reposed in him. But he was unsupported by those on whom he most relied, and at the approach of John towards London in 1191 the citizens refused to obey his orders. The Bishop immediately shut himself up in the Tower, and the Prince was admitted into the city. On the following day a meeting of the bishops, earls, and barons who were opposed to his regency, with the citizens of London, unanimously decreed that Longchamp should be deposed from his high office, and John proclaimed chief governor of the kingdom. When the former was informed of their decision, he fainted, and fell on the floor. By an early hour the next morning, as he looked forth from the Tower turrets, he beheld East Smithfield, then a large open grassy plain, covered with John's troops, whilst nearer still a mingled body of soldiers and citizens were closely blockading the Tower both by land and water. John, having objects of his own to serve, which rendered it undesirable to proceed to extremities with so eminent a man, desired an audience. When Longchamp came, he offered to ratify his Bishopric of Ely, and give him the custody of three of the royal castles. Longchamp immediately replied with great dignity that he decidedly refused to commit any of the King's rights, or to surrender any of the powers intrusted to him by the King. "But," added he, "you are stronger than I; and, Chancellor and Justiciary as I am, I yield to force." He then handed the keys of the much-coveted Tower to John. A little time after, the tall figure of a woman sitting on the sea-shore near Dover, with a web of cloth and a yard measure in her hand, attracted the attention of some fishermen's wives. Approaching nearer, the black face and new-shorn beard of a man appeared under the green hood. It was the famous Longchamp, thus driven to the unseemliest disguises to ensure his escape to Normandy. We must follow Longchamp's history a little further. As soon as the fact of Richard's imprisonment in the Tyrol became known through Europe, Longchamp was the first to show his unwavering fidelity by immediately joining him and assisting in the measures necessary for his liberation; and when the ransom was fixed, Longchamp was the man who came over to England to collect it. Longchamp died Chancellor of England, and, we believe, Constable of the Tower.

The fluctuating course of events in the reigns of John and Henry III. caused the Tower fortress frequently to exchange hands between the King and the barons, but none of the incidents are sufficiently interesting for us to dwell upon them. The commencement of the second Richard's reign brings us to a new feature—the ransacking of the Tower by the populace, during Wat Tyler's insurrection in 1381. Whilst this affair was at its height, the young king threw himself into the Tower, accompanied by his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke (the future scene in the Council Chamber was then little dreamt of), Simon Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, Treasurer. On the 12th of June Richard made an attempt at personal conciliation, but when he got to Rotherhithe the vast multitude, assembled under the banners of St. George and of their numerous pennons, when they perceived the King's barge, "set up," says Froissart, "shouts and cries as if all the devils from hell had come into their company." The royal party hurried quickly back. The riots and devastations at Lambeth Palace, the Savoy, the Temple, &c., followed. Tower Hill now began to be crowded with persons clamouring for the blood of the Chancellor and Treasurer, and provisions for the Tower inhabitants were stopped. Once more Richard went forth, first to Mile End, followed by a large proportion of the besiegers, and subsequently to Smithfield, where Wat Tyler fell, and with him the insurrection in which he had played so conspicuous a part. But all the besiegers did not follow Richard from the Tower; though, whatever object those who remained had in view, the inmates of the great fortress could have seen little cause for fear. The persons

in question were miserably armed; "many," says Holinshed, "were weaponed only with sticks." In the Tower were six hundred men-at-arms, and as many archers. Yet scarcely was Richard out of sight before this mob were hurrying through every apartment of the palace, where, having obtained possession of the Chancellor and the Treasurer, who had vainly sought refuge in the chapel, they cut off their heads, with those of several other persons. All kinds of licentiousness of course followed. Stow has noticed that many of them "went into the King's privy chamber, and played the wantons, in sitting, lying, and sporting them upon the King's bed." The Princess of Wales, the King's mother, was at the time in the Tower, and placed completely at their mercy. She was allowed to depart, however, at the price of a few rude kisses. Still the horror of the scene completely overpowered her, and she was taken away by her ladies, in a boat, senseless, and rowed across to the other side of the Thames; where, at a house in Carter Lane, Richard rejoined her later in the day, to hear the particulars of the horrid deeds which she had witnessed.

How these men could have got into the Tower so readily as they did, without the aid of the grossest negligence or treachery on the part of the garrison, is difficult to understand. That the Tower was not always guarded with the jealous care that one would expect, is evident from a curious circumstance that happened some forty years before Wat Tyler's outbreak, and which is the more remarkable on account of the previous warning. When Edward III. was busy in the Tower preparing for his French expedition, about 1337, he issued a mandate that, "on account of certain news which had lately come to his ears, and which sat heavy at his heart, the gates, walls, and bulwarks should be kept with all diligence, lest they should be surprised by the cunning of his enemies." The news that was referred to in such terms by Edward III. must indeed have been important. It was most probably from France; whence, about this period, Edward received intelligence that the French King had given an asylum to David Bruce of Scotland, and was preparing to aid the Scottish patriots with men, arms, and money. Minute directions were now given respecting the safe custody of the Tower. Whether Edward received any secret intimation whilst abroad that led him to appear so suddenly and unexpectedly as he did at the Tower gates in 1340, when it was not even known to the garrison that he was in England, is uncertain; but, to the alarm of the negligent inmates, there he was, at midnight on the 13th of November, accompanied by the Earl of Northampton, Sir Walter Manny, and other eminent companions in arms, and discovered but too plainly the culpable looseness with which his chief palace, prison, fortress, and arsenal were guarded. No particulars of the scene seem to have been recorded; but the carelessness must have been of a very marked character, for Edward imprisoned the Governor and other officers, and treated them with great rigour.

The success of Wat Tyler's followers in surprising the Tower was in every way an unfortunate circumstance. It broke the spell that hung over its frowning walls, investing them to the popular eye with a thousand mysterious terrors. Its inmost recesses were no longer unknown: they became mixed up with licentious stories, with many a humorous prank that had been played in them by its wild grotesque visitors. And while the people thus grew less and less afraid of the Tower, the Tower, on the contrary, seems to have imbibed a growing dread of them. The effect was but too evident when the next great popular insurrection, under Jack Cade, in 1450, frightened the isle from its propriety. Although, on the approach of the insurgents, Lord Saye, who was particularly obnoxious to them, with some other persons, were immediately placed in the Tower, which Lord Scales engaged to maintain for the King, yet the hapless peer seems to have been given up without any attempt at



defence, hurried to Guildhall, and thence to the Standard in Cheapside, where he was beheaded.

We shall only notice one other period of the history of the fortress—the period of Charles I. At that critical moment, when the famous Parliamentary Remonstrance of 1641 had passed the House by a considerable majority, and it became evident that the King must either bend to the storm or prepare for a violent resistance, and the nation was anxiously awaiting Charles's answer—it was at this critical moment that it became noised abroad that the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, a sturdy parliamentarian, was to be removed. Two days later the rumour was confirmed, and made still more alarming by the addition of the name of the new officer. This was Colonel Lunsford, a man according to a petition immediately presented to Parliament by the common-councilmen and others of the city, “of a decayed and desperate fortune,” and one “who might be tempted to undertake any ill design.” The petition was presented to the Lords by the Commons, in a conference demanded by the latter for the purpose, who desired their Lordships to concur in a remonstrance to the King. The Lords declined to interfere with the royal prerogative. Subsequent proceedings show the high importance attached to the matter. The Commons immediately passed a unanimous vote that they held “Colonel Lunsford unfit to be, or to continue, Lieutenant of the Tower, as being a person whom the Commons of England could not confide in.” This done, a second conference was desired with the Peers, and Hollis, Pym, Strode, Marten, and other eminent men, were appointed as managers. It was now stated that merchants had already withdrawn their bullion from the Mint, and that strangers who had lately come up the Thames with great store of bullion forbore to bring it to the same place, because Colonel Lunsford held the Tower. The Lords still refusing to interfere, the Commons, that very Christmas-eve, sent two of their members to the Constable of the Tower, the Earl of Newport, desiring him to lodge and reside within the citadel, and take its entire care and custody into his hands. The Earl, however, could not be found. This was on the Friday. On Sunday the Lord Mayor waited upon Charles to say that the apprentices of London were actually preparing to rise and carry the Tower by storm, unless he should be pleased to remove Colonel Lunsford. Charles took back the keys that same evening. Still the affair was far from being ended. On Monday the Commons received intelligence that the Earl of Newport had been removed from the office of constable; and, to add to the general confusion, Colonel Lunsford the same day made a public appearance in Westminster Hall, with a number of friends and attendants, and provoked a scuffle which ended in bloodshed. On the 12th of January information reached the House that Colonel Lunsford and Lord Digby were collecting troops. The Colonel was immediately arrested, and committed as prisoner to the scene of his short-lived honours; Lord Digby fled. The new Lieutenant, Sir John Biron, was summoned to attend the House, to be questioned concerning arms he had sent to Whitehall. He refused, showing a warrant from the King commanding him not to leave the Tower; but he ultimately felt himself compelled to succumb to the new and portentous power which, to ordinary eyes, seemed to have grown up so suddenly, to the wonder and dread of kings, as well as of their loyal adherents. The same day the sheriffs of London were directed to “place a sufficient guard by land and water about the Tower, under the command of Major-General Skippon, commander of the guards of Parliament, to hinder the carrying in of any provisions, and the sending out of any ordnance, arms, or ammunition.” A petition was also presented to Charles, insisting upon Biron's removal, and the appointment of an officer recommended by themselves. The answer defended Sir John as “one of known fortune and unblemished reputation,” and stated that,



as the nomination of the Keeper of the Tower "was a principal and inseparable flower of his crown, vested in him and derived to him from his ancestors by the fundamental laws of the realm, he would reserve it to himself." But the merchants and the bullion were still obdurate; the Mint stood still; and Charles, no doubt with feelings of the deepest mortification, at last reluctantly accepted Sir John Coniers, officer named by the Parliament. From that time the interest of the great struggle shifts to other and more exciting scenes; not, however, before the "coming events had thrown their "shadows before" in the incidents we have narrated.

Among the eminent personages who have filled the office of Constable of the Tower find, in addition to the names we have already mentioned, those of Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury; Hubert de Burgh, who was, as already noticed, also a prisoner in one of its deepest dungeons; Hugh le Bigod, a nobleman of such power, that when Henry III., exasperated at his refusal to head a foreign expedition, angrily exclaimed "Fore God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang!" he replied as angrily and unctuously, "Fore God, Sir King, I will neither go nor hang!" the good Sir Hugh Despenser, killed with Montfort at the battle of Evesham; Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; Fairfax, the Parliamentary general; Lord Cornwallis, &c., down to their living successor, the Duke of Wellington.

Beside the honours attached to the Constableness, the incidental powers and emoluments of the office have been by no means unworthy of consideration. For records of the date of Richard II.'s reign, and of other periods, it appears the Constable received, in addition to his salary of one hundred pounds per annum, of every Duke committed to the Tower, twenty pounds; of every Earl, for the suit of his irons, twenty marks; of every Baron, for the suit of his irons, ten pounds; of every Knight, for the suit of his irons, one hundred shillings\*; and also weekly allowance for the table of himself and prisoners. His next source of profit was the merchandise newly brought up the river; from every wine-vessel he received two gallons; from every *rush boat*, as much as a man could hold between his arms; from every fisherman's smack laden with oysters, mussels, and cockles, a maund; and, in short, from one quarter and another, "of all manner of dainties a great quantity." Lastly comes a long enumeration of miscellaneous perquisites, such as the revenue arising from the sale of herbage growing on Tower Hill, and from persons who dined at the skins in East Smithfield, from boats fishing in the Thames, and from boats passing up and down the river, and from the port with herrings, from persons going on pilgrimage to St. James's shrine, and from those who were fined for any of the multitudinous cases of trespass that were constantly occurring in connection with the Tower precincts, both by water and land. If a ship was forsaken by the crew, the owners were obliged to compensate with the Constable; if a lighter in bad weather was obliged to throw her load overboard, it became the property of the Constable; if goods were brought ashore without the custom-dues having been previously paid, half of them were forfeited to the Constable; if a swan came through the bridge, or a horse, an ox, a cow, a pig, or a sheep fell from it, the Constable still was the ever-ready recipient. Even the prisoners' diet often became a matter of profit. Holinshed gives an amusing description of a quarrel between the Constable of the Tower and the attendants of the Princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, during her confinement. The attendants, it appears, were accustomed to bring her daily provision to the outer gate of the Tower, where they were compelled to deliver it to the care of the "common rascal soldier."

\* As there is no mention of "the suit of his irons" for "every Duke," we presume that Dukes were not subjected to the indignity. The title was yet new, and only given to nobles of royal blood.

They endeavoured to obtain permission to take it personally to their young mistress, but the Constable decidedly refused, on the ground that she was a prisoner, and should be treated accordingly; and when they remonstrated with him, he told them, 'If they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should neither see sun nor moon.' The Lords of the Council were now appealed to, who decided against the Constable. The attendants were, however, for some time annoyed in various ways in passing to and fro. The reader may be curious to know the meaning of the Constable's anxiety for the maintenance of the first arrangement. Holinshed explains. "Good cause why," says he, "for he had good cheer, and fared of the best; and her Grace paid for it." Or, in other words, the Constable helped himself from the provisions that came for her use. The Lieutenant, or officer next in nominal rank, but virtually the acting Governor of the Tower, had also fees to receive "for the nit of his irons," as well as "roundlets of wine, and of dainties a certain quantity," from the ships in the Thames.

The Council Chamber and Chapel of the Royal Palace yet exist in all their essential features, but no sovereign is ever again likely to sit in high debate in the one, or to kneel at his devotions in the other; the prison lodgings are yet secure enough, though there is little probability of their safety ever again being tried; but the fortress, which is anything but a place of strength, remains still a fortress, with its garrison, and its artillery bristling from the different parts of the walls. In walking along the narrow edge of the rampart, which affords an almost uninterrupted communication round the Tower, it is difficult to repress a smile at the utter uselessness of those formidable engines which there meet the eye. It is evident that they could knock St. Katherine's Docks to pieces if they were so minded; and, what perhaps comes nearer to the possible exercise of their duties, they might sink any suspicious-looking vessel that should be able to penetrate so far up the river; but for little else. The inmates of the Tower are evidently of the same opinion, for many of them have built their houses against the inner side of the rampart, not at all alarmed at the consideration that the first balls of a besieging force would send them toppling down on the heads of their neighbours below. The sole enemy, indeed, these fine old towers and walls have to fear is Time; and their best defence against him must be the peculiar care which every Englishman desires to see bestowed on them, as the visible memorial of many of the most illustrious men of his country, and of the events in which they have been the actors.

In walking round the White Tower the Armoury is soon distinguished. That long low building, attached to its southern side, with two mortars bearing the word "Acre" guarding its principal entrance, must undoubtedly be the place. Before the year 1825 this armoury was a mass of confusion. Armour of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was placed on figures, to which the names of historical characters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were assigned. On the representations of Dr. Meyrick, made personally, and in his 'Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour,' the attention of government was drawn to the subject; and as that gentleman kindly offered to take the trouble of placing the entire collection in chronological and historical order, arrangements were made for the purpose. The present building was erected in 1825, to contain the "Horse Armoury." It is a one-storied building, erected along the south side of the White Tower. The interior of the building is an apartment 149 feet in length, and 33 in width. It is divided into two unequal parts or walks, the equestrian figures occupying the centre. In front of the equestrian figures are a number of figures intended to represent men at arms, bowmen, pikemen,



&c., along with a variety of weapons and armour. Behind is a quantity of armour and weapons, of different ages, but principally of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, along with a number of figures, neatly and tastefully arranged. The whole collection is exceedingly interesting, and is probably one of the finest armouries in Europe.

Few who have not actually seen the Horse Armoury can appreciate its strikingly picturesque character: that is certainly a pleasure which even the most hurried visitor cannot be deprived of. The long range of mounted warriors extending down the centre of the place—lance, sword, battle-axe or mace in hand, and banner flying overhead; the range of pointed arches, through which they appear to have just advanced; the men at arms facing them, spread at intervals along their front, near the one wall, and the ingenious devices in the aisle behind, which decorate the other; the chastely beautiful ceiling, constructed entirely of weapons; and the orange-coloured light diffused over the nearest figures by the stained glass—form altogether a picture on which not alone the artist engaged so busily in yonder corner by the door may gaze with a novel sense of delight. We cannot dwell on the miscellaneous treasures and curiosities scattered so profusely about;—the giant proportions of one of those men at arms on the pedestals, some seven feet two inches high—the brilliant stars in the aisle, and the two men at arms under those exquisitely delicate canopies formed of ramrods, can each have but a passing glance as we move on towards the equestrian figures.

Only twelve out of the entire number of suits of armour in this collection can be positively identified. The others were made up by Dr. Meyrick, from his knowledge or supposition of the style or fashion of the age. Over each figure is a banner, on which the name assigned to the figure, and the presumed date, are inscribed.

1272. Edward I., King of England, in the act of sheathing his sword. The hauberk, hood, sleeves, and chausses of the armour, although not actually of this period, have been fabricated from portions of ancient chain mail. On the surcoat, by which the hauberk is partially concealed, and on the shield, are depicted the royal arms.

1450. King Henry VI., in plate armour, of peculiar workmanship; the back and breast-plates being flexible. The sleeves and skirt are of mail; the *sollerets*, or coverings for the feet, are pointed: the gauntlets are fluted. In the right hand the figure holds a pole-axe, of German workmanship, and of the same date as the armour. The saddle, which is of bone work, bearing a German inscription, is particularly curious: the caparisons are of velvet, embroidered with the arms of France and England.

1465. King Edward IV., in an iron-studded tilting suit, consisting of back and breast-plate, burgonet helmet, guard for the bridle-arm, gauntlets, *jambieres*, or coverings for the legs, and slipper stirrups with ankle-guards. The *volant* piece of the helmet gives an extraordinary aspect to the head. Its angular shape presented so difficult a mark to the lance, that it was not uncommon in tournaments to agree that the volant should not be used. The lance in his hand is a modern imitation of the antique, with the exception of the very curious vam-plate, which is genuine, and of unusual size and shape. The elegant appearance of this figure reminds one of Philip de Comines' description of Edward as "the beautifullest prince of his time;" and with that remembrance comes another, connected with the wars of the Roses, which ended in giving Edward his crown. The same historian says, "Now you shall understand that the custom in England is, after the victory obtained, neither to kill nor to ransom any man, especially of the vulgar sort, knowing all men then to be ready to obey them because of their good success." Is this meant as a compliment to the



amanity of the English leaders, or as a satire upon the want of steady principle in the English people? The housing of the horse is of black velvet, powdered with the king's badges; namely, the white rose and crown.

Knight of the time of Richard III.—This suit is of the kind called *ribbed*. The *almot* is a *salade* supplied with ear-guards; in front of the shoulders are two pieces called *rondelles*, for protection of the arm-pits. On the floor is to be seen the "Tilting-appareil" of the suit; and on the pillar behind is an original tilting-lance with ferrule, ring and vam-plate, wanting the coronal or blunt head. The above suit was purchased at the sale of armour used in the Eglintoun Tournament.

1508. King Henry VII., in a suit of fluted steel, probably of German manufacture, consisting of a *burgonet* helmet, with open chin-piece, and visor; globular *reast-plate* and back-plate; *tassets*, or skirts; vam-braces and rear-braces, connected by elbow pieces; armour for the knees, with *demi-cuisses* affixed; *jambieres* and *sollerets*.

1509. King Henry VIII., in a tilting helmet, with rising beaver and visor; a *pouldron* for the left shoulder, with shifting pass-guard gorget; breast-plate, with *placate*; back-plate, vam-brace, and rear-brace, with shifting elbow-caps; fixed *gauntlet* for the sword hand, and tilting *gauntlet* on the bridle hand; *tassets*, *demi-cuisses* with *genouillieres*; *jambieres* to the ankle, and *sollerets*. In the right hand is a *martel de fer*, at the saddle-bow is a short sword, and a long sword depends from the waist. This suit is richly inlaid with gold. This is the first of the suits of armour which has been positively identified.

1520. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in plate armour, very similar to that last described.

1535. Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, in a richly gilt suit, which exhibits little variation from the two preceding suits.

1552. King Edward VI., in russet armour, produced by oxydising the metal and then smoothing the surface, richly embossed and gilt. This is an exquisite specimen of art. The horse armour is complete, and a fine specimen, embossed, and ornamented with the badges of Burgundy and Grenada.

1555. Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, in a suit of plate armour, richly gilt. It is the heaviest suit in the collection, and weighs 104 lbs.

1560. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. On different parts of it are engraved the initials R. D., the collar of the garter, the figure of Saint Michael, and the Earl's badge, the ragged staff. It appears to have been originally gilt.

1570. Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Armouries, and Champion to Queen Elizabeth, in a plain suit, little differing from preceding ones.

1585. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in armour richly engraved and inlaid with gold.

1605. King James I. He holds a tilting lance, fourteen feet in length, and, in the thickest part, two feet three inches in circumference, used for running at the ring.

1606. Sir Horace Vere, Captain-General, holding in his right hand a small mace.

1608. Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. This figure, also, is armed with a mace.

1612. Henry, Prince of Wales, son of King James I. The armour, which was made for this Prince, is richly gilt, and engraven with representations of battles, sieges, and other military subjects. A steel mace is suspended from the saddle-bow, and in the right hand is a rapier.

1618. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in a full suit of plain armour. In the left hand is a wheel-lock petronel, the stock of which is of ebony, inlaid with

ivory and mother-of-pearl; the right hand holds the instrument for winding up the spring.

1620. Charles, Prince of Wales. This suit, which is richly engraved and gilt, was made for the young prince when apparently about twelve or fourteen years of age. A rapier, with a beautifully worked steel hilt, is in the right hand.

1635. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. The only peculiarity in this suit is that it descends no lower than the knees, armour for the legs having been replaced by boots of buff leather.

1640. King Charles I. The armour, which is curiously wrought, and entirely gilt, was presented to him, when Prince of Wales, by the Armourers' Company of the City of London.

1685. King James II., in a suit which belonged to him when living. It consists of a silver laced velvet coat with long skirts, beneath which is a waistcoat of blue velvet. His armour consists of a casque, with ear-pieces and a pierced visor, on the grating of which is the royal arms, and the initials I. R.; over his coat is a cuirass, and a long gauntlet on his left hand, while on his right hand he wears a buff glove, and on his legs jack-boots with gilt spurs. The saddle, holsters, &c., are of velvet, richly embroidered with gold lace; the pistols, which the latter contain, are curiously inlaid with silver and ivory.

It would have been better, when this collection was reformed by Dr. Meyrick, if the old practice of giving names to the figures had been abandoned. The majority of the visitors are apt to consider them as "lively effigies" of the historical characters whose names they bear, instead of regarding them as representations of the fashion of the panoply of a knight or warrior of the age to which they are referred. This objection is partly obviated in those figures which are clothed in armour known to have belonged to the individuals: but anything which tends to degrade the collection into a mere show runs counter to what should be its prime object.

From 1272 there is a transition of nearly two centuries. The next figure has the date 1450 assigned to it, with the name of Henry VI. It is, as before stated, in plate armour of peculiar workmanship.

There are but fifteen years of difference between this and the adjoining figure, to which the name of Edward IV., and the date of 1465, are given. The remaining figures all belong to the sixteenth century, "the last age of chivalric splendour," and the seventeenth, when armour was worn more for show than use, and towards the latter part of which the "fashion" disappeared. A second equestrian figure wearing a suit of armour, which is positively identified as having belonged to Henry VIII., is placed in a recess in the wall, in front of the range of equestrian figures. It is clothed in a curious suit of armour, which was presented to Henry by the emperor Maximilian I., on Henry's marriage with Katherine of Aragon. This is the most splendid in the collection. It was no doubt worn by Henry at some of those pleasant May meetings at Greenwich, when the white shield was hung upon a green tree in the park, for knights of good birth to subscribe their names as accepting the challenge offered by certain parties, who proposed to take the field against all comers. On one of these occasions, Henry himself, with the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Sir George Carew, assumed this honourable but somewhat arduous post, challenging all knights to joust and tilt at the barriers. A striking proof of the King's estimation of Maximilian's present is given on his great seal, where he is represented wearing a suit exactly corresponding with it in form and style. The entire mass of armour, both for horse and rider, is washed with silver, and covered with engravings,

ost beautifully executed, of holy legends, devices, mottoes, arms, &c. On the breast-plate is represented a figure of St. George, just after his famous victory over the dragon; and, with reference most probably to the marriage which occasioned the present to be made, the German word of congratulation, "Glück," meaning "Good fortune," is engraved on one of the jambs.

In this recess are also placed two small figures, each accoutred in armour known to have belonged to the young princes represented, Henry and Charles, sons of James I. Over the figure of Henry VIII. is a Latin inscription, purporting that in the reign of George IV., the Duke of Wellington being Master of the Ordnance, the collection was historically arranged by Dr. Meyrick. To this the date 1826 is affixed.

The figures on foot in front of the equestrian range represent—a foot soldier of 140 in dark armour; a swordsman of 1606 in half-armour, with a puckered velvet skirt; a pikeman of the time of Charles I. in brown armour, studded with brass nails; and an archer of the year 1590. This figure is attired in a brigandine jacket, or gambesone, containing pieces of iron, and curiously quilted; sleeves and skirts of green, and hose, and square-toed shoes. In the right hand is a bow, and on the same side a quiver of arrows.

On the north side, in a recess, is an equestrian figure, in an Asiatic suit of great antiquity. It was till lately called a Norman crusader. The armour was brought from Tonge Castle, Shropshire, where we are informed it had been for some three centuries. It consists of what might be termed the ordinary dress of a knight of that period, namely, minute iron rings joined together into a network enveloping the entire body and limbs. In a less complete shape, armour of this kind, sometimes with the rings placed edgewise—a more secure, but also a heavier garment—seems to have been used as early as the eighth century by our Saxon forefathers; for representations of it still exist in illuminated manuscripts of that period.

In this apartment, and in Queen Elizabeth's Armoury, to which we pass through the wall of the White Tower, and which was the prison of Sir Walter Raleigh, and of others of whom memorials are shown, there is a vast variety of other interesting objects—suits of armour, helmets, breast-plates, battle-axes, pikes, swords, ancient pistols, linestocks, a splendid shield engraved with a representation of the meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. on the field of the cloth of gold, ancient pieces of artillery, and one fished up from the wreck of the Royal George, mounted on a piece of her timber, Chinese dresses taken at Chusan, the helmet, belt, and swords of Tippoo Saib, Mahratta weapons, and Indian armour, glaives, bills, guisarmes, morning-stars, pole-axes, maces, cross-bows, long-bows, stone balls for mangonells, and specimens of link, chain, and star shot. There are also a number of specimens of instruments of torture, with the heading-axe said to have been used in the execution of Elizabeth's Earl of Essex, and the heading-block on which suffered Lords Balmerino, Kilbarnock, and Lovat, in 1746, with gashes from the axe painfully visible on the melancholy-looking wood. At the upper end of the room is an equestrian figure of Queen Elizabeth, attired as she went to return thanks at St. Paul's for her deliverance from the Spanish Armada, on which occasion, however, she certainly did not go on horseback, but in "a triumphal car, ornamented with the spoils and ensigns of the enemy."

The warder, who acts as a guide, is himself a curiosity, with his crimson tunic so richly emblazoned, and his round black velvet hat, and its party-coloured ribbons disposed so tastefully round the band. Not even the lapse of time since he first entered on the duties of wardership, and the continual iteration of the same facts, have at all dimmed his consciousness of the respect due to his oracular announce-

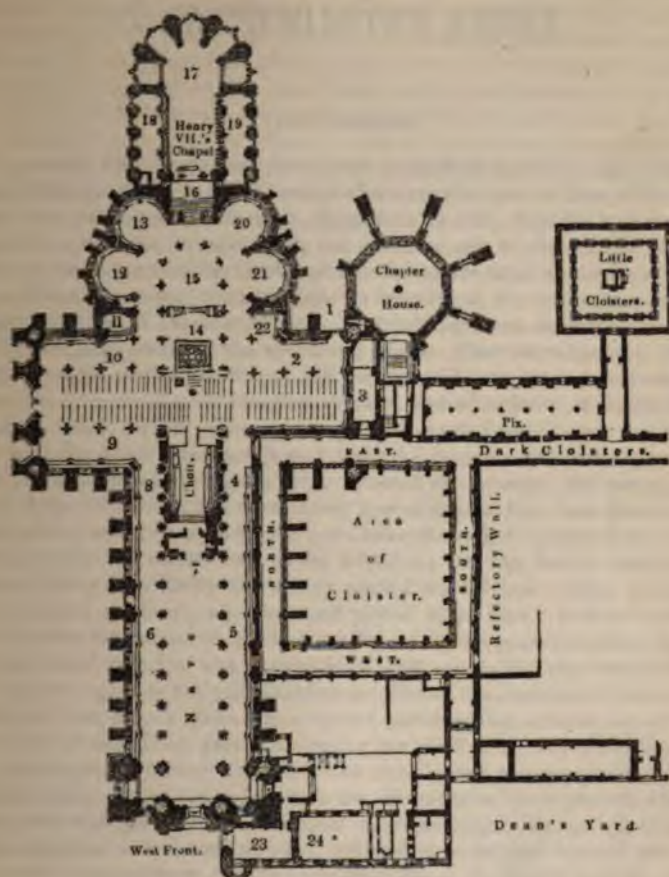


ments.—“You are now in the Horse Armoury,” sayeth he ; the listeners look around with new curiosity and wonder : he is satisfied, and goes on. And many an eager face and earnestly upturned eye may be noticed among those listeners ; and questions will be heard, to which courteous, if not entirely satisfactory answers will be given. But, gentle spectators, do not delay ; the guide must go on ; other parties are waiting at the gate. You have learned that this figure represents Edward I., and that Henry VIII. ; you have been shown the axe with which Essex was beheaded ; and good Queen Bess herself, in her habit as she lived, has been duly submitted to your gaze. What more *can* you want ? Some enthusiast or other will, perhaps, think that the *show* is of little value if we do not understand the substance ; he may even fancy that the custom of exhibiting national memorials, without explanation of the circumstances which give to them their true value, or without affording opportunity of reflecting and appreciating that connection on the spot when explanation is not required, is positively mischievous—as begetting a habit of looking on objects of the highest interest with a vague, unreasoning, and altogether fruitless feeling of wonder, instead of a rational desire to learn and understand, which can alone produce real or profitable enjoyment. But it would be as well to say nothing about such matters here. At the same time it must be observed, the warders have a tedious and fatiguing duty to perform, and may well be excused from wishing to make it more onerous ; or, what must appear to them worse still, to encourage any arrangements which they might fear would ultimately dispense with their attendance. But it may be worth consideration with higher authorities, whether the method adopted with such signal success at Hampton Court might not be imitated at the Tower, and visitors be no longer restricted to going in parties, which are now made up at stated intervals in the waiting-room, when, if at all numerous, they are wholly in each other’s way, as they *must* follow the guide at far too great a speed to allow of satisfactory inspection. No one would wish to get rid of the warders. They are to our eyes an indispensable part of the locality. The Armoury in their absence would certainly want one of its most picturesque features. But let them cease to be guides, just when they would be needed in their proper character as guardians. We think there is little to be apprehended from allowing the public to wander about in its own way in such places ; but at the same time we are also prepared to acknowledge that the very existence of the privilege might be endangered by a single individual, and therefore full security is requisite. Let the living antiques, therefore, by all means still move about and lend warmth and animation to the effigies of the dead ones ; but let those also who would study the history of English armour, or of the times of which the contents of the Armoury are frequently the most significant testimonials, be at liberty to do so *at their leisure* ; and let them find in some shape or other, on the spot, accessible to all, systematic information respecting every object around. Then, and then only, will this noble armoury be appropriated to equally noble uses.

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We have only to add, and this is creditable to the authorities, that though far too little of the Tower is open to the public, for the parts that are shown, the Regalia and the Armoury, the charge is moderate, being only sixpence to each, and they are open every day except Sundays and church holidays. The number of persons who visited the Tower in 1849 was 45,474.

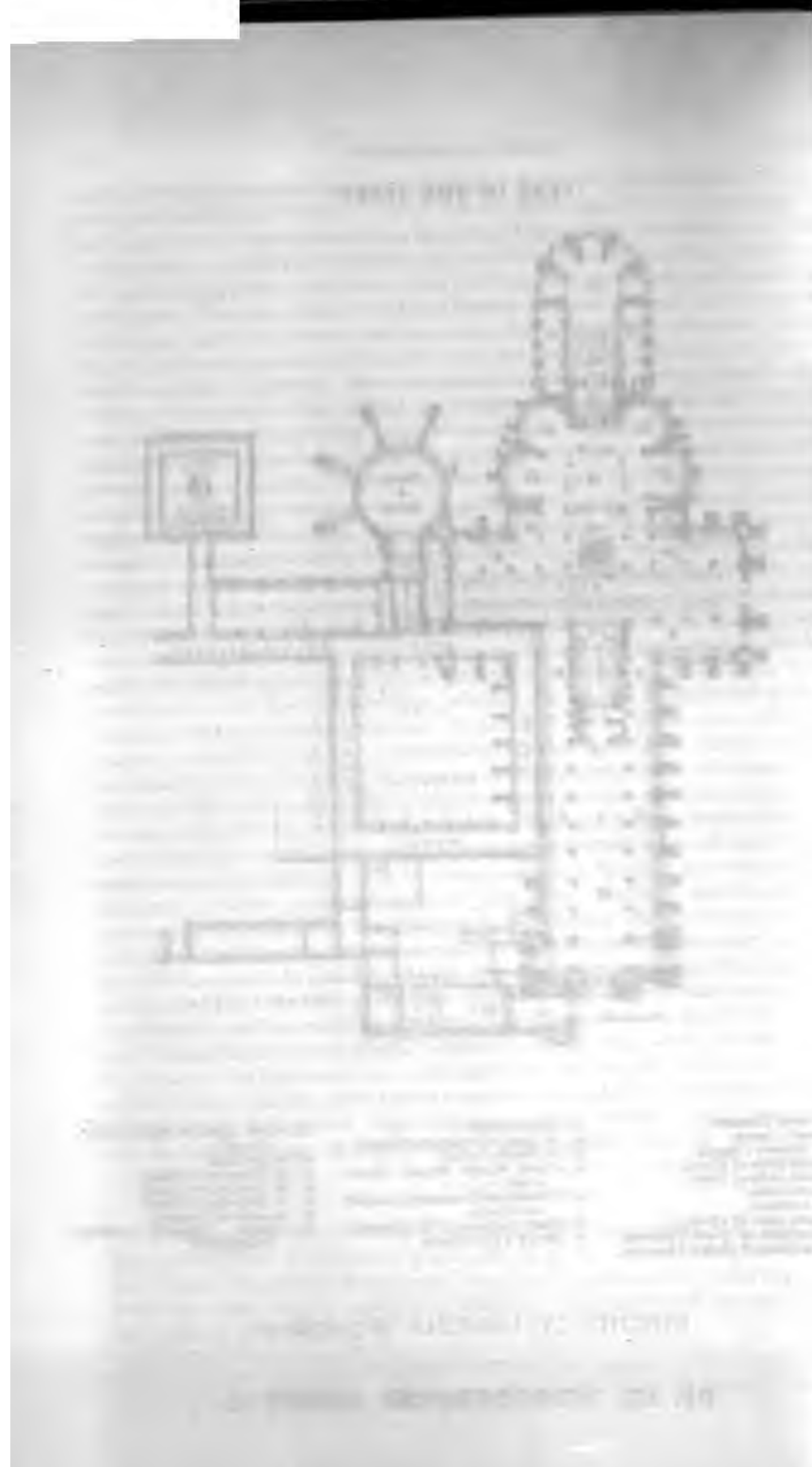
# PLAN OF THE ABBEY.



- |                                   |   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. General Entrance.              | 11. Islop's Chapel.                           | 18. North Aisle of Henry VII's Chapel.    |
| 2. Poets' Corner.                 | 12. St. John the Baptist's Chapel.            | 19. South ditto.                          |
| 3. St. Blaise's Chapel.           | 13. St. Paul's Chapel.                        | 20. St. Nicholas's Chapel.                |
| 4. South Aisle of Choir.          | 14. Abbot Ware's Mosaic Pavement.             | 21. St. Edmund's Chapel.                  |
| 5. South Aisle of Nave.           | 15. Edward the Confessor's Chapel and Shrine. | 22. St. Benedict's Chapel.                |
| 6. North ditto.                   | 16. Porch to Henry VII's Chapel.              | 23. Jerusalem Chamber.                    |
| 7. New Screen.                    | 17. Henry VII's Tomb.                         | 24. College (formerly Abbey) Dining Hall. |
| 8. North Aisle of Choir.          |   |   |
| 9. West Aisle of North Transept.  |   |   |
| 10. East Aisle of North Transept. |   |   |

KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. IX. WESTMINSTER ABBEY: I.





## IX. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

### THE EXTERIOR.

As we approach from Parliament Street, the exquisitely beautiful and most elaborately panelled and pinnacled architecture of the rounded end of Henry VII.'s Chapel meets the eye over the long line of St. Margaret's Church; into the burial-ground of which we step, in order to pass along the northern side of the Abbey. About the centre we pause to gaze on the blackened exterior of the front of the north transept, which, however, many of the most delicate beauties of the sculpture, as well as all the bolder outlines of the tracery and the mouldings, are distinctly and happily marked by the light colour of the projecting edges. Time was when this front had "statues of the twelve apostles at full length, with a vast number of other saints and martyrs, intermixed with intaglios, devices, and abundance of fretwork;" and when it was called, for its extreme beauty, "Solomon's Porch;" and now, even injured as it is, the whole forms a rich and beautiful façade. The rose window, thirty feet in diameter, was rebuilt in 1722. Beyond the transept, the new appearance a part of the exterior of the nave shows how extensive have been the reparations recent years; and we may add, the remainder shows how necessary it is to go on. As we pass round the corner towards the west front, one can hardly resist the fancy at Wren, seeing how badly the Abbey needed its deficient towers, had taken a couple from some of his city churches, and placed them here. And who could for a moment mistake the ornaments of the clock for a part of a genuine gothic structure? The right-hand corner of the western front, half concealing the beautiful decorations of its lower part, is the plain-looking exterior of the Jerusalem Chamber, forming, with the Hall, Dean's house, &c., a square, partly resting against the nave on the northern side of the Abbey, partly projecting beyond it. Passing along the exterior of these buildings, a gateway leads into the Dean's yard, a large quadrangle, where the modern houses contrast strangely with the ancient ones, lower portions with upper, large windows with green blinds and small rude ones scarce big enough to put one's head through, painted wooden doorways and arches so old and decayed one scarcely ventures to guess how old they may be. From the Dean's yard we can again approach the Abbey,—the doorway in the corner, at the end of the pavement on our left, opening into a vaulted passage leading directly to the cloisters. From the grassy end of the latter you obtain a view, and we believe the only one, of the south transept, rather of its upper portion. Passing along the south cloister, where the wall on our right is also the wall of the ancient refectory, to which the first doorway led, at the end you have on the right a low vaulted passage, which is considered a part of the Confessor's building, and where, in a small square called the Little Cloisters, stood the Chapel of St. Katherine, in which took place the scene between the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, so dramatically described by Holinshed, and on the left the East Cloister, with the low and well-barred door leading into the chamber of the king, and the exquisitely beautiful but much-injured entrance to the Chapter House. This building, now used for the custody of records, and visited only by express permission from the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, we might devote more pages in we have words to spare: so sumptuous were its architecture and its decorations,

and so interesting yet are the remains. The pavement, with its coloured tiles in heraldic and other devices, and the wall almost covered apparently with paintings, deserve even closer investigation than they have yet received. It is also rich in its curiosities: here is, perhaps, the most valuable ancient historical document possessed by any nation in the world, the Domesday Book, in such exquisite preservation, and its calligraphy so perfect, that it scarcely appears as many years old as it is centuries. The large gold seal appended to the treaty between Henry VIII. and Francis is not only interesting for its associations, but for its intrinsic merit. The sculptor was no other than Cellini. Passing though the Chapter House, and turning round to look at the exterior of the building we have quitted, the most melancholy-looking part of the Abbey is before us; and it is that which is necessarily the most seen, standing as it does against the entrance to Poets' Corner. The magnificent windows bricked and plastered up, two or three smaller ones being formed instead in the hideous walls which fill them, and the dilapidated neglected aspect of the whole, are truly humiliating. And what a contrast to the visitor who has just passed Henry VII.'s Chapel! It is fortunate we can so soon forget it, and all other jarring associations: a few steps—and we are in the Abbey, and—out of the world.

#### POETS' CORNER.

"Poets' Corner!"—We could wish, most heartily, we knew the name of him who first gave this appellation to the south transept of the Abbey, and thus helped, most probably, to make it what it is,—the richest little spot the earth possesses in its connection with the princes of song: such a man ought himself to have a monument among them. And, though he may have never written a line, we could almost venture to assert he must have been a kindred spirit, so exquisitely applicable is his phrase;—so felicitously illustrative of the poet, who, with all his exhaustion of old worlds and creation of new, is generally most deeply attached to some one of the smallest corners of that on which he moves;—so characteristic is it of the personal relation in which we, his readers, stand toward him: not in the pulpit, the senate, or the academy, does he teach us, but in the quiet corner by the winter fireside, or in the green nook of the summer woods. In a word, we might have sought in vain for any other appellation that would have expressed, with equal force, the *home-feeling* with which we desire, however unconsciously, to invest this sumptuous abode of our dead poets, or that would have harmonised so finely with our mingled sentiments of affection and reverence for their memory.

But, though we do not know who gave the name, we are at no loss with regard to those whose burial here first suggested it. If, immediately we enter, we turn to the right, and gaze on the monuments on the wall by our side, we perceive one standing out from the rest in hoar antiquity, a fine old gothic piece of sculpture, that, though in reality not three centuries old, seems at the first glance to be coeval with the building itself; that is the tomb of Chaucer, the first poet buried in the Abbey, and the first true poet England produced. It is, in other respects, one of the most interesting memorials of the place. Caxton, who, among his numerous claims to our gratitude, adds that of having sought out and made permanent by printing the manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* (one of the editions of which he published under circumstances peculiarly honourable to himself), placed the original inscription here which he obtained from a learned Milanese. This remained till Brigham, a student in the university of Oxford, took upon him, as a labour of love, the erection of a monument to the illustrious poet's memory. The present tomb was accordingly placed

in 1555. As we pause to gaze on its decayed and blackened front, and to ex-  
 a, with an interest that finds little to repay it, the remains of the poet's effigy, a  
 of melancholy similarity between the fate of Chaucer's reputation and that of his  
 rial suggests itself: what Spenser calls "black oblivion's rust" has been almost  
 urious to the first as to the last, and has caused one of the greatest, and, as far  
 alifications are concerned, most popular of poets, to be the most neglected or un-  
 n by the large majority of his countrymen. There is a rust upon his verses, it  
 e, that mars, upon the whole, their original music (such as we find it breaking  
 t intervals where time has not played his fantastic tricks with the spelling and  
 inciation), and which, for the first few hours of perusal, somewhat dims also the  
 ancy of the thoughts,—but that is all; he who devotes one day to *studying*  
 cer will be delighted the next, and on the third will look back with amazement  
 s ignorance of the writer who, all circumstance of time and position considered,  
 carcelly be said to have had yet a superior, unless it be Shakspeare. Chaucer, like  
 spere, seems to have combined in himself all the qualities which are generally  
 l to belong to different individuals. As the characters of the wonderful pro-  
 to the Canterbury Tales throng upon the memory, one is lost in wonder at the  
 it and variety of the powers that could have created such a diversified assem-  
 . The gentle veteran knight, the young flute-playing poetical squire, the dainty  
 ess, the luxurious and respectable monk side by side with the licentious and  
 pond friar, the merry and wanton wife of Bath, the poure parson, that sublimest  
 aracters in the homeliest of shapes, the brawny bagpipe-playing miller, &c., &c.  
 cer died in 1400, a fact we learn only from the monument; and, like the fabled  
 , he may be said to have literally died singing. Among his works we find 'A  
 d made by Geoffrey Chaucer upon his death-bed, *lying in his great anguish*;' a  
 ring and memorable passage to be prefixed to a poem, and one is naturally  
 us to learn the nature of the sentiments that flowed into verse under such cir-  
 cstances. Such was the first poet buried in the Corner. The next was a worthy  
 ssor, Spenser, the author of the 'Faerie Queen.' If poets, in the words of  
 ey, are "cradled into wrong," or begin the world with suffering—so, alas! too  
 do they end it. Ben Jonson thus briefly records, in his conversation with  
 amond of Hawthornden, the frightful circumstances that attended the last days  
 ngland's second great poet:—"The Irish having robbed Spenser's goods, and  
 t his house and a little child new born, he and his wife escaped; and, after, he  
*for lake of bread* in King Street, [Westminster,] and refused twenty pieces sent  
 m by my Lord of Essex, adding, 'he was sorry he had no time to spend them.'"  
 story sounds altogether terribly like truth; yet, as doubts have been thrown  
 it, we are glad to think it possible that there may be some mistake, or at least  
 geration. This great poet had great patrons: Sir Philip Sidney, Raleigh, Essex,  
 Queen Elizabeth; so hunger, we may hope, was not by the poet's death-bed.  
 ser was buried where he had desired to be, near his great predecessor, Chaucer  
 on the other side of the entrance), in 1598-9, at the expense of the Earl of  
 x. It has been recorded that several of his poetical brethren attended, who  
 v epitaphs, and elegies, and panegyrics on his works, into his grave, "with  
 pens that wrote them." "Gentle Willy" (Spenser's own designation of Shak-  
 ) we may be tolerably sure was among these mourners. The short but beautiful  
 iption on the monument runs thus: "Here lies, expecting the second coming  
 ur Saviour Christ Jesus, the body of Edmund Spenser, the prince of poets in  
 ime, whose divine spirit needs no other witness than the works which he left  
 id him." This was the second inhabitant of Poets' Corner.



The third was Beaumont: how was it that we cannot add, with whom Fletcher? So thoroughly have their lives become incorporated in the incorporation of their writings and fame, that one feels as though Beaumont himself were not here, entombed thus alone. Most touching and beautiful of friendships! In all works of these great writers there is no incident half so romantic as their own divided lives; for, as Aubrey has shown us in his recorded gossip, their literary connection was but the natural manifestation not merely of kindred tastes and tale but of an ardent affection for each other, that was as plainly seen in the house where they lived together, and had the same clothes, and most probably a common pulpit as in the theatre, where their separate writings were undistinguishable, and where if one were really greater than the other, they kept the secret to themselves effectually, that to this hour the best critics have been baffled in their attempts to assign to each his due merit. How great that merit is, may be judged by those familiar with their works from Schlegel's remark upon them. He says—"They have wanted anything but a more profound seriousness of mind, and that sagacity in which observes a due measure in everything, to deserve a place beside the great dramatic poets of all nations." Beaumont was buried before the entrance into the first of the chapels here (St. Benedict's), immediately beyond Chaucer's monument where he lies without memorial or inscription.

Drayton followed Beaumont, whose monument, close to the entrance on the right side, has an inscription too faded to be read, but too beautiful to be lost. The lady who erected Spenser's monument (Clifford, Countess of Dorset) erected this also, and Aubrey, who mentions that fact, says that Marshall, the stone-cutter, informed him the inscription was by Quarles, but in Ben Jonson's works it has been printed by his editors as his. It runs thus:—

"Do, pious marble, let thy readers know  
What they and what their children owe  
To Drayton's name; whose sacred dust  
We recommend unto thy trust.  
Protect his memory and preserve his story,  
Remain a lasting monument of his glory.  
And when thy ruins shall disclaim  
To be the treasury of his name,  
His name, that cannot fade, shall be  
An everlasting monument to thee."

Beautiful, however, as is the concluding thought, we fear the inscription "doth protect too much." To cease to be read is the same thing to an author as to cease to be remembered; and how few readers are there now of the Polyolbion! Drayton's involved style and love of mere topography have spoilt it, it is to be feared, for even what might have been a fine poem, and is unquestionably full of fine poetry. Drayton died in 1637, and was followed six years after by his great contemporary, and he were the author of the foregoing inscription—panegyrist, Ben Jonson. Not Spenser's memorial these few words strike every visitor to Poets' Corner—"rare Ben Jonson!"—inscribed beneath a tablet with a head in relief of the poet. His remains do not, however, rest in this part of the Abbey, but in the north aisle of the nave, near Killigrew's monument, where the quaint epitaph was first "done," says Aubrey, "at the charge of Jack Young (afterwards knighted), who, walking by when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cut it." The stone very unnecessarily, was taken away at the late relaying of the pavement. A story told in the Abbey with regard to the grave, that seems about as deserving of cre-

the marvellous relations of cathedral-guides generally. It states that the Dean of Westminster one day rallied Jonson about his burial in the Abbey vaults. "I am poor for that," was, it is said, the poet's reply; "and no one will lay out funeralarges upon me. No, sir, six feet long by two wide is too much for me: two feet by two will do for all I want." "You shall have it," said the Dean. On the poet's death the riddle was explained by a demand for the space agreed; when a hole eight feet deep was dug, and the coffin set upright in it. The tablet in Poets' Corner is from a design by Gibbs, the architect.

Under the date of 1607, Evelyn writes, "Went to Mr. Cowley's funeral, whose corpse lay at Wallingford House, and was thence conveyed to Westminster Abbey in hearse with six horses, and all funeral decency, near a hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of quality following; among these all the wits of the town, divers bishops and clergymen. He was interred next Geoffrey Chaucer, and near Spenser. A goodly monument since erected to his memory." The Latin inscription declares Cowley the equal of Virgil, Horace, and Virgil of England. The monument was raised by George, Duke of Buckingham, the literary opponent of the great poet next buried here, and whose monument we find adjoining Cowley's, with a noble bust and the simplest of inscriptions, to "J. Dryden." This was not placed here till twenty years after the poet's death; when his friend and patron, Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, reminded, by Pope's intended epitaph on Rowe, of the "nameless stone" that covered the remains, used a monument to be erected with an admirable bust by Scheemakers. If one could desire change in an inscription which is so refreshing for its simplicity and freedom from panegyric, it would be in order to introduce Pope's couplet:—

"This Sheffield raised the sacred dust below  
Was Dryden once; the rest who does not know?"

But, after all, the truest taste in such matters would be, we think, to banish everything but the plain name, where that name was such as Dryden's: the longer inscriptions might then be left for the use of those who feared that the virtues or genius of their deceased friends would not be sufficiently known without. Reflecting on the neglect before alluded to of the Duke towards Dryden's memory, a painful story of a similar nature (indeed, the poet's life was altogether but too full of such neglects and delays) recurs in connection with his burial. He died in 1700; and then the world remembered, as it usually does, what a very great man it had lost, and talked of what very great things ought to be accomplished in honour of his remains. What followed may be best narrated in the words of the writer of a biographical account of Congreve's life, as transcribed by Johnson in his 'Lives of the Poets.' The passage is long, but interesting; and as there seems really no doubt of its general truth, we cannot persuade ourselves to mutilate it:—"Mr. Dryden dying on the Wednesday morning, Dr. Thomas Sprat, then Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, sent the next day to the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a present of the ground, which was forty pounds, with all the other Abbey fees. The Lord Halifax likewise sent to the Lady Elizabeth, and Mr. Charles Dryden, her son, that if they would give him leave to bury Mr. Dryden, he would inter him with gentleman's private funeral, and afterwards bestow five hundred pounds on a monument in the Abbey; which, as they had no reason to refuse, they accepted. On the Thursday following the company came; the corpse was put into a velvet hearse; and thirteen mourning-coaches, filled with company, attended. When they were just ready to move, the Lord Jefferies, son of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, with some of his rakish companions, coming by, asked whose funeral it was: and being told Mr.



Dryden's, he said, 'What! shall Dryden, the greatest honour and ornament of the nation, be buried after this private manner? No, gentlemen! Let all that loved Mr. Dryden, and honour his memory, alight and join with me in gaining my lady's consent to let me have the honour of his interment, which shall be after another manner than this; and I will bestow a thousand pounds on a monument in the Abbey for him!' The gentlemen in the coaches, not knowing of the Bishop of Rochester's favour, nor of the Lord Halifax's generous design (they both having, out of respect to the family, enjoined the Lady Elizabeth and her son to keep their favours concealed to the world, and let it pass for their own expense), readily came out of their coaches, and attended Lord Jefferies up to the lady's bedside, who was then sick. He repeated the purport of what he had before said; but she absolutely refusing, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The rest of the company by his desire kneeled also; and the lady, being under a sudden surprise, fainted away. As soon as she recovered her speech, she cried, 'No, no!' 'Enough, gentlemen,' replied he; 'my lady is very good; she says, "Go, go!"' She repeated her former words with all her strength, but in vain, for her feeble voice was lost in their acclamations of joy; and the Lord Jefferies ordered the hearsemen to carry the corpse to Mr. Russel's, an undertaker in Cheapside, and leave it there till he should send orders for the embalment, which, he added, should be after the royal manner. His directions were obeyed, the company dispersed, and Lady Elizabeth and her son remained inconsolable. The next day Mr. Charles Dryden waited on the Lord Halifax and the Bishop, to excuse his mother and himself, by relating the real truth; but neither his Lordship nor the Bishop would admit of any plea; especially the latter, who had the Abbey lighted, the ground opened, the choir attending, an anthem ready set, and himself waiting for some time without any corpse to bury. The undertaker, after three days' expectance of orders for embalment, without receiving any, waited on the Lord Jefferies, who, pretending ignorance of the matter, turned it off with an ill-natured jest, saying that those who observed the orders of a drunken frolic deserved no better; that he remembered nothing at all of it; and that he might do what he pleased with the corpse. Upon this, the undertaker waited upon the Lady Elizabeth and her son, and threatened to bring the corpse home and set it before the door. They desired a day's respite, which was granted. Mr. Charles Dryden wrote a handsome letter to the Lord Jefferies, who returned it with this cool answer—'That he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it.' He then addressed the Lord Halifax and the Bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do anything in it. In this distress Dr. Garth sent for the corpse to the College of Physicians, and proposed a funeral by subscription, to which himself set a most noble example. At last a day, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's decease, was appointed for the interment. Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration at the College over the corpse, which was attended to the Abbey by a numerous train of coaches." Of the truth of this story Dr. Johnson could find no other confirmation than a letter of Farquhar's, stating the funeral was "tumultuary and confused;" a somewhat strong one, we should consider, seeing that the ordinary accounts of the funeral, which do not allude to the story, are equally silent as to any such general features as Farquhar mentions. There is to be added also that, though there are discrepancies in the dates, it is certain that a very unusual delay took place between the death and the burial, and that the procession set out from the College after the delivery of an oration, as described by the writer, instead of from the poet's own house: a circumstance utterly unexplainable, it appears to us, except from the occurrence of some unusual event. The funeral was sufficiently splendid when it did



take place. After the oration at the College, the ode of Horace, *Eregi monumentum ære perennius*, set to "mournful music," was sung, with an accompaniment of trumpets, hautboys, and other instruments. The procession then set out, consisting first of several mourners on horseback, then the band, "who made a very harmonious noise," preceding the corpse, which, lastly, was followed by no less than twenty mourning-coaches, drawn each by six horses, and a multitude of other equipages.

Among the remaining poets buried in the Corner there are three whose memorials attract the attention of the ordinary visitor—those of Rowe, Prior, and Gay. The first and the last are side by side in the corner behind the screen which faces the doorway, whilst Prior's stares you in the face from the screen, as you enter, as if eager to thrust itself upon your notice before your attention is occupied by the greater memorials of the place. Rowe's monument is by Rysbrack, and is chiefly noticeable for a beautiful inscription by Pope, concluding with the following allusion to his widow:—

"To these so mourn'd in death, so loved in life,  
The childless parent and the widow'd wife  
With tears inscribes this monumental stone,  
That holds their ashes, and expects her own."

To the poet's excessive annoyance, it is said, the widow sympathised so little with the expectations of the monument, that she married again, and thus destroyed at once half the beauty of the thought. Rowe died in 1718. Three years after Prior was buried in "that last piece of human vanity" which was erected at his own desire, and for which he left a bequest of £500. This certainly was a summary way of deciding the amount of his own reputation; but posterity likes to have its own opinion on these matters, and that opinion, we fear, in spite of the showy monument, is not very favourable to Matthew Prior. The memorial, in the shape of a winged boy holding a medallion portrait of him who, in the words of Pope's inscription, was—

"Of manners gentle, of affections mild,  
In wit a man, simplicity a child,"

suggests more interesting recollections. The author of the most popular of English musical pieces, the 'Beggar's Opera,' and of one of the best of English ballads, 'Black-eyed Susan,' the favourite correspondent of Pope and Swift, (how touching are the laments of the latter over his death!) and the almost idolised inmate of the eccentric but benevolent Duke and Duchess of Queensbury, rises always to the memory as one of those poets for whom, if we have not any uncomfortable amount of awe and veneration, we have a great deal of genuine love. The worthless couplet—

"Life is a jest, and all things show it;  
I thought so once, but now I know it"—

the mere expression of a mood of the poet's mind, should never have been placed on the monument, and it were an act of kindness to Gay's memory to erase it. There remain to fill up the list of the strictly-poetical inhabitants of the Abbey only Denham, the author of 'Cooper's Hill,' who lies buried beneath the pavement in front of Dryden's monument; and Macpherson, the author—as there is now little doubt but he was—of the poems ushered into the world under such peculiar circumstances as the productions of Ossian, whose resting-place is marked by a plain blue stone and brief inscription, near the centre of the transept. As to the memorial to Milton, remarkable for a piece of vile taste, perpetrated by him who erected it, and who in consequence has been pilloried in the 'Dunciad,'

"On poets' tombs see *Benson's* titles writ;"

Shakspeare's, to which Milton's lines may be applied with peculiar force, even by those who do not quite agree with the poet in holding any monument unnecessary:

“Dear Son of Memory, great heir of fame,  
Why need'st thou *such* weak witness of thy name?”

Phillips's, with its profile effigy, and wreath of laurel and apple-leaves, in illustration of his poem on Cyder, which was rejected by Dr. Sprat on account of its allusion to Phillips's uncle, Milton, a name, in the bishop's opinion (himself a small poet), too detestable to be read on the walls of a building dedicated to devotion;—Butler's bust;—Gray's, with its figure in relief of the Lyric Muse holding a medallion of the poet, by Bacon;—Thomson's, Mason's, Goldsmith's, and Southey's;—they are all but so many instances of the poets' monuments which have no poets reposing beneath them, that Addison alludes to in one of his papers in the ‘Spectator,’ and which should be carefully dissociated from those that have. This is so little attended to in the Abbey, that a visitor finds it impossible to determine from the mere sight of the tombs or inscriptions, except in one or two cases, which of the great poets were really buried here. Although but a mere honorary memorial, the one we just mentioned, Goldsmith's, is interesting from an incident connected with it. This great poet, essayist, and novelist, who was in himself sufficient to prove Johnson's theory, that genius is but a mind of large general powers accidentally determined in some particular direction—for, whilst Goldsmith's powers were directed in numerous directions, he excelled in all,—this admirable writer, who wanted but one of the commonest of qualities, prudence, to have been also one of the most admirable of men, was intended to have been buried in the Abbey, with a magnificent ceremonial, until the knowledge of his numerous unpaid debts caused the withdrawal of the scheme; when the body was interred in the Temple churchyard. A tablet, however, it was decided should be raised to his memory in the Abbey; Reynolds chose the place, immediately over the doorway of the chapel of St. Blaize (adjoining Gay's memorial), and Johnson undertook to prepare the inscription. What followed lives, no doubt, in the memory of most of our readers. Johnson wrote the inscription in Latin, and presented it for the approval of his companions, when they one and all disapproved of it, and subsequently prepared a round robin of names, begging him to celebrate the fame of an English author in the language in which he wrote. Johnson flatly refused, saying he would never consent to disgrace the walls of Westminster Abbey with an English inscription: and so we have before us the Latin inscription; unintelligible perhaps to ninety-nine out of every hundred visitors of the Abbey who have enjoyed ‘The Deserted Village’ and ‘The Vicar of Wakefield,’ and who are naturally interested in knowing what his friend Johnson would say about him.

The Poets' Corner is not, however, solely confined to poets; divines, philosophers, actors, musicians, dramatists, architects, and critics have found place among them. Barrow, whose life almost justifies the inscription which speaks of “a man almost divine, and truly great, if greatness be comprised in piety, probity, and faith, the deepest learning, equal modesty and morals in every respect sanctified and sweet,”—Barrow, whom Charles II. used to call an “unfair preacher,” inasmuch as that he left nothing for others to say after him on the topics he handled,—Barrow lies here, with a tablet and bust over his remains: the latter has the appearance of being a faithful likeness.

In another part, beneath the pavement before St. Blaize's Chapel, lie the remains of Johnson, with those of his friend and early associate, when the world was all before

can both, and the paths were yet to choose—Garrick,—on the one side, and those of Meridan on the other. Why the monument raised to Johnson's memory should have been placed in St. Paul's, instead of over or near his remains in the Abbey, is one of those mysteries that we may expect to solve when we have learnt why Nelson—whose memorable words at the battle of the Nile, "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" so peculiarly marked out the proper place of his destination—was interred at St. Paul's. With regard to Johnson's monument, however, we are too glad at not seeing in the Abbey the classical monstrosity which is absurdly said to commemorate *him*, to care very much about the cause. Garrick's monument, erected at some distance from his remains, on the opposite wall of the transept, is to us chiefly remarkable from the circumstance that it betrayed one of the most tolerant of spirits into something very like intolerance. When Charles Lamb says he would "not go so far, with some good Catholics abroad, as to shut players out of consecrated ground," he does go far enough to afford fresh fuel to the unjust opinion of the actor's art that has so long prevailed in the countries where Shakspeare and Molière each trod the stage—an opinion as scholastic too as unjust; for, by depreciating the profession, it has in a thousand ways helped to lower the characters of the professors: thus making the evil, of which each can with the greatest show of reason afterwards complain. Again, he speaks of the "theatrical airs and gestures" of the monument, not simply from any deficiency in the sculptor's skill to make them natural, but as objecting evidently to anything that could remind us of the theatre. There is a short way to test the truth of all this. At the left-hand corner of the same wall on which is Garrick's monument is that to Handel, in which the musician is represented surrounded by the materials and accessories of his art—the organ in the background, a harp in the hands of an angel above, and an effigy of himself in the act of composition, and as if suddenly inspired, in front. No one speaks of theatrical or orchestral gestures in connection with this great work. If, then, Charles Lamb did not overlook the immense difference that there must be between the productions of H. Webber, the artist of the one, and those of Roubiliac, the artist of the other, his animadversions will be found strictly to mean that the theatre is, in the abstract, so much less exalted an instrument of enjoyment and instruction than the orchestra, as to make the memory of the one painful to us in the presence of the dead, when the other rouses no such associations: a conclusion to which we respectfully demur, remembering, what the best lovers of Shakspeare seem often to forget, how grand a mission has been given the stage:—"To hold, as 't were, the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." If it does not do this, it ought; and may be made—when those who have influence over it raise their own minds to its natural level.

Above the monument just referred to, Handel's, is a tablet which reminds us of an interesting event in the history of the musical art in this country, the commemorations, which took place within the Abbey walls on several different occasions during the last century, and once during the present. The idea was first suggested in a conversation between some enthusiastic admirers of the great musician in 1783, who, seeing that, in the following year, a century would have elapsed since his birth, and a quarter of a century since his death, resolved to attempt the getting up of a performance, on the most magnificent scale, of Handel's works, by way of commemoration. The Directors of the Concerts of Ancient Music approved of the scheme, undertook the duties of arranging the performances, and George III. also gave his least sanction. On the 26th of May the performances began, during the whole of which the Abbey presented a magnificent and unique spectacle. At one end of the



nave was seen a kind of throne, with an enclosure fitted up for royalty, and most regally decorated, in the centre, and two other enclosures, one on each side, for the bishops and for the Dean and Chapter. At the other end rose the vast orchestra, with upwards of five hundred performers, and the organ, in a gothic frame, at the summit. The choral bands were on steps at the sides, rising stage upon stage till they seemed lost to the eyes of the spectators, in their extremest elevation. Lastly, in the area and galleries, in every nook and corner into which it seemed possible for human beings to introduce themselves, were the spectators, three or four thousand in number. The triumph of the architect to whom the arrangements for the fitting up of the Abbey had been confided, Mr. Wyatt, was seen in the harmonious aspect which, we are told, the whole presented; all "so wonderfully corresponded with the style of architecture of this venerable and beautiful structure, that there was nothing visible, either for use or ornament, which did not harmonize with the principal tone of the building." The performances lasted five days, and on the whole produced a deep and most beneficial effect on the permanent interests of the art. For some years the commemorations were repeated annually; but gradually they were given at longer and longer intervals till 1791, when, although the performers had been increased to the number of 1667 persons, the receipts exhibited a serious decrease, and in consequence the commemorations for the time ceased. Haydn was present during the last-mentioned performances; and, as he was ever ready to acknowledge, derived from them his deep veneration of the mighty genius of Handel. The last commemoration was that of 1834.

The chief remaining memorials of Poets' Corner may, perhaps, be best noticed in the order in which they meet the eye from the entrance-door. By the side of Prior's monument is a tablet, by Chantrey, to the great friend of the negroes, Granville Sharp; who was led to make the first attempt towards their emancipation by a little personal incident worth remembering, were it only for the mighty contrast between the end achieved and the beginning. Walking one day through the streets of London, he beheld a poor negro shivering with cold, hunger, and sickness. He was a slave from Virginia, abandoned by his master in this country on account of illness brought on by the change of climate. Sharp caused him to be conveyed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he recovered, and went to a situation provided for him by his benefactor. Immediately these circumstances reached the master's ears, he had the hardihood to throw poor Somerset, his 'late slave, into prison as a runaway. The matter was then brought before the chief magistrate of the city of London, who declared the man free. The master, however, violently seized him, and endeavoured to get him on board his ship, which was about to sail. There was no time to be lost. Somerset was brought by *habeas corpus* before the twelve judges, who, after several hearings, declared unanimously, in words for ever memorable, that "as soon as any slave sets his foot upon British ground, he is free." It is only necessary to add, in order to show how deep a debt of gratitude we owe to Granville Sharp, that he nearly exhausted his fortune in carrying this case to its important issue; and that he had the gratification of living to see the good work he had commenced progress to the point of the formal abolition by the legislature of the slave-trade in 1807. Near Sharp's memorial is the bust of St. Evremont, the French wit, and that of Shadwell, the hero of Dryden's tremendous satire—Mac Flecknoe, and who had his revenge in seeing the great poet turned out of the laureateship on the accession of William and Mary, and himself put in his place. On the column at the end of the screen, a tablet records the memory of the witty author of the 'New Bath Guide,' Christopher Anstey. At the back of the screen, near Shakspeare's monument, is Mrs. Pritchard's,

an actress of whom Churchill says, comically enough, considering it forms part of a panegyric on a really great artist, that "her voice" was

"As free from blemish as her fame."

On the other side of Bishop Blaize's Chapel, the sumptuous monument of the great Duke of Argyll, as he is generally called, strikes the eye alike by its size and beauty. It is as allegorical, and therefore almost as unmeaning, as usual in the chief thought; the Duke is dying at the base of a pyramid, with sorrowing figures of History, Minerva, and Eloquence around him. But the execution is most masterly. Canova is said to have remarked of the figure of Eloquence, "That is one of the noblest statues I have seen in England." On the floor, between the monuments of Handel and Barrow, is the full-length statue (on a circular pedestal) of one whose writings give a peculiar interest to his burial in the Abbey. The visits of the 'Spectator' are ever things to be remembered, and here, as he has himself told us, he was frequently to be found. "When I am in a serious humour," says he, in the first of his papers on the subject, "I very often walk by myself in Westminster Abbey, where the gloominess of the place, and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building, and the condition of the people who lie in it, are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy, or rather thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable." In another passage, he says, "When I see kings lying by those who deposed them,—when I consider *rival wits placed side by side*,—or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes,—I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind." Did Addison, we wonder, think how applicable these remarks might be, but a few years later, to his own case? One feature of his death-bed is well known—his sending for the young Earl of Warwick to see how a Christian could die: but another, and to our minds more touching incident, was his conduct to Gay, at the same period. He sent for the poet to his bed-side, and begged his forgiveness for an injury which he had done him (Gay knew not what, but supposed Addison referred to some obstruction he had thrown secretly in his path, whilst endeavouring to obtain court favour), and promised him, if he lived, to make amends. He did not live, but Gay, we are sure, with all his heart forgave him; and we can look on the memorials of the "rival wits," here buried beneath the same roof, and reflect with satisfaction that these at least did not wait for the grave to point its usual moral. Addison, we must remark, is not interred beneath Westmacott's statue, but in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel.

Beneath the pavement, near Addison's statue, the remains of Cumberland, the dramatist, essayist, and excellent classical scholar, are interred; and near him, those of Henderson, an actor, who, equally great in Falstaff and Hamlet, might, in Garrick's absence, have reached almost Garrick's reputation. As it was, he was overshadowed by the mightier genius, and consequently few now remember the excellence of John Henderson. Passing on, our eyes again directed upwards, we perceive the memorials of the learned Casaubon, a black and white marble monument erected by Stone, and of Camden, which exhibits a half-length figure, book in hand, of the great antiquary. Camden was master of Westminster School; and looks in his effigy, which has something of a prim pedagoguish look about it, as though he is still thinking of the school, and wondering whether he has got any of his pupils around him in his new abode. Yes, there is one, and the one who, if tradition be true, it must best please the antiquary's shade to see in such a place—Ben Jonson, the boy whose talents he had so early noticed, and whom he subsequently relieved from the degrading position of a bricklayer's labourer by obtaining for him the office of tutor



to Raleigh's son. Crossing now to the wall or screen of the choir, we have to the right of the entrance the beautifully sculptured monument of Dr. Busby, master of Westminster School, and its rigid ungraceful-looking rival (both being similar recumbent figures), that of the eminent divine, Dr. South, by its side. In the papers before referred to we find Addison and Sir Roger standing before Busby's memorial; when the knight exclaims, "Dr. Busby! a great man: he whipped my grandfather;—a very great man! I should have gone to him myself, if I had not been a block-head;—a very great man!" The poet Congreve, we may here add, is buried in another part of the Abbey; why, it would be difficult to say. Lastly, interred below the pavement, are—Gifford, the critic of the 'Quarterly,' whose nod was so long fate in the literary world; Chambers, the architect of Somerset House; Adam, the builder of the Adelphi, "O rare Sir William Davenant!" Old Parr, half an immortal himself, and therefore, we suppose, among the poets; and Sheridan, whose death in poverty under an arrest for debt, and almost regal funeral, show, even more brilliantly than usual, that kind of antithesis which the world has so long been accustomed to look on but as a necessary part of the history of men of genius, and which if it missed for any length of time, would, we verily believe, make it begin to look about, and button up its pockets carefully, suspicious that all was not as it should be.

As we turn our eyes away from the inscription on the plain blue stone at our feet, which has suggested these melancholy but unavoidable reflections, they fall upon *Dryden's* stately stone instead of bread; then again upon the memorials of the Prince of Poets, with the horrible doubt that belongs to it; on Goldsmith's, who, after all that has been said of his extravagance, perhaps scarcely received for the whole of his works the amount of three years' salary of a minister of state; on Johnson's, whose early struggles in London must be in every one's memory: in short, turn where we will, bounding our vision to the walls of the Abbey, or looking beyond them, we see still the same unnatural disparity between the instruction and enjoyment given, and the reward received; too often little more than "Poets' Corner."

#### THE MONUMENTS IN THE NAVE AND CHAPELS.

The author of the 'Sketch-Book,' after a visit to the Abbey, remarks, "I endeavoured to form some arrangement in my mind of the objects I had been contemplating, but found they were already falling into indistinctness and confusion. Names, inscriptions, trophies, had all become confounded in my recollection, though I had scarcely taken my foot from off the threshold." This passage describes but too truly the general effect, even on the most intelligent minds, of a first or occasional visit to the Abbey memorials. And the causes, no doubt, are to be found partly in the very multiplicity of the objects that meet the eye, but much more in the entire absence of any systematic arrangement. Indeed, whilst there are two features in particular which invest Westminster Abbey with an interest and a value that belong to no other English structure, the one of universal character,—the burial in it of so many of our great men; the other limited to the lovers of art,—the knowledge that it presents an unbroken series of examples of the history of sculpture for five or six centuries;—these are precisely the features which are the least attended to in the Abbey, and which therefore appear with the least possible effect. The Englishman, proud of his country, comes here to gaze upon the last resting-place of the men whose achievements have given him cause for his pride; but finds not only that remarkable men of every degree of intellectual power, of every variety of occupation



period, are confusedly mingled together, with the addition of a sprinkling of the remarkable only from the circumstance that their remains should be here at all, that in reality he cannot discover, with anything approaching to general accuracy, the great men who were really buried in the Abbey from those who have merely honorary memorials erected to them. The student's case is still more hopeless: instruction can he possibly derive from the visible history of art, however rich, where the facts or monuments of which it is composed are dispersed throughout a building, in such order that, if their respective positions had been decided by them, they could hardly have presented a greater chaos:—here the colossal statue of Henry V.'s standard-bearer;—there the effigies of some of the ancient abbots, on their altar-tombs, overshadowed by the gigantic pile of masonry erected to an able man of the last century, who, we suspect, would have been in no slight degree surprised if he could have foreseen that he would be stuck up here in effigy in the bosom of a Roman soldier? The Abbey, too, suffers sadly from these circumstances. We may enjoy the grandeur of its architecture, may gaze, and gaze till we resign ourselves to that feeling which Coleridge so finely describes—unconsciousness of the qualities around, and expansion of the whole being into the infinite,—may listen whilst

“ every stone is kiss'd  
By sound, or ghost of sound, in mazy strife;  
Heart-thrilling strains that cast before the eye  
Of the devout a veil of ecstasy;”

we, in short, leave the heart and soul to wander where and how they please whilst we notice nothing individually: but the moment we attempt to luxuriate in the details of the building, which are only less wonderful than the whole, the “actualities” of the Abbey become too much for us. What senses of sublimity and devotion can withstand the sudden appearance of some preposterous effigy, connected generally with some still more preposterous pile such as you are liable to meet with almost every part of the Abbey—transepts, ambulatory, chapels, and nave—anywhere but in the choir, and in the chapel of the kings? But it is not such monuments only that injure the grand harmony of the structure; with the exception of Westmacott's Duke de Montpensier, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, we do not remember a single monument placed in the Abbey, for a century or two past, that would not again be removed from it, if the purity of architectural taste which existed when the Abbey was built should be ever thoroughly revived. And the chief cause of this wholesale exclusion may be found, we think, in the very circumstance that sculptors have most congratulated themselves upon—the raising the effigies of the dead from their former recumbent position. But in this, as in many other cases in which we have departed from the practices of our ancestors, we live to find, after a long period of complacent indulgence, that we did so through ignorance of the principles upon which they worked. Let any one walk through the chapel of the kings, or along the ambulatory, and he cannot but notice how the tombs, even the most reliquary and most gorgeous, harmonise with, nay enhance, the effect of the Abbey: bid him then look upon later monuments, and his most favourable judgment will be that, where they have not an absolutely injurious effect, they have at least a negative one. Is there any secret in this most important difference? Surely not. In the one class you are seldom reminded of anything but the life, or the mere circumstance of its close; in the other you can never forget that the end of all has come, and

that king, prelate, warrior, statesman, and courtier, have alike forgotten the vanities of the world, in this kind of beautiful and touching communion with their Maker, which they are contented to share in common with their lowliest fellow-creatures. Their deeds may be recorded on their monuments by grateful hands for *us* to read and think of, but even then we see that *they* think only of God. This it is that makes the old monuments of the Abbey essentially a part of the Abbey: they exhibit the same magnificence, the same repose; they inculcate the same impressive lesson. Would we then banish from churches all monuments that have not recumbent effigies?—That were to be guided by the letter rather than the spirit. We should certainly be glad to see the rule systematically enforced, that only monuments of an unmingled and unmistakable devotional character should be received into the Abbey; and if that result can be obtained in better or in more various ways than of old, it is very desirable such modes should be adopted. The sculptors are even more interested than the public in this matter. Their skill in monuments of a different class is in a great measure wasted here, wanting the charm of fitness: the Abbey is as unsuitable for them as they for the Abbey. Lord Mansfield's monument in the chief court of English judicature, Canning's in the halls of parliament, and Watt's in the meeting-place of the merchant-princes of England, would be so impressive as to raise the art itself at once to a high level: we should begin as a people to feel, what for centuries as a people we have not felt, the importance of the sculptor's mission. As to the memorials for which no particular public situations are marked out by the characters of the men they commemorate, they might be erected with the happiest effect (as has recently been observed) in the localities made memorable by their lives: and then what is to prevent us from having our *Walhalla*, as the Germans call their national temple near Ratisbon, instead of our present imperfect and unsystematic method of honouring the illustrious dead, and in buildings so unsuitable as St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey?

Under the circumstances we have indicated, the best mode, perhaps, of examining the Abbey memorials is, except in peculiar cases, to fix our attention chiefly upon those which relate to the illustrious dead who have been interred here. And for that purpose we shall follow the route marked by the sequence of the figures in the plan (which is, with slight exceptions, the exact reverse of that pursued by the guides in the Abbey), in order that we may, as far as the circumstances permit, pass over the great mass of the modern monuments at the commencement of our walk through the Abbey, and end with the more ancient ones.

We pause a moment in Poets' Corner, to gaze upon what may be called the finest interior view of the Abbey, including as it does the two transepts, with the rich painted rose window in the one opposite to us, the choir, and a portion of the nave. Important alterations have been here made, chiefly with the view of affording increased accommodation for those who attend Divine service. The transepts are now open from end to end, right across the choir, and are nearly filled with seats. The stalls in the choir have been thrown a little farther back; they also extend quite to the organ gallery, and to Mr. Blore's screen in the direction of the nave. The organ has been rebuilt, and greatly improved and elaborated. It is now in three divisions, and is worthy of the Abbey, and of the form in which the musical portions of the service are performed. A new and magnificent painted glass window has been put up in the southern transept, at a cost of between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* This window was seven years in preparation. The Abbey was reopened in its present form on Easter Sunday, 1848.

And now, taking a brief glance at the interesting paintings in the Chapel of St.

ize, we move along the southern aisle of the choir towards the nave, observing as we pass Sir Cloudesley Shovel's monument, the constant butt of our wits, and that of pious and learned Dr. Isaac Watts, whom Johnson calls "the first of the Dissenters who courted attention by the graces of language," on the left; and Behnes' bust of Bell, the founder of the Madras system of education, and Thynne's monument, with its bas-relief representing the assassination of that gentleman in Pall Mall, on the right. Among the earliest memorials that attract us in the nave is that to the unfortunate, but certainly not innocent, Major André, whose remains were interred many years after his death on the scaffold. An interesting bas-relief, showing André as a prisoner in the tent of Washington, with the bearer of a flag of truce come to solicit his pardon, has been the mark of much and very pertinacious ill-usage, such as the knocking off the heads of the principal figures: new ones, consequently, have been several times put on. Charles Lamb could not resist the opportunity, when writing to Southey, that this afforded of a hit at his friend's change of political opinions. Having called the mutilation "the wanton mischief of some schoolboy, fired, haply, with raw notions of transatlantic freedom," he adds, most innocently, "the chief was done about the time that *you* were a scholar there. Do you know anything about the unfortunate relic?" It is said the circumstance caused a temporary estrangement of their intimacy. Beyond André's monument, and filling up the breadth of the spaces between three successive windows, are the monuments, by Roubiliac, of Lieutenant-General Hargrave, where Time has overthrown Death, and broken his tomb, and the dead is rising in resurrection; of Major-General Fleming, where the domes, prudence, and valour of the dead warrior are represented by the emblems of these virtues which Minerva and Hercules are binding together; and of the well-known Marshal Wade, who signalised himself in the rebellion of 1745, and which, in all Roubiliac's works, shows how that great artist was accustomed to think for himself within the bounds which the taste of the period marked out, if he did not go any remarkable degree beyond it. In Wade's monument, Time endeavours to overthrow the soldier's memory, typified by a pillar decorated with trophies of warfare, but is successfully opposed by Fame, who drives him back. In this part of the nave the door opens into the cloisters where lie four of the early abbots,—Vitalis, Crispinus, Blois, and Laurentius,—with some distinguished men of a more recent era. Here, for instance, repose Barry, the famous actor; Sir John Hawkins, the historian of music; the lady dramatist of Charles II.'s time, Aphra Behn, whose numerous comedies show the truth of Pope's line—

"The stage how loosely does Astrea tread;"

as Mrs. Bracegirdle, Congreve's friend and favourite actress; Lawes, the original writer of the music of 'Comus,' and Milton's friend; with a host more of actors and actresses, Betterton, of whose interment so interesting an account is given in the 'Tatler;' and, next, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Yates, &c., &c. To the cloisters also were brought the body of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, after its strange discovery on Primrose Hill, and consequent public exposure in the city. The funeral was remarkable. Seventy-two clergymen marched in front of the procession, whilst above a thousand persons of rank or distinction followed it. At the service two strong able-bodied divines stood in the pit, on the believed, or pretended, necessity of guarding him from the violence of Papists, who, it was presumed, had committed the murder. Here, lastly, rests the genius of the graphic art," to use the words of the poetical inscription, Vertue, Engraver; and near that monument, with the musical score of the "Canon by the fold augmentation," Benjamin Cooke, its author, deputy-organist of the Abbey at



the age of twelve years, subsequently organist, and one of the true masters in school of music about which the people of this country almost seem to know least—the English.

Returning into the nave, we perceive, extending over Dean Wilcock's monument with its view of the Abbey, Dean Sprat's, the poet, and friend of Cowley and Bingham (the last he is said to have assisted in the famous 'Rehearsal'), and S. Robinson's, a work by Roubiliac's pupil, Read, which perhaps, excites more than any of the master's own; not, however, for its excellence, but its outrageous absurdity. Turn we now to a memorial of a different kind—that to the dramatist Congreve, with his bust in high relief, wearing the full-bottomed wig of the time, which here, as in the portraits of Congreve, sits not ungracefully. No doubt the author of the wittiest comedies in the language achieved the much dearer object of his ambition, and was the fine gentleman he desired to be thought. The inscription on the tomb records that he lies near the place, and that it was set up by the Countess of Marlborough, as "a mark how dearly she remembers the happiness she enjoyed in the sincere friendship of so worthy and honest a man," &c. Congreve may be said to have paid ten thousand pounds for this inscription (for he left the Duchess, who did not want his property, the whole, and his ancient and embarrassed family nothing), and no doubt thought it cheap at the money. Congreve died in 1728. His body, after lying in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, was removed with great pomp into the Abbey, noblemen bearing the pall. Among the notable persons buried in this part of the nave, without any memorials, are Dean Atterbury, the place was his own previous choice, as being "as far from kings and Cæsars as space will admit of," as he tells Pope, in one of his letters in 1722—and Mrs. Oldfield, the actress, who was buried in a very fine Brussels-lace head-dress, a Holland lace with a tucker and double ruffles of the same lace, a pair of new kid gloves, &c.; circumstances which Pope has made the most of in his lines—

"Odious! in woollen! 't would a saint provoke!  
(Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.)  
No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace  
Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face;  
One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead!  
And—Betty—give this cheek a little red."

This was, perhaps, a fair mark: but, generally speaking, we could imagine no more startling commentary than might be made on the works of most satirists by a statement of the exact facts they have referred to, whether in praise or condemnation. At the end of the wall of this aisle, for example, is the statue of James Oglethorpe, with an inscription by the author just mentioned, Pope, who speaks of his deceased friend as a statesman

"Who broke no promise, served no private end"—

the said James Craggs being the Secretary of State whose name was down on one of the swindling subscription-lists of the South Sea scheme for the fictitious sum of £659,000, and who died, it was said, from the small-pox, but really, it was thought, from mental anguish, during the parliamentary examination into the affair. As we now stand by the door of the great Western entrance to the Abbey, we perceive that the injury done to the latter by the memorials placed in it, has not been confined to the mere incongruities before pointed out. Two beautiful screens stood here, against the base of the west towers; that on the south till 1750, and that on the north d

the present century, when they were pulled down, to make room for the immense literary memorials which now occupy their places, recording exploits utterly forgotten, and names that fail to rouse a single interesting association. Half hidden among memorials of this kind that occupy the western end of the northern aisle, to which we now cross, are those to the eminent critical geographer, Major Rennell, who is buried here; to Tierney, the well-known orator; and to the great painter, greater yet, and most sublime coxcomb, Sir Godfrey Kneller, which has an inscription by Pope, showing that Nature must have been in a very critical position altogether with regard to him, for—

“Living, great Nature fear’d he might outvie  
Her works; and dying, fears herself to die.”

One would think the poet had determined to beat the painter even in his own richness of extravagance. Kneller lies at Twickenham with Pope, having objected to be buried in the Abbey, because “they do bury fools there.” Passing along the wall of the aisle eastward, which, like the one we have just quitted, is covered from end to end with memorials, we need only pause to notice the monument to Mrs. Jane Hill, the only antique work among a wilderness of modern ones; the monument, nearly equal, we suppose, to Spencer Perceval, with an alto-relievo representing the circumstances of his assassination by Bellingham; and the scroll, held in the outstretched hands of the angel, on which is written a very beautiful Latin inscription by Dr. Friend to a youth, Philip Carteret: the Doctor, we may observe, has, with each of his friends and rivals, proceeded onward and Mead, an honorary memorial in the nave. Before entering the north door of the choir, we must pause a moment to examine the beautiful screen which has been erected here by Mr. Blome. It is in the same decorated style as the architecture immediately around it, which forms the continuation of Henry III.’s building for his son Edward. On each side of the screen are large monuments, of which the principal is that to Sir Isaac Newton. If this were a much greater work than it is, it would suffer from our remembrance of Roubiliac’s noble statue of the philosopher at Cambridge, where the loftiest speculations are suggested by the simplest and plainest means; but when we add that this, although cut by Rysbrack, is Kent’s design, we need hardly say more. Here, too, we may fitly pause an instant to gaze at the stained-glass windows of the western front, with its rows of Jewish patriarchs, glorious in their brilliant dyes of amber and purple, the work of comparatively recent times, and the smaller windows in the towers at the sides, which are ancient, and seem to have lost something of their original splendour.

This will be a fitting place to give the dimensions of the Abbey, which are generally as follows:—Extreme length, including Henry VII.’s Chapel:—exterior 530 feet, interior 511; extreme breadth (across the transepts), interior 203 feet; height of the western towers, 224 feet. Of the chief parts of the structure we may observe, that the extreme breadth of the nave and aisles is 71 feet, the choir 38, the transepts and aisles 84; the extreme length of the nave, 166 feet, of the choir 155, of a transept 82. Henry VII.’s Chapel measures in length (the nave) 103 feet, in breadth, with aisles, 70, in height 60. We have said but little hitherto, and we do not intend to say much more as we proceed, on the architecture of the Abbey, for we have seen such descriptions are very useless in works of a general character; the worst raving or the briefest visit will give a more accurate idea of a building than many pages of letter-press. We therefore leave the architectural wonders of the nave, as well as the other parts of the Abbey, undescribed (seeing, too, that our engravings will make our readers tolerably familiar with the architectural styles), merely remarking



that it is the loftiest in England, measuring 102 feet, and at the same time one of the most graceful. Without entering into the vexed question of the origin of pointed architecture, or overlooking the difficulties that attach to the hypothesis of finding in nature the type of what is but the last of a series of architectural changes and improvements, rather than the first, which no doubt all the chief styles are, it is still, it seems to us, impossible to pace along this centre aisle of the nave, and look up, without being reminded of the extraordinary similarity of its expression to that of an overarching avenue of trees. We have an avenue now in our memory formed of very tall and stately, but not aged trees, where the trunks ascend as regularly and gracefully upwards as these pillars, and where, as their tops meet over the middle space, you can detect the branches running across and interweaving, in a thousand capricious but all beautiful forms, which the groined roof appears but tamely to imitate. All this may be, as architectural writers tell us, accidental; but certainly the accident is harder to believe than the improbabilities of the opposite opinion.

The north aisle of the choir, or the space extending from the north aisle of the nave to the north transept, contains several monuments worthy of notice; some for their amusing character,—as Dame Carteret's, where a dancing figure is, we are told, a Resurrection; and some for their deeper interest, as Wilberforce's memorial by Joseph, which is original enough at all events; and Sir Stamford Raffles', by Chantrey; but this part should be sacred to all lovers of music, as a kind of musician's corner,—for here lies Purcell, with one of the most striking epitaphs ever penned, and which is said to have been by Dryden. It runs thus: "Here lies Henry Purcell, Esq., who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be exceeded." He was interred in November, 1695, and, according to the picturesque old custom, at night, with a magnificence suitable to the burial of the greatest English musician; and, as was most fitting, in the Abbey where he had been appointed organist at the age of eighteen, and where his sublime anthems had been so often heard. His memorial is against one side of a pillar on the right of the aisle; on the other side of the same pillar is the memorial to Samuel Arnold, another organist of the Abbey in which he is interred, and a worthy successor to Purcell. Opposite to these, on the left wall of the aisle, is the memorial of Blow, who, according to the inscription, was the "master of the famous Mr. Henry Purcell," although it is now established that Purcell owed much more to another musician, Captain Cook, than to Blow: the latter, however, had claims of his own to entitle him to respect and commemoration. Beneath Blow's memorial is his pupil's Dr. Burney, Hawkins' rival historian, with an inscription that does little credit to the taste of his daughter, the authoress of 'Evelina'; whilst, lastly, close by their side, is the bust, in all the majesty of full-bottomed wiggism, of Dr. Croft, who in ecclesiastical music is said to have had no superior. He also held the situation of organist to the Abbey; and his death was brought on here (during, we presume, the performance of his duties) at the coronation of George II. He now lies near the most illustrious of his predecessors.

The north transept is rich in great names of another kind, chiefly of those connected with the business, or offices, of the state. Occupying the entire space between two of the pillars dividing the western aisle of the transept from the centre, is Flaxman's noble monument of Mansfield; taken altogether perhaps the noblest of modern sculpture. The illustrious judge is seen in the judgment-seat elevated to a considerable height, with figures of Wisdom and Justice attending, whilst behind, on the base of the monument immediately below the circular chair, is the beautifully sculptured figure of a youth: what he is intended to represent seems to be a matter of some doubt, for Mr. Brayley says it "is a personification of Death, which is repre-



sted, agreeably to the idea of the ancients, by the figure of a youth partly prostrate, and leaning upon an extinguished torch ;" whilst Mr. Peter Cunningham, in his excellent little 'Handbook,' describes it as a "recumbent youth, a criminal, by Wisdom delivered up to Justice." Lord Mansfield is buried beneath his memorial. In the central portion of the transept repose Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, Canning, Wilberforce, and Grattan—a rich and wonderful neighbourhood, to which Byron's verses may apply with a wider application than to the mere graves of Pitt and Fox :

" a few feet  
Of sullen earth divide each winding-sheet :  
How peaceful and how powerful is the grave  
That hushes all !"

If their memorials we need only observe that Chatham's lofty pile, by Bacon, representing the statesman at the top in the act of speaking, is against the end of the left-hand wall ; Canning's statue, by Chantrey, nearly opposite ; Fox's memorial, by Westmacott, showing the orator dying in the arms of Liberty, attended by Peace and a kneeling negro ; and Pitt's, over the great western door of the nave, where a work, costing 6300*l.* of the public money, is entirely beyond the reach of public appreciation : it is by Westmacott. To these Lord Castlereagh's monument has just now been added. Among other politicians who have been honoured by statues here, are Fowell Buxton, Horner, and Sir W. Follett. Turning from the military and naval memorials, which here too, as in the nave, thrust themselves forward on all sides (Roubiliac's to Sir Peter Warren and Banks's to Sir Eyre Coote are, however, deserving of the attention they demand), we are attracted by an exquisite piece of sculpture in the western aisle, near John Kemble's statue, dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Warren and child : this is also by Westmacott, and perhaps the artist's most beautiful work. Two monuments, differing much in character, but agreeing in having each a beautiful inscription, are also deserving of notice—the one is the sumptuous tomb of the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, on which the duchess thus beautifully speaks of her family:—"Her name was Margaret Lucas, youngest sister to the Lord Lucas of Colchester: a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous ;" and the other, a plain tablet, close by, to Grace Scot, who died in 1645, which says,

" He that will give my Grace but what is hers,  
Must say her death hath not  
Made only her dear Scot,  
But virtue, worth, and sweetness, widowers."

Was this "dear Scot" the Colonel Scot who was executed on the Restoration for his share in the king's death, and who died so bravely under the revolting atrocities to which he and his companions were exposed during execution ? If it was, Grace Scot died not too soon.

The eastern aisle of the transept is shut out from the principal space by the monuments which have closed up the inter-columniations ; it was formerly also subdivided into three chapels by screens of a very rich character. Here we find two of the most remarkable works in the Abbey ; the first, on the floor, to the right as we enter, consisting of a low basement on which lies Sir Francis Vere's effigy, with four kneeling knights at the four corners supporting a plain canopy or table over the dead warrior, on which are his helmet, breastplate, and other martial accoutrements. Roubiliac, whilst engaged in the erection of the work of which we are about presently to speak,

was seen one day, by Gayfere, the Abbey mason, standing with his arms folded, and gazing intently on one of these knights: "Hush!" said he, pointing to the figure as Gayfere approached, "he will speak soon." This is the true spirit of genius; and that Roubiliac was a man of high genius this famous Nightingale monument before us proves. In one respect it may be said to be unique. Roam through the Abbey often as you will, examine every one of the immense variety of works by distinguished men that line its walls, and still there shall be the same sudden startling, as it were of the heart, when you reach this; the same equally novel and refreshing emotion experienced. It is not the grim monster starting from the depths below, and just about to launch the fatal dart, that affects us, terrible as is the truth of the representation; it is the agonised figure of the husband, clasping his dying wife with the one hand, and endeavouring with the other to ward off the irresistible attack, that at once appeals, as sculpture seldom can appeal, to the feelings of the spectator. The wife, too, so touchingly droopingly beautiful, is an exquisite performance: "Life," as Allan Cunningham observes, "seems slowly receding from her tapering finger and her quivering wrist." This was Roubiliac's last work. He died the year after its erection, 1762. In the same aisle is Baily's colossal statue of Telford, the famous engineer, who was buried here; Campbell's statue of Mrs. Siddons; and numerous other interesting works which our space compels us to pass over. Between the end of this aisle and the dark but beautiful little chapel known as Islip's, and which has quaint rebuses of his name carved over it (a man slipping from a tree—*I-slip*, &c.) is the immense monument, by Wilton, to General Wolfe, with a splendid bas-relief of its base of the landing at Quebec. We now reach the Chapel of St. John the Baptist where, in a corner, lies a tomb with a design on a brass plate to Sir Thomas Vaughan. Here, too, is the monument to Lord Hunsdon, Queen Elizabeth's Chamberlain, which as it forms but one of a numerous class spread through the other chapels of the Abbey, we may as well describe, so far at least as a few words will enable us to do so. It consists of a pile built up story upon story, so as almost to reach the ceiling of the chapel (which is of great height), and consists chiefly of recesses, pillars with gilded Corinthian capitals, sculptured obelisks, &c., whilst the lower part is filled by an enormous sarcophagus; the whole of marble, and profusely decorated. With but comparatively unimportant alterations this brief account would apply to a dozen other works of the greatest pretension in the Abbey, and which we may therefore pass over through the remainder of our walk. The ponderous tomb of the Earl of Exeter, in the same chapel, obtains more attention than it deserves, from the story connected with it. By the earl's effigy lies that of his first wife, on one side, whilst the other was left vacant for his second, who, it is said, left express directions in her will that her effigy should not be placed there: the noble blood of Chandos could not brook the left-hand position under any circumstances. Between this chapel and the ambulatory—their canopies forming the original screen—are the tombs of Abbot Colchester and Fascet, with Millyng's stone coffin on the latter, brought from some other part. Between these abbots' memorials is a similar one to Bishop Ruthall, whose end is attributed to one of the oddest of circumstances. He had drawn up a book of state affairs, to be laid before Henry VIII., but unfortunately sent instead an *inventory of his treasure*. What a delicious joke must this have appeared to blundering Hal and his court! With what zest must they have turned over those precious pages. Their sport, however, was death to the unhappy bishop. Shakspeare, it will be remembered, has used this incident in connection with Wolsey's fall.

It is in the chapel of St. Paul that we meet with the contrast before mentioned—Watt's colossal statue, big enough to lift the roof off, if it should by any accident

nd up ; the very incarnation of that principle of active, busy, worldly occupation, which its owner has given such gigantic impulses ; and, half-concealed behind it, a beautiful gothic monument of Lord Bouchier, Henry V.'s standard-bearer at the court, with its low broad arch opening into the ambulatory ; whilst the view of the sumptuous chantry of Lord Bouchier's lord, beyond, is still more completely interrupted. The noble inscription to the philosopher of the steam-engine is by Lord Langham. Among the other monuments — some of them very large and stately — Giles and Lady Daubeney's, in the centre, should be mentioned for the peculiar proportions of their recumbent effigies, in accordance with the style of the beginning of the sixteenth century ; and Sir John and Lady Fullerton's, for the punning inscription :—He died "*fuller of faith than of fear, fuller of resolution than of pains, fuller of honour than of days.*"

Three other chapels yet remain : those of St. Nicholas, with its large open stone screen ; St. Edmund's, with its wooden one ; and St. Benedict's, behind Dryden's monument in Poets' Corner. The most unpleasing object in the Abbey is that which greets you on entering the chapel of St. Nicholas—a very beautiful gothic recessing you—where has once been the brass effigies of Dudley, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1483, but which is now occupied by the effigy of a lady in that most hideous costume, the long, tapering waist, and extravagantly broad hips, which is stuck on one side against the wall at the back, in so ludicrous a position, that, if some had been desirous to play off a practical satire on the general arrangement of the key memorials, he could not have made a better hit. The fine effigies of the father and mother of James's favourite, Buckingham, on a lofty table-monument in the centre—the admirably-preserved effigies in brass, on the floor, of Sir Humphrey Dudley—and the old freestone tomb and effigy of Philippa, Duchess of York, wife of Edmund Langley, fifth son of Edward III.,—are the least showy, but most interesting, of the monuments in the chapel of St. Nicholas.

At the next we have, on the right immediately we enter, the tomb of William de la Pole, Earl of Pembroke, and half-brother to Henry III., with an oaken effigy on an oaken chest, the former covered with thin plates of copper, and the latter originally decorated with thirty small statues in niches. This must have been a work of great beauty. On the pillow and round the belt there yet remain portions of the metal surface, arranged in small delicate patterns, the colours brilliant to this day.

On the other side of the entrance lies John of Eltham, son of Edward II., with an alabaster effigy, supported at the head by guardian angels, and having numerous figures, or the ruins of them, around his tomb. To judge of the workmanship of the statues, one should stoop down in the corner at the end of the monument, where there are one or two nearly perfect, and exhibiting considerable refinement of expression in the face. Equally excellent, in another material, is the brass effigy of Isabella de Bohun, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III. The king has still nearer connections lying in the chapel of St. Edward. On a little altar are the curious alabaster effigies of two of his children, measuring only about six inches long. With a glance at Stone's figure of Frances Holles, which Walpole admired for its antique simplicity and beauty, and at the chapel of St. Benedict, where repose the remains of the famous Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, among other personages of less importance, we now, finally, direct our steps towards the



## THE CORONATION CHAIR.

In accompanying a group of visitors to the Abbey, along the usual route of inspection, one may easily see where lies the chief object of attraction. Not in Poets' Corner,—that they have had plenty of time to examine previously;—not in the antique-looking chapels, with their interesting tombs, of the Ambulatory;—not even in the “world's wonder,” Henry VII.'s Chapel, for the very extent and multiplicity of its attractions render any attempt to investigate them during the brief period allowed ridiculous.—No; but as we are whirled along from object to object, the victims apparently of some resistless destiny, in the shape of a guide which allows us nowhere to rest, and the mind, at first active, eager, and enthusiastic, endeavouring to understand and appreciate all, has at last ceased to trouble itself about any, and left the enjoyment, such as it is, to the eye, we are suddenly roused by the sight of one object, the Coronation Chair. We are at once rebellious to our guide, or would be, but that he, with true statesmanlike craft, knows where to yield as well as where to resist: here he even submits to pause while questions are asked and answered, old memories revived, historical facts and fictions canvassed to and fro,—till, in short, we achieve in this single instance the object we came for with respect to the entire Abbey. And the few and the many are alike interested: whilst the last have visions of the most gorgeous pomp and dazzling splendour arise before them in connection with the coronation ceremony, the first are insensibly led to reflect on the varied character and influences of the many different sovereigns who have, in this place, and seated in that chair, had the mighty English sceptre intrusted to their hands. The very contrasts between one occupant and the next, through the greater part of the history of our kings, taken in connection with their effects on the national destinies, would furnish matter for a goodly kind of biographical history,—a book that should be more interesting than ninety-nine out of every hundred works of fiction. Recall but a few of these contrasts: the great warrior and greater statesman, Edward I., and the contemptible favourite-ridden Edward II.; the conqueror of Cressy, with French and other sovereigns prisoners at his court, and the conquered, without a battle, of Bolingbroke, acknowledging allegiance to his born subject; the pitiful Henry VI. and the pitiless Richard III.; the crafty but not cruel Henry VII., and the cruel but scarcely crafty Henry VIII.; the gentle Edward, and the bigoted Mary; the masculine-minded Elizabeth, and the effeminate-minded James; the gay irreligious Charles, and his gloomily pious brother: one could really fancy, as we look over the list of sovereigns, that there has been but one principle upon which they have been agreed, and that is, that each of them would be as little as possible like his or her immediate predecessor. But this contrast refers chiefly to the period previous to what we may call the establishment of our constitution. While it was only in progress, the character, passions, humours of the monarchs had full development, either when acting against or in favour of that constitution. Since 1688 kings have borne a closer resemblance to each other: one may be parsimonious, another extravagant; one homely, another pompous; one utterly neglectful of domestic duties, another remarkable for strict attention to and most exemplary fulfilment of them all: but these are mere personal traits. Provided now with a responsible ministry, no Mary could again light fires to burn heretics in Smithfield, no Charles receive money for making peace with his country's enemies, no parliament vote the decapitation of a king for having exercised a doubtful and dangerous power which he considered a right.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. X. WESTMINSTER ABBEY: II.





WESTMINSTER ABBEY : II.—THE CORONATION CHAIR (*continued*).

In the history of the Coronation Chair extended no further back than to the first of the monarchs we have mentioned, Edward I., who placed it here, it would be difficult to find another object, so utterly uninteresting in itself, which should be so interesting from its associations ; but in its history, or at least in that of the stone beneath its seat, Edward I. appears almost a modern. Without pinning our faith upon the traditions which our forefathers found it not at all difficult to believe in—traditions which make this stone the very one that Jacob laid his head upon, the memorable night of his dream—or without absolutely admitting, with one story, that this is "the fatal marble chair" which Gathelus, son to Cecrops, King of Athens, carried from Egypt into Spain, and which then found its way to Ireland during a Spanish invasion under Simon Brek, son of King Milo ; or with another, told by some of the Irish historians, that it was brought into Ireland by a colony of Scythians, and had the property of issuing sounds resembling thunder whenever any of the royal Scythian race seated themselves upon it for inauguration, and that he only was crowned king under whom the stone groaned and spake—without admitting these difficult matters, we may acknowledge the possibility of its having been brought from Ireland to Scotland by Fergus, the first king of the latter country, and his coronation upon it some 330 years before Christ, and the certainty that from a very early period it was used in the coronation of the Scottish kings at Dunstaffnage and Scone. It was carried to Scone by Kenneth II. when he united the territories of the Picts and the Scots in the ninth century, and it remained there till the thirteenth. After the weak attempt by or for Baliol to throw off the English yoke in 1296, Edward poured once more upon the devoted territories an irresistible army of English soldiers, and so overawed the Scottish nobles by the decision and rapidity of his movements, that his progress became rather a triumph than a campaign ; the entire country submitting, almost without a second blow, after the sanguinary defeat by Earl Warenne. It was at this period Edward committed the worst outrage perhaps was in his power to commit on the feelings and hopes of the people of the country, the removal of the famous stone, so strongly connected by superstitious ties with the idea of national independence ; it then bore, according to Fordun, the Scottish chronicler, an inscription in Latin to the following effect :—

" Except old saws do fail,  
And wizards' wits be blind,  
The Scots in place must reign  
Where they this stone shall find."

In consequence of this belief, the Scotch became apparently quite as anxious for the restoration of their stone as for that of their king ; indeed, between the two, Baliol and the stone, we question whether they would not have willingly sacrificed the former to secure the latter. And when they were again ruled by a Scottish monarch, they did not relax in their exertions to obtain for him the true kingly seat. Special clauses were proposed for it in treaties ; nay, a special conference was on one occasion held between the two kings, Edward III. and David I., and ultimately mandates issued for its restoration. Some antiquarian misbelievers will have it that the one was in consequence returned, and that the one before us is an imposture : a piece of gratuitous misgiving which our readers need feel no anxiety about, implying,

as it does, imposture without object on the part of the reigning monarch, against the dignity of his own successors; and also that the Scots, when they got it back, were kind enough to destroy it, in order to keep up the respectability of our counterfeit. Failing to recover it, the people of the sister country appear to have very wisely changed or modified their views, and began to regard the prophecy as an earnest that *their* kings would reign over *us*: the accession of James I., though not exactly the kind of event anticipated by the national vanity, was still quite sufficient to establish for ever the prophetic reputation of their favourite "stone of destiny." We need not describe the general features of the chair; but we may observe that the wood is very hard and solid, that the back and sides were formerly painted in various colours, and gilt, and that the stone itself is a kind of rough-looking sandstone measuring twenty-six inches in length, sixteen inches and three quarters in breadth and ten and a half in thickness.

Our earliest records on the subject of coronations in England refer to the tenth century, when we find the Saxon kings were generally crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, where the stone on which they sat during the ceremony, after having been long neglected in the churchyard, has been recently erected into a handsome historical monument in the town: would it not have found a more fitting place under the second coronation chair first used at the coronation of William and Mary? Edgar was either crowned at Kingston or Bath; whilst the Confessor was crowned at Winchester: from that time the Abbey at Westminster has been the established place for the performance of the ceremony. From Edward's third charter to the Abbey, dated 1066, it appears that the King had expressly applied to Pope Nicholas on the subject, whose answer is inserted in the form of a rescript, making Westminster Abbey the future place of inauguration. Edward's successors, Harold and the conqueror of Harold, had strong motives to make them respect this arrangement, each claiming a right to the throne on the strength of a professed declaration of Edward's in his favour, and which, in the Conqueror's case, was his only right. What a day must that have been for our forefathers to behold, when foreign soldiers were seen lining every part of the metropolis with a double row of horse and foot, and a foreign prince rode through them, attended by bands of foreign nobles, to the new church erected by the Confessor!

There is one interesting feature of our early coronations—the elective character given to the settlement of the crown. There can be little doubt that from the very earliest periods the choice of a king partook more or less of this principle, although greatly modified by the custom of making that choice among the family of the deceased sovereign. At the coronation, again, of kings whose position was in strict accordance with hereditary right, the principle would be rather left in abeyance than brought prominently forward, whilst the reverse would be exhibited when the king had no such hereditary claim. Such was John's case; at whose coronation the elective principle was thus broadly asserted by the Archbishop Hubert in a special address recorded by Matthew Paris:—"Hear, all ye people:—it is well known that no one can have a right to the crown of this kingdom, unless for his excellent virtues he be elected to it. . . . If, indeed, of the family of the deceased monarch there be one thus super-eminently endowed, he should have our preference." Accordingly, setting aside the son and daughter of the elder brother of the deceased king, John, a younger brother, was then declared elected. Whilst upon this subject, however, it must be observed that the illustrations of the elective principle, though sufficient to show its bare existence, are of a very suspicious nature. It is true that when Henry I. died Stephen, the nephew, succeeded instead of Matilda, the daughter; that on Stephen



case, his son was passed over for Matilda's son; that John succeeded Richard I. instead of Arthur; and Bolingbroke Richard II. instead of the next lineal heir; but all these cases, which had the largest share—the independent working of the elective principle, or the address, ambition, and powers of the individuals who had these irregular successions most at heart? It is highly probable that in some, though scarcely all, of the cases mentioned, no attempt to disturb the regular course would have been made but for the existence of some such elective principle; on the other hand, at principle alone, or with all the virtues of the respective monarchs to boot, would have done little for Stephen, or John, or Henry IV., if there had not been something much more tangible behind.

#### THE REGAL MAUSOLEUMS.

Arousing ourselves from the train of reflection inspired by the place, and the significant juxtaposition of the coronation-chairs and the tombs of the chief of those kings who have occupied it, let us look around. We are in the innermost sanctuary of the temple, in a spot made holy by a thousand associations, but, above all, by the devout aspirations of the countless multitudes who have come from all parts, not only of our own but of distant lands, to bend before the shrine by our side, in which still repose the ashes of the canonised Confessor. Edward was at first buried before the high altar, and then removed by Becket to a richer shrine in its neighbourhood, probably in consequence of his canonisation by Pope Alexander III., about 1163; but after the rebuilding of the church by Henry III., that king had a shrine made to receive the treasured remains, of so sumptuous a character, that the details almost stagger belief. We need hardly add, that it no longer exhibits any such blaze of wealth; time, and more mischievous agencies than time, have left it but a wreck of what it was. The upper portion is a mere wainscot addition, it is supposed of the sixteenth century. We can only mention a piece of sculpture near the centre, deeply hollowed out, representing a chamber with Edward in bed, and looking on a thief who is kneeling before a chest containing his treasure, and whom, according to the story, he admonishes; and two or three others, descriptive of one of the interesting tales in which the people of the middle ages so much delighted. Dart thus relates, on the authority of an old manuscript:—"Upon a certain time a beggar asking alms of this Prince, for the sake of St. John the Evangelist, he gave him, out of his abundant charity, a ring. Some time after, two pilgrims, Englishmen, being at Jerusalem, met a third, who saluted them; and inquiring what countrymen, they told him. Whereupon he delivered them a ring, and bade them recommend him to their King (Edward), and tell him he was St. John the Evangelist, to whom he had aforetime at Westminster given a ring; and bade them further tell him, from him, that he should in nine days' time die. The two pilgrims, surprised at such a message, told him that to deliver it in time was impossible. He in answer bade them take no care of that, and took his leave. After they had walked some way, being weary, they fell asleep; and, upon waking, observed a strange alteration of the place. Upon which, seeing some shepherds in a field, they inquired of them where they were, who made answer they were in Kent. Whereat being rejoiced, they made the best of their way to King Edward, to a seat of his in Waltham Forest, then called the Bower, and since having in the Bower, and delivered this message to the King, who accordingly died as was told him." How implicitly this story was believed we may see from the coins taken to commemorate it in so many places in and about the Abbey; among the



rest, over the old gate going into Dean's Yard,—in the stained glass of one of the eastern windows of the Abbey,—and in the screen before us. If there were a tomb in the world which one would have thought an antiquary would have looked on with awe—ashes which it were sacrilege almost to touch—we should have thought it was the tomb and ashes of the Confessor; around which hung all those associations, so solemnly and deeply interesting, however stripped of their superstitious alloy. Yet Keesee, one of the historians of the Abbey, could write without a blush upon his cheek, that, when a hole had been broken in the lid of the coffin during the removal of the scaffolding of James II.'s coronation, "On putting my hand into the hole and turning the bones which I felt there, I drew from underneath the shoulder-bones a crucifix, richly adorned and enamelled, and a gold chain twenty-four inches long;" both of which were presented to the King, who ordered in return new planks for the coffin, that "no abuse might be offered to the sacred ashes." Turning from the shrine in the centre of the Chapel to the screen which divides it from the Choir, we find this also has been dedicated to the memory of the Confessor. The very extraordinary and interesting frieze which decorates it contains no less than fourteen small but boldly-sculptured groups or tableaux, representatives of the more remarkable events which signalised his reign.

From the time of the burial of the Confessor, in the new Abbey he had built, to that of Henry III., in the structure which owns him for its founder, the kings of England were mostly buried on the Continent; none of them in the Abbey of Westminster. Henry's tomb, which stands on the left of the paltry entrance into the Chapel from the Ambulatory, bears a striking resemblance to the lower part of that he caused to be erected for the Confessor: and, like that, was originally richly decorated. Two beautiful panels of porphyry still ornament the front and back, and the gilding is in parts also yet bright. The tomb was erected over the place which had been the grave previously of Edward, and where Henry was now buried; and it was standing upon the edge of that grave that the barons of England, and the Earl of Gloucester at their head, placing their hands upon the royal corpse, swore fealty to Edward I., then in the Holy Land. Some years after, the grave was opened, and the heart taken away, by the Abbot Wenlock, and delivered to the Abbess of Font-Evraud, in Normandy, to whom Henry had promised it during his lifetime. What a contrast to Henry's memorial is that of his son on the one side, or, to both monuments, that of his son's wife on the other! The tomb of Edward has an air of rude, almost savage dignity, which harmonises admirably with his character, and seems as though his executors had but fulfilled his own previously expressed wishes, or at least studied what would have been his tastes, when they left the historian to remark that his "exequy was scanty fynnyshed." But this applies only to the tomb; the manner in which they decorated his body with false jewels was neither plain and simple, nor rich and befitting kingly dignity. The exhumation of the corpse of the English Justinian (when this circumstance was discovered) is so interesting that we should gladly give a more detailed account than our space will admit. It was in 1744 that certain antiquaries obtained permission of the Dean to examine the body, which was done in his presence. It was enclosed first within a large square mantle of linen cloth well waxed, with a face-cloth of crimson sarcenet: these being removed, the great king was before them in all the ensigns of royalty, with sceptres in each hand, a crown on his head, and arrayed in a red silk damask tunic, white stole most elegantly ornamented, and a rich crimson mantle, the whole somewhat profusely decorated with false stones. The body beneath was covered with a fine linen cerecloth, adhering closely to every part, including the fingers and face. The examina-

on over, the coffin was most carefully closed again, but not before another of our antiquaries, according to Mr. D'Israeli, had exhibited the want of those sentiments which antiquarians above all others are so apt to pride themselves upon the possession of. Among the spectators "Gough was observed, as Steevens used to relate, in a wrapping great-coat of unusual dimensions; that witty and malicious 'Puck,' so capable himself of inventing mischief, easily suspected others, and divided his glance as much upon the living piece of antiquity as on the elder. In the act of closing up the relics of royalty there was found wanting an entire fore-finger of Edward I., and as the body was perfect when opened, a murmur of dissatisfaction was spreading, when 'Puck' directed their attention to the great antiquary in the watchman's great-coat; from whence, too surely, was extracted Edward I.'s fore-finger." Eleanor lies on the other side of Henry III., beneath a tomb of gray marble, on which is a gilded effigy, of a character that one hardly knows how to speak of with sufficient admiration. A more exquisitely beautiful work of its kind perhaps does not exist; the indescribable loveliness of the face, the wonderful grace and elegance of the hands, and the general ease, dignity, and refinement of the figure, seem almost miraculous in connection with the productions of what we are accustomed to call the dark ages. There it lies, not a feature of the face injured, not a finger broken off, perfect in its essentials as on the day it left the studio, whilst all around marks of injury and dilapidation meet you on every side: it is as though its own serene beauty had rendered violence impossible—had even touched the heart of the great destroyer Time himself. Only of late years has the name of the great—however unknown—artist of this work been made known; it was one Master William Torel—English, it is supposed, for Torelli, an Italian artist, to whom we are also indebted for the effigy on Henry III.'s tomb.

Going regularly round the Chapel, from the screen on the west side to the three tombs just mentioned on the north, then to the east, which is occupied by the magnificent monument of Henry V., which we pass for the present, we have lastly, on the south side, Philippa, Queen of Edward III., endeared to all memories by the story of Calais; next, her husband\*; and lastly Richard II. and his Queen. Both Philippa's and Edward's monuments have suffered grievously; of the thirty statues and fret-work niches that formerly ornamented the first, there remains but a fragment of the niches. Edward's has been more fortunate, for the outer side, or that seen from the Ambulatory, has yet six small figures in good preservation. By this monument are two objects that almost divide attention with the coronation chair—the sword and shield which were carried before the king in his destructive French wars. Edward died in 1377—some years too late for his fame. It must have been a melancholy spectacle to see such a monarch spending his latter hours with a mistress too worthless even to wait patiently for their close, or to see him who had held powerful and undisputed sway over one great kingdom, and shaken others to their very centre, too weak and friendless to prevent his own attendants from plundering him almost in his sight.

The eye is attracted towards the tomb of Richard II. and his Queen by the rubbed surface of a portion of Richard's effigy, which shows the bright gilding that the dirt elsewhere conceals: this was erected by the king's own order in his lifetime. And here did the pious and generous care of Henry V., the son of his destroyer, soon after his accession, remove the murdered remains from Friars Langley, and place them by the side of the unhappy Richard's Queen. The whole subject of Richard's death has

\* The second Edward was buried at Gloucester.



been as yet one of impenetrable mystery, and the examination of his corpse here, if it be his, has not enlightened us. Neither of the skulls within the tomb, on the closest examination, presented any marks of fracture or evidences of murderous violence. Above the effigies are paintings in oil, on the roof of the canopy. To Bolingbroke's (Henry IV.'s) death we have already incidentally referred—he was buried at Canterbury. His son's brief but brilliant reign ended in France, where he died in 1422. Seldom has monarch been more regretted than was Henry V. by his subjects. The body was carried in funeral state to Paris, thence through Rouen, Abbeville, and Boulogne to Calais, where a fleet waited to bear the remains across the Channel to Dover. As the long and melancholy procession approached the metropolis, a great number of bishops, mitred abbots, and the most eminent churchmen, attended by vast multitudes of people, went to meet and join it. Through the streets of London they moved with slow step, the clergy chanting the service for the dead, till they reached St. Paul's, where the solemn rites were performed in the presence of the Parliament of the nation. Then again the procession moved forward to the final resting-place, the Abbey.

The Chantry, beneath which he lies, and toward which we now turn, is, next to Henry VII.'s tomb, the most magnificent piece of mingled architecture and sculpture in the Abbey. On high, at the back of the Chantry, is seen the helmet worn by Henry V., probably at Agincourt; two deep dents in it show at least that he has worn it in no trifling or ignoble contest. His shield and saddle are also preserved here. The headless effigy of Henry (the head was of silver, and therefore carried off by his namesake of church-stripping memory, and not, as the guides tell us, by Cromwell) lies within the deep and solemn-looking arch beneath, where you look over the tomb, and through the arch over the Ambulatory, and on through the still darker porch of Henry VII.'s Chapel into that palace of art, whither we next direct our steps: not forgetting to observe by the way that Henry's Queen, Katherine of France, was buried in the old Chapel of the Virgin Mary, and, in consequence, had to be removed when that edifice was pulled down by Henry VII. By some unaccountable and most disgraceful neglect, the body, which was in a peculiar but extraordinary state of preservation, was left so exposed for between two or three centuries, that any influential visitor who wished could see it. Of course the eternal sight-seer Pepys was attracted. "Here," he says, "we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois, and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queen, and that this was my birthday, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a Queen." In 1776 the body was buried in St. Nicholas's Chapel.

The first entrance into Henry VII.'s Chapel is an event to be remembered for a lifetime: the sight of such "a thing of beauty" becomes, indeed, "a joy for ever." And with what consummate art has the architect enhanced even the effect of his own marvellous production, by the solemn gloom that pervades the porch through which we pass into the interior! One moment we are in what may be almost called darkness; the next—having passed through the brazen open-worked gates—in a blaze of light and decoration. And, as we look round, what imagination but must own that even its own most brilliant and merely ideal creations are here surpassed in the expression stamped upon these solid stone walls, and windows, and roof? Did ever arches spring upward with such fairy-like grace?—or guide the entranced eye to a more surpassingly beautiful and almost miraculous roof? where, in the words of Washington Irving, "stone seems, by the cunning labours of the chisel, to have been robbed of its weight and density, suspended aloft as if by magic, and the fretted roof



achieved with the wonderful minuteness and airy security of a cobweb." Then, again, the statues; the innumerable statues of patriarchs, saints, martyrs, confessors, and angels!

There must have been, after all, something truly magnificent in the king who could determine on the erection of such a place, select the genius that could erect it, and then give such unlimited scope to the development of the loftiest and most daring imaginings. And the artist, strange to say, is unknown, or at least not known with any certainty. The feverish desire of fame, which is so proverbially a characteristic of high minds, seems to be little felt by the highest. In the breasts of the great men who have bequeathed to this country its most precious architectural wealth, we find no traces whatever of its existence. A few words deeply cut on a stone would have made their names immortal, but none of them seem to have thought it worth the trouble, if they thought of the matter at all. So with regard to Henry VII.'s Chapel; which has been attributed to Bishop Fox, Bishop Alcock, Sir Reginald Bray, and to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; who, there is the greatest reason to believe, was the man. Henry, in his will, calls him the "master of the works." But, beautiful as the interior now appears, there was a time when it must have appeared infinitely more so. In its original state the "walls, doors, windows, arches, vaults, and images" were "painted, varnished, and adorned" with the king's arms, badges, cognisances, &c.; the stained windows displayed similar ornaments, with the addition of greater works, such as "stories," all in the most brilliant and pristine colours; numerous altars were scattered about, one of them with a large statue of the Virgin, and an immense golden cross, and the whole bearing tall wax tapers, burning constantly; whilst to and fro there was generally to be seen moving some procession of the inhabitants of the Abbey; the monks in their black garments, the incense-bearers in white, the officiating priests in their gemmed and embroidered vests, and the whole wearing the copes of cloth of gold tissue, embroidered with roses, given by Henry VII. to be used in the performance of the different ceremonials instituted by him for the due repose of his soul. And that soul seems to have been a difficult one to deal with; for never, surely, did monarch impose more trouble upon certain portions of his subjects for its due preservation. In this, perhaps, Henry, like many other men whose piety and policy have not exactly gone hand in hand, tried to "circumvent Heaven." Whilst he was arranging with Abbot Islip for the performance of three daily masses for the welfare of his soul, to continue "while the world should last;" for the additional ceremonies which were to take place on holidays and feasts; for the annual procession of the monks, prior, abbot, with the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and other great officers of state, to the high altar by his tomb, where there was to be a hearse with a hundred great tapers burning, and twenty-four almsmen ranged round it with burning torches; whilst he was founding an almshouse within the Abbey, and providing gifts for a large number of casual poor to be distributed at the altar;—was it to be supposed that in doing all this for the future welfare of his soul he could be expected to take much present care of it? Was he not to be allowed just to finish the policy he had steadily pursued through his reign, when he was showing how heartily he was determined to repent—after he was dead? Fortunately for us, Henry's piety took a more tangible shape than masses and requiems. His chapel was begun on "the twenty-fourth day of January, a quarter after three of the clock," in the year 1503, as Holinshed carefully informs us. It was still unfinished when Henry died in 1509, who in his last hours, was very careful to provide funds for its continuance, and to give ample directions in his will on all important points. The entire expense of the work was about £14,000; but as

those figures give no idea to *us* of the cost, we may offer, as an illustration merely, the fact that above £42,000 has been expended in the present century in merely renovating the exterior. And this immense sum it seems has furnished but an insufficient restoration, as, from some defect in the stone or the workmanship, decay is said to be already evident. Henry also directed a tomb to be made in a style surpassing in richness of decoration everything of the kind known in this country; and he was as fortunate in his executors' selection of an artist for this, as he had been himself for the greater work. Pietro Torrigiano, a Florentine, was the object of their choice, a man as distinguished for the turbulence of his temper as for his genius. In early life he had been a fellow-student with Michael Angelo, and in a quarrel broke the bridge of his nose, and thus deformed for life the features of his great rival. He came to England with a high reputation—the tomb before us tells how deserved. Bacon calls it one of the "stateliest and daintiest in Europe." It consists of a pedestal or table of *touch*, a basaltic stone not unlike black marble, on which repose the effigies of Henry and his Queen, sculptured in a style of great simplicity and adherence to nature; the whole adorned with pilasters, relievi, rose-branches (referring to the junction of the rival Houses), and "images," or graven "tabernacles," as Henry calls them, in the directions in his will, of the king's avourees, or patron saints, of copper, gilt. On the angles of the tomb are seated angels. Torrigiano was six years engaged in the work, and received for it the immense sum of £1500. The brass screen, it is pleasant to have to remember, is the product of English art. It was formerly adorned with no less than thirty-six statues, of which only six remain. We can only add to this general notice of the Chapel, as a parting illustration of its artistical wealth, that it is said to have possessed, within and without, about three thousand statues; and that the very seats (now only used, we believe, at the installation of the Knights of the Bath, whose banners hang overhead) display on their lower side, as we turn them back on their hinges, an infinite variety of the most exquisite carvings of flowers, fruit, foliage, grotesque animals, groups of Bacchanals, and still more important pictorial subjects, which are frequently of an amusing, sometimes of a licentious, character. One of the seats has for its subject the Evil one carrying off a friar in the central compartment, while a woman wrings her hands at his loss on one side, and an attendant inn expresses *his* feelings by beating a tattoo on the other.

From the time of the burial of Henry VII. to that of George II., most of our sovereigns have been interred in this Chapel; with the latter reign the custom was discontinued—George III. erected a vault for himself and successors at Windsor. The youthful and accomplished Edward VI., it appears, was buried near the high altar before mentioned; no tomb or inscription marks the spot. As we walk up the northern aisle of the Chapel, we are directed to the last home of his two sisters and successors, Mary and Elizabeth (who lie in the same tomb), by the immense monument erected to the latter by James I.; and which so much resembles the monument erected by the same king to his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, in the opposite aisle, that one would suppose he wished to keep before the world, in as forcible a manner as possible, the remembrance of events in which *his* conduct, during the period the scaffold was preparing for the unfortunate Mary, is perhaps the only point on which there cannot be a difference of opinion. Elizabeth's memorial is by Maximilian Coulte; Mary's by Cornelius Cure.

At the end of the same aisle, near the sarcophagus of white marble containing the supposed remains of Edward V. and his brother (removed from the Tower), is a vault in which lie in strange companionship the oppressor and the oppressed, James I. and



abella Stuart, as well as James's Queen, Anne—and son, Prince Henry. The Lady abella, it will be remembered, died in a state of insanity in the Tower, brought on the infamous persecutions to which she was subjected on account of her royal scent, and more particularly after the discovery of her marriage with William Seymour. Leaving this melancholy spot, we look in vain for any memorial of James's successor, whose headless corpse was buried at Windsor; or of the Protector, who was interred here, and with more than the usual regal pomp. He died on the anniversary his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, the 3rd of September, 1658, and was buried on the 22nd of November, when Henry VII.'s Chapel was hung, both within and without, with hundreds of escutcheons, and the framework or enclosure of the altar exhibited an immense number of embossed shields of different sizes, with crowns, badges, and scrolls, the latter bearing appropriate mottoes. Suspended from the bier all around were waving pennons, and upon it lay a carved effigy of the Protector, "made to the life, according to the best skill of the artist in that employed, viz. Mr. Symon," the same party, we presume, to whom we are indebted for some of the finest of English coins, Cromwell's crown-piece. The effigy was magnificently arrayed in a laced holland shirt, silk stockings, Spanish leather shoes tied with gold lace, doublet of uncut gray velvet with gold buttons, purple velvet surcoat lined with gold, and over all a royal robe of purple velvet, embossed with gold, and lined with ermine. Beneath the effigy was a bed, consisting first of a quilt, then a coverlet of estate, next a holland sheet, and lastly a velvet pall. The head rested on a cushion. On the sides of the figure were disposed the head-piece and plume, the breastplate, and greaves of the deceased warrior; whilst at his feet were his coat of arms, tunic, helmet and crest, sword, target, spurs, and gauntlets. Among the other ornaments were the standards of England and Scotland. The procession was equally splendid, and included some of the most distinguished persons of the realm. Little more than two years afterwards, on the anniversary of the day of Charles's execution, there came a band of men, armed with all due powers from the King, who broke open the grave that had been so solemnly closed, dragged forth the mouldering remains, and placed them, with those of Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, and Bradshaw, the President of the court that had condemned the King, on hurdles, and dragged them to Tyburn. There the bodies were hung at the three several angles of a triangular gallows till sunset, then cut down, beheaded, and thrown into a pit beneath, while the heads were taken back to Westminster, and placed on the top of the Hall. Whatever their political opinions, one would have hardly supposed that the authorities of the Abbey could have exactly approved of this pitiful war with the dead; but, far, however, was that from being the case, that the Dean and Chapter, in the deference of their loyalty, obtained a warrant for the further exhumation of the corpses of Cromwell's mother and daughter, women of the most blameless purity of life; of Pym, Cromwell's early coadjutor, who had actually died whilst the struggle between the people and their sovereign was as yet a bloodless one; and of Blake, the great naval hero, whose only crime must have been the fighting too well for his country abroad, without troubling himself as to who was in power at home. It is strange that neither the King nor his advisers in these proceedings should have perceived that their indiscriminate character prevented even the semblance of justice in appertaining to them, and that they therefore could not fail to react to the injury of the doers. Of course no memorial marks the place from whence the bodies were taken.

Crossing to the south aisle, we stand by the vault in which lies the restored king, Charles II., of whose burial and reign the royalist Evelyn gives this brief but significant comment:—"14 Feb. (1685). The king was this night buried very obscurely



in a vault under Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and *soon forgotten*." We need not look in Henry VII.'s Chapel for any memorial of Charles's successor, whose career is summed up in a few words: he manfully declared his views, and the nation as manfully theirs; and they were the strongest. James died a Catholic, but no king. In the regal mausoleums he has no place. The vault where he should have been interred, the vacant space by his brother's remains that he should have occupied, belong to his successful opponent — William III., who lies here with his lamented Queen. Anne and Prince George complete the list of inhabitants of the vault of the southern aisle. Lastly, in the centre of the Chapel repose, in a vault beneath the chequered pavement, George II. and his Queen, with the hero or butcher of Culloden—posterity does not seem to have quite determined whether the English or the Scotch appellation is the most suitable—the Duke of Cumberland.

Among the other tombs scattered about the Chapel are some to the memory of persons of royal blood, which demand here a word of notice. Such is that to Lord Darnley's mother, a lady who, according to the inscription, "had to her great-grandfather King Edward IV.; to her grandfather King Henry VII.; to her uncle King Henry VIII.; to her cousin-german King Edward VI.; to her brother King James V. of Scotland; to her son (Darnley, husband of Mary) King Henry I. (of Scotland); and to her grandchild King James VI. of Scotland" and I. of England. And such is the tomb of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., whose effigy of brass is another piece of masterly workmanship from the hands of Torrigiano. This is the lady of whom Camden reports she would often say, "On the condition that princes of Christendom would combine themselves and march against the common enemy, the Turk, she would most willingly attend them, and be their laundress in the camp;" the true spirit of a chivalrous lady of earlier ages, but one little suited for the period of her son, when men did more by craft than the sword, and when the head alike of the church and the state was, as we have seen, too busy in taking care of his own soul to think of the souls of unknown multitudes of Mohammedans. And who that looks round upon this most beautiful of structures but sincerely rejoices in his determination?

The other monuments in Henry VII.'s Chapel are of a most heterogeneous character. Thus we have the gigantic medley of great black obelisks, heathen deities, and strapping virtues which surround the effigies of James's "Steenie," the Duke of Buckingham and his Duchess, in the chapel on the one side; the quadrangular structure, on the other, where Fame is mounted aloft on an open-worked canopy, which Faith, Hope, Charity, and Prudence are supporting, while she sounds the merits of the deceased Duke and Duchess of Richmond below; and again, the ducal poet's monument in a third chapel, Sheffield's (Dryden's patron), with its Roman duke, and English duchess down to her sandals, where she too becomes Roman. The monuments in the aisles are some of them of a higher character, though the one above-mentioned, that of Henry VII.'s mother, which is in the south aisle, is worth all the rest, mere altar-tomb though it be. The finest of the others undoubtedly is the one erected by James I. to his unhappy mother, a truly sumptuous specimen of the "cinque cento" style. In the same aisle lie the remains of Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who was buried here, Charles himself personally attending the funeral, which was one of extraordinary magnificence. His monument, by Kent, represents Monk standing by some preposterous-looking emblematical pillar — difficult, but fortunately not at all necessary, to be understood. There is a tall but graceful figure in memory of Horace Walpole's mother, in the same chapel, brought by Horace from Rome. The most interesting memorial in the northern aisle, where Addison lies

buried, is the great pyramidal monument of Addison's friend and patron, the Earl of Halifax, and one of the poets of Johnson's 'Lives.'

We must not omit to mention Westmacott's statue of the Duke de Montpensier, brother of the late king of France: if, on entering Henry VII.'s Chapel, to see who have been admitted here into dead companionship with our kings, we pass directly forward to the centre window, with its rich storied panes, we perceive in the chapel there beneath, a recumbent coroneted figure on a low couch, the face turned toward us: that is the one monument of modern times which we have said assimilates with the structure. The old and touching gesture, it is true, is wanting here, but there is something so serenely beautiful in the expression of both face and form, such a consciousness, one might fancy, of the "watch and ward" those angels which extend above him all round the chapel keep throughout the beautiful and holy place, that it would be difficult to say there is not a very high devotional feeling exhibited in it.

#### GENERAL HISTORY.

The early history of our great ecclesiastical structures bears a strangely harmonious relation to their aspect. What we now look upon almost as miracles of human genius were in the days of their foundation really esteemed as works in or connected with which a higher than human agency was visible; and it is for that very reason, perhaps, that so little of their glory was attributed to the architects, and that the names of the latter have been allowed—"willingly" for aught that appears—"to die." Their antiquity, again, is so great as to take us back into the period when the boundaries of history and fable were but as yet very imperfectly understood by our historians; although the admitted facts of the former might well have been sufficient to save them from any such additions. The cathedrals of England are the great landmarks of the progress in this country of the grandest scheme of regeneration ever revealed to man; almost every step of which they illustrate. In Canterbury Cathedral you tread upon the foundations of what is maintained by some to be the first Christian church ever erected in this country, whilst the Cathedral itself dates from the time of Augustine, who may be said to have really established Christianity among us: in Worcester you behold the memorial of the extension of the new religion into another of the great kingdoms of the Heptarchy, Mercia, and its reception by the Kings; whilst in Westminster you are reminded of the activity of Dunstan, and the period when the different and contentious kingdoms had all been consolidated into one, acknowledging generally the Christian faith.

From the tangled web of fact and fiction which our records of the foundation of Westminster Abbey present, it is hopeless to attempt to learn the simple truth. Sporley, a monk of the Abbey, who lived about 1450, describes it as erected at the period when King Lucius is said to have embraced Christianity about the year 184. He adds that, in the persecution of the Christians in Britain during the reign of the Roman Emperor Dioclesian (about the beginning of the fourth century), the Church was converted into a Temple of Apollo. But John Flete, the monk of the same Abbey of a much earlier date, from whom Sporley is understood to have derived his materials, seems, in the following passage, to refer the erection of the Temple of Apollo to a later era, to the fifth, or, perhaps, the sixth century, when the Saxons poured in their hordes upon the devoted islanders. He says, "The British religion and justice decaying sensibly, there landed in all parts of Britain a prodigious number of Pagan Saxons and Angles, who at length overspreading the whole island, and



becoming masters of it, they, according to the custom of their country, erected their idols fanes and altars in several parts of the land, and, overthrowing the Christian churches, drove them from their worship and spread their Pagan rites all over the country. Thus was restored the old abomination wherever the Britons were expelled their place; London worships Diana, and the suburbs of Thorney offer incense to Apollo." Wren, during the rebuilding of St. Paul's, took great pains to investigate the truth of the story as respects that edifice, and ended in being incredulous concerning both. And as to St. Paul's, his argument, no doubt, is sufficiently forcible, having "changed all the foundations" of the old church, and found no traces of any such temple, whilst satisfied that "the least fragment of corinthian capital would demonstrate their handiwork." But he had not the same opportunity of examining the foundations of Westminster Abbey, and most devoutly it is to be hoped that no one ever will have, arising, as the opportunity must, from the destruction of the existing edifice. Under these circumstances Wren is hardly justified in taking it for granted that the story of Apollo and the Abbey was merely made up by the monks in rivalry to the traditions of Diana and St. Paul's. The matter is buried in obscurity, and, for any proof that appears, to this hour the foundation of the Pagan shrine may lie below those of the Christian. Flete adds to the statement given, that the temple was overthrown and the purer worship restored by Sebert, with whose name the more undoubted history may be said to commence. Yet Sebert is so much a matter of question, that, whilst some old writers call him a citizen of London, others say—apparently with truth, from the care taken of his tomb through all the rebuildings—it was Sebert, King of the East Saxons in the beginning of the seventh century, and nephew of Ethelbert. Mellitus was then Bishop of London, and encouraged, if he did not instigate, Sebert to the pious work which, indeed, has been attributed wholly to him. The place—a "terrible" one, as an old writer calls it—was overrun with thorns, and surrounded by a small branch of the Thames; hence the name Thorney Island. Malcolm, having one day mourned to the top of the northernmost of the two western towers, professes to have been able to trace clearly the old boundaries of the island. Here the Church, or *Minster*, was built, *West* of London, from which circumstance the Abbey and the district derive their appellation. It was to be dedicated to St. Peter, and the preparations were already made for that august ceremony, when, according to the relation of several writers, whose fidelity we leave our readers to judge of, the Apostle himself appeared on the opposite bank of the Thames, and requested a fisherman to take him over. There he was desired to wait while St. Peter, accompanied with an innumerable host from heaven singing choral hymns, performed the ceremony of dedication to himself; the Church, meanwhile, being lighted up by a supernatural radiance. On the return of St. Peter to the astonished fisherman he quieted the latter's alarm and announced himself in his proper character; bidding him, at the same time, to inform Mellitus at daybreak of what had passed, and to state that, in corroboration of his story, the Bishop would find marks of the consecration on the walls of the edifice. To satisfy the fisherman he ordered him to cast his nets into the river, and present one of the fish he should take to Mellitus; he also told him that neither he nor his brethren should want fish so long as they presented a tribute to the Church just dedicated; and then suddenly disappeared. The fisherman threw up his nets, and, as might have been expected, found a miraculous draught, consisting of the finest salmon. When Mellitus, in pursuance of the Apostle's mandate, went to examine the Church he found marks of the extinguished tapers and of the chandelier. Mellitus in consequence contented himself with the celebration of Mass. We



mile now at such a story ; but there is no doubt whatever that for ages it obtained general credibility. Six centuries after a dispute took place between the convent and the parson of Rotherhithe, the former claiming a tenth of all the salmon caught in the latter's parish, on the express ground that St. Peter had given it to them ; eventually a compromise was agreed to for a twentieth. Still later, or towards the close of the fourteenth century, it appears fishermen were accustomed to bring salmon to be offered on the high altar, the donor on such occasion having the privilege of sitting at the convent table to dinner, and demanding ale and bread from the cellarer.

From the time of Sebert to that of the Confessor the history of the Abbey continues still uncertain. There are in existence certain charters which, could they be depended upon, would give us all the information we could reasonably desire. And, although the best authorities seem to think they are not to be so depended upon, yet their arguments apply rather to the property concerned than to any mere historical facts. For when these ingenious monks took the bold step of forging such important documents, supposing them to have done so, they would assuredly take care to be as precise as it was possible to the known incidents connected with the history of their house, and of course they were in possession of the best information. The first of the charters is one granted by King Edgar, 951, directing the reformation of the monastery by Dunstan, which had been previously destroyed or greatly injured by the Danes, and confirming privileges said to have been granted by King Offa, who, after the decay of the church consequent on the death of Sebert, and the partial relapse of the people into heathenism under the rule of his sons, had, says Sulcardus, restored and enlarged the church, collected a parcel of monks, and, having a great reverence for St. Peter, honoured it by depositing there the coronation robes and regalia. Another charter by Edgar, one of the most splendid of supposed Saxon MSS. among a variety of other particulars agreeing with the account we have given, ascribes Sebert's foundation to the year 604. This, and a charter by Dunstan, are preserved among the archives of the Abbey. Dunstan's charter names Alfred among the benefactors to Westminster. According to William of Malmesbury and another writer, the church having at this period been restored, Dunstan brought hither twelve (Benedictine) monks, and made one of his favourites, Wulsinus, a man whom he is said to have shorn a monk with his own hands, Abbot.

Still the Abbey-church and buildings were but small, and comparatively unworthy of the distinguished honour which St. Peter had so condescendingly conferred ; and the monks no doubt pondered over the means by which a more magnificent structure might be obtained. An opportunity at last offered in the reign of the Confessor. Whilst Edward was in exile during the Danish usurpation, he vowed a pilgrimage to Rome, if God should please to restore him to his crown. He was restored ; and then, mindful of his vow, assembled his principal nobility soon after his coronation, and declared his purpose. By them he was persuaded, however, to send an embassy to Rome to procure absolution from the vow. The embassy was successful ; and the Pope merely enjoined that the King should spend the sums intended for his journey in the foundation or reparation of some religious house dedicated to St. Peter. It was precisely at the time these particulars got abroad that a monk of Westminster Abbey, named Wulsine, a man of great simplicity of manners and sanctity, had a remarkable dream. Whilst asleep one day, St. Peter appeared to him, and bid him acquaint the King that he should restore his (Wulsine's) church : and, with that noticeable minuteness which characterises unfortunately only those stories of our early times which we are most disposed to doubt, we have the very words of

the Apostle recorded:—"There is," said he, "a place of mine in the west part of London, which I chose, and love, and which I formerly consecrated with my own hands, honoured with my presence, and made illustrious by my miracles. The name of the place is Thorney; which having, for the sins of the people, been given to the power of the barbarians, from rich is become poor, from stately low, and from honourable is made despicable. This let the King, by my command, restore and make a dwelling of monks, stately build, and amply endow: it shall be no less than the house of God and the gates of Heaven."\* The dream was no doubt just the thing for the credulous monarch, who might have been otherwise puzzled where to bestow his benefactions, and he immediately commenced his task in an earnest and magnificent spirit. Instead of confining himself to the expenditure enjoined, he ordered a tenth part of his property of every kind to be set apart for the new abbey; he enlarged the number of monks; a new and no doubt grander style of architecture was adopted—Matthew Paris says it was built *novo compositionis genere*; and, when it was finished, Edward bestowed on it a set of relics which were alone sufficient in the eleventh century to make the fortune of any monastery, and which must have rendered Westminster the envy of most of the other religious houses of Britain. They comprised, says Dart, in his history of the Abbey, "part of the place and manger where Christ was born, and also of the frankincense offered to him by the Eastern Magi; of the table of our Lord; of the bread which he blessed; of the seat where he was presented in the Temple; of the wilderness where he fasted; of the gaol where he was imprisoned; of his undivided garment; of the sponge, lance, and scourge with which he was tortured; of the sepulchre, and cloth that bound his head;"†—and so on, through not only Christ's own history, but, in a lesser degree, through that of his mother, his apostles, and the most famous abbots and saints. Of the Confessor's building we have fortunately an interesting and perfect remain in the Pix Office and the adjoining parts against the east cloister and the south transept. As we may here suppose, the architecture is grand in its chief features, but strikingly plain in details, with the exception of the capitals, which are handsomely sculptured. The original edifice was built in the form of a cross, with a high central tower. When the work was finished, Edward designed its consecration under circumstances of unusual splendour. He summoned all his chief nobility and clergy to be present: but, before the time appointed, he fell ill on the evening of Christmas-day. By this time his heart was greatly set upon putting the seal to his goodly work in the manner he had designed; so he hastened his preparations; but on the day appointed, the Festival of the Innocents, he was unable to leave his chamber, consequently Queen Editha presided at the ceremony. He died almost immediately after, and was buried in the church.

From the death of the Confessor to the reign of Henry III. the history of the Abbey is chiefly confined to the lives and characters of its Abbots, of whom our space will allow us to mention only the most noticeable, and those briefly. Gervais de Blois, a natural son of King Stephen, who had well-nigh ruined the Monastery by his mal-administration, was abbot from 1140 to 1160, and was succeeded by Laurentius, who, to a great extent, repaired the mischiefs of De Blois' abbacy, and who obtained the canonisation of King Edward. He also obtained, what seems to have been a great object of ambition with the abbots of his period, permission from the Pope to wear the mitre (which subsequently entitled the abbots to sit in Parliament),

\* Translation from Ailred of Riveaulx, in Neale's 'Westminster Abbey.'

† Dart's 'Westmonasterium.'



ring, and gloves, which the bishops considered especially the insignia of their superior authority, but died before he could enjoy the coveted honour. His successor, Walter, obtained the additional privilege of using the dalmatica, tunic, and sandals, and was about to exercise his privilege for the first time in a Synod, when the Pope's Nuncio, then in the Abbey, where he thought he had not been received with sufficient respect, interdicted him. Walter's abbacy is remarkable for a curious and somewhat unseemly quarrel in the Abbey, at the sitting of a Synod in 1176. Holinshed writes—"About Mid-Lent the King [Henry II.], with his son and the Legate, came to London, where, at Westminster, a Convocation of the Clergy was called; but when the Legate was set, and the Archbishop of Canterbury on his right hand as Primate of the realm, the Archbishop of York, coming in, and disdaining to sit on the left, where he might seem to give pre-eminence unto the Archbishop of Canterbury (unmannerly enough, indeed), swast him down, meaning to thrust himself in betwixt the Legate and the Archbishop of Canterbury. And when belike the said Archbishop of Canterbury was loth to remove, he set himself\* just in his lap; but he scarcely touched the Archbishop's skirt, when the Bishops and other Chaplains, with their servants, stept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground; and, beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the Archbishop of Canterbury, yielding good for evil, sought to save him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that said sentence, *Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur*. The Archbishop of York, with his rent rochet, got up, and away he went to the King with a great complaint against the Archbishop of Canterbury. But when, upon examination of the matter, the truth was known, he was well laughed at for his labour, and that was all the remedy he got. As he departed so bebuffeted forth of the Convocation-house towards the King, they cried upon him, 'Go, traitor; thou diddest betray that holy man, Thomas: go, get thee hence; thy hands yet stink of blood!'" To what particular act of the Archbishop of York against his old enemy, Becket, the monks here allude, we know not; but the malignity of his feelings toward him is evident from various circumstances—among the rest, his notice of the murder. When the news reached him, he ascended the pulpit and announced it to the congregation as an act of Divine vengeance, saying Becket had perished in his guilt and pride like Pharaoh.

We now reach the reign of the King to whom we are indebted for the greater portion of the existing Cathedral, Henry III. From a boy he seems to have been interested in the place; for whilst yet but thirteen years old we find him called the Founder of the Lady Chapel (on the site of the present Henry VII.'s Chapel), and the first stone of which he laid on Whitsun Eve, 1221, in the abbacy of Humez. Twenty-five years afterwards Henry commenced more extensive works; he pulled down, according to Matthew Paris, the east end, the tower, and the transept, in order that they might be rebuilt in a more magnificent style. The lightness, beauty, and variety, as well as the grandeur, of pointed architecture, recently introduced, was now to be exchanged for the comparatively cumbrous and simple impressiveness of the Anglo-Norman edifice. Crokesley, at first an archdeacon only, was made one of the treasurers, and, probably from his zeal in the prosecution of the King's object, abbot, on the death of Berking, in 1246. During his abbacy great progress was made. The King, among other benefactions, gave, in 1246, £2591 due from the widow of one David of Oxford, a Jew; and in 1254 the Barons of the Exchequer were directed to pay annually 3000 marks. Rich ornaments also were made by his own goldsmith for the use of the Church. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign he directed Fitz Odo

\* We have taken the liberty here to alter plain-speaking Holinshed's phrase.



to make a "dragon, in manner of a standard or ensign of red samit, to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as continually moving, and his eyes of sapphires, or other stones agreeable to him, to be placed in the Church against the King's coming thither." Two years later the Keeper of the Exchequer is ordered to "buy as precious a mitre as could be found in the City of London for the Abbot of Westminster's use; and also one great crown of silver to set wax candles upon in the said Church." In addition to his own direct assistance, and the assistance of his nobles, impelled by his example, the King, no doubt at the suggestion of the Monastery, adopted a curious mode of stimulating the popular excitement on the subject, and we should suppose with the most satisfactory results. In 1247, on St. Edward's Day, he set out with his nobles in splendid procession towards St. Paul's, where he received the precious relique which had been sent for him from Jerusalem by the Masters of the Temple and the Hospitallers, and which he munificently designed to deposit in the Abbey of Westminster: this was no less than a portion of the blood which issued from Christ's wounds at the Crucifixion. It was deposited in a crystalline lens, which Henry himself bore under a canopy, supported with four staves, through the streets of London, from St. Paul's to the Abbey. His arms were supported by two nobles all the way. Holinshed says, that to "describe the whole course and order of the procession and feast kept that day would require a special treatise; but this is not to be forgotten, that the same day the Bishop of Norwich preached before the King in commendation of that relic, pronouncing six years and one hundred and sixteen days of pardon granted by the bishops there to all that came to reverence it." We need hardly add that those who did come were seldom empty-handed. To give still greater distinction to the ceremony, Henry, the same day, knighted his half-brother, William de Valence, and "divers other young bachelors." This was one mode, and, if he had faith in the essentials of the act performed, it was as cheap and efficacious as it was unobjectionable. But we cannot say so of his next act of beneficence to the Abbey. In 1248 he granted, evidently with the same object, a fair of a very extraordinary kind to the Abbot, to be held at Tut or Tot Hill, at St. Edward's tide, when all other fairs were ordered to be closed, and not only them, but all the shops of London, during the several days of its continuance. The object was to draw the entire trade of London to the spot for the time; and although the citizens and merchants were much inconvenienced, the fair succeeded so well as to be repeated in 1252; "which thing, by reason of the foul weather chancing at that time, was very grievous unto them (the citizens); albeit there was such repair of people thither, that London had not been fuller to the judgment of old ancient men never at any time in their days to their remembrance." By all these different methods, a sum of nearly £30,000—an enormous sum, if reckoned at its present value—was raised, and applied to the rebuilding of the Abbey, in about fifteen years: when it was still unfinished.

The quarrels between Abbot Crokesley and the King during the latter part of the abbacy probably retarded the progress of the work. Crokesley appears to have first lost Henry's favour through a somewhat paltry act, the endeavouring to set aside an agreement made by the late Abbot to enlarge the allowance of the monks. In the course of the dispute Crokesley threatened to appeal to the Pope, whilst Henry, on his part, declared the goods of the convent to be separate from those of the Abbot, and actually caused proclamation to be made that no person should lend the Abbot money, nor take his note or seal for security. They gradually, however, became again friendly, and, in 1258, Crokesley set an example to the other religious houses of England, which, by the by, they declined following, of assisting Henry in his struggles with De Montfort and the barons by entering into an obligation for 2500 marks.

kesley died in 1258, and was succeeded by Philip de Lewesham, a man of such an easy and corpulent body that he declined the abbacy rather than go to Rome, as usual, for confirmation, till the monks promised to send a deputation to get him elected. The deputation was sent, was successful, and returned to find the object of their labours dead. He was succeeded by Ware, who brought from Rome the materials for the beautiful mosaic pavement which lies before the altar in the choir of the abbey. During his abbacy Henry was constrained to seek a peculiar kind of assistance from the edifice he had so enriched. Two years after the battle of Evesham, when the Earl of Gloucester seemed inclined to play by himself the game which he had helped to spoil in De Montfort's hands, the King borrowed the shrines and other valuables and relics of the Abbey, and pledged them to certain merchants. It was a very generous act. But the King, who had so often broken faith in political matters, when the Church had strengthened the engagement by the performance of the most solemn and awful rites, kept faith with the Church itself, and honestly redeemed and replaced the treasure.

It may be useful to see with precision how far the Abbey had now advanced, which may easily be done by an examination of the building. It will then appear that Henry erected the chapel of the Confessor, which forms the rounded end of the choir, and is properly the apsis of the building, the four chapels in the ambulatory which encompasses the latter, the choir to a spot near Newton's monument, the transepts, and probably the Chapter-house. In the reign of Edward I. a portion of the choir was completed. Edward was too busy with his Welsh and Scottish wars, we suppose, to accomplish more, though he exhibited his favour to the Abbey in a marked manner by bringing hither the most precious spoils of his warfare. In 1285, on resigning the abbacy of Wenlock, he gave a large piece of our Saviour's cross which he had met with in Wales; and in 1296, or in 1297 as Stow has it, he offered at St. Edward's shrine the chair, containing the famous stone, sceptre, and crown of gold, the Scottish sovereigns, which he had brought from the Abbey of Secone. In this reign two events disturbed the even tenor of the monastic life; a fire, which destroyed some of the domestic buildings, in 1298, and the robbery of the King's treasure deposited in the cloisters in the care of convent in 1303, when the Abbot and forty-eight monks were sent to the Tower, where some of them were kept for several years. In 1349 Simon Langham was elected Abbot—a man who must not be passed without brief mention. Raised by merit alone from a mean station, he enjoyed the highest honours of the State as well as of the Church; in connection with the one having held the offices of Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor, and with the other those of Prior and Abbot of Westminster, Bishop of London, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury. He it was who, when Wickliffe was made head of Merton Hall in Oxford, removed him, that the institution might be made a seat of peace of monks, and thus, it is supposed, gave the energy of personal feeling to the great Church Reformer's inquiries into religious abuses. Langham was an excellent economist, for he paid debts contracted by his predecessors to the amount of 2200 marks out of his own purse, and in other ways so contributed to the wants and revenues of the convent, that the entire amount of his benefactions was estimated at £9000 or 10,000*l.* Part of this, we presume, was expended in carrying forward the building of the Abbey, which, in the time of his successor Litlington, received large additions; the famous Jerusalem Chamber, the Hall of the Abbey (where now dine the boys of the Westminster School), and the Abbot's house; whilst the south and the west ends of the great cloister were finished. The riches of the interior were also increased by this Abbot, who added many ornaments of plate and furniture. Litling-



ton's abbacy, however, is chiefly memorable for an incident that occurred in it of ordinary interest connected with the privilege of sanctuary, which is supposed to have been granted by Edward the Confessor, in one of whose disputed charters the grant is found. The story is one of those romances of history which fortunately have not yet been disputed, partly perhaps from the careless way in which later writers (Pennant for instance) have mentioned it, omitting the most interesting features.

At the battle of Najara, during the campaign of the Black Prince in Spain, two of Sir John Chandos's squires, Frank de Haule and John Schakell, had the good fortune to take prisoner a Spanish nobleman of distinction, the "Count of Denia," who, according to the custom of the time, was awarded to them as their rightful prize by Sir John Chandos and the Prince himself. They took the Count to England, who, while there, being greatly desirous to return to Spain in order to collect the ransom-money demanded, was allowed to do so on his placing his eldest son in their hands. Either the Count forgot his son or was unable to raise the money, for years passed without news of him, and then he was dead. About this period the Duke of Lancaster was promoting, by all the means in his power, his claim to the throne of Castile, and knowing these two squires held prisoner the Count's son, now the Count, induced the King, Richard II., and his council, to demand him from them: expecting, no doubt, to make important use of him in the advancement of his objects. The squires refused to give him up unless the ransom to which they were justly entitled was paid; and, as the prisoner could not be found, Haule and Schakell were committed to the Tower. From thence they escaped and took sanctuary at Westminster. Determined not to be baffled, John of Gaunt ordered the Constable of the Tower, Sir Alan Buxton, and one Sir Ralph Ferrers, to pursue them with a band of armed men even into the sacred enclosure. At first they endeavoured to get them into their power by fair promises, and, with regard to Schakell, "used the matter so with him that they drew him forth," and sent him once more to his prison. Haule, however, refused to listen, and would not allow them to come within reach. They then prepared for force, when the brave but devoted squire drew a short sword from his side and kept his enemies at bay, with great address and spirit, even whilst they drove him twice round the choir. At last they got round him, and one of the assailants clove his head by a tremendous blow from behind, when the completion of the murder was easy. At the same time they slew one of the monks who interfered. All this took place in the midst of the performance of high mass. The prisoner, however, was still concealed in spite of all the efforts made to discover the place of his confinement; and partly perhaps, from that circumstance, and partly from the odium attached to the affair of the violation of sanctuary, the Court eventually agreed to pay Schakell, for his prisoner's ransom, 500 marks in ready money and 100 annually for his life. We give the conclusion in the words of Holinshed: "This is to be noted as very strange and wonderful, that when he should bring forth his prisoner, and deliver him to the King, it was known to be the *very groom that had served him all the time of his trouble as his hired servant in prison and out of prison, and in danger of life when his other master was murdered*. Whereas, if he would have uttered himself, he might have been entertained in such honourable state as for a prisoner of his degree had been requisite, so that the faithful love and assured constancy in this noble gentleman was highly commended and praised, and no less marvelled at of all men." The church was closed for four months in consequence of this profanation, and the subject brought by Litlington before Parliament, which granted a new confirmation of its privilege. Boxton and Ferrers had to pay each a fine.

We have dwelt somewhat upon the early history of the Abbey, not only because



portion the most interesting, but more particularly on account of that harsh connection before alluded to which exists between it and the structure. Look at the cathedrals of England, and at the simplicity and comparative inefficiency of the material aids at the disposal of their builders, and then, on the other hand, at our modern churches, erected under circumstances admitting of every conceivable material advantage; what is the meaning of the melancholy contrast presented? The answer will be found in our previous pages. It is not that we are poorer, or that we have less apprehension of architectural grandeur, least of all that our faith is less than that of our forefathers; it is that we have less faith in our faith: we are, to be confessed, more worldly. The miracles, and relics, and processions, and indulgences, and privileges, that form so considerable a portion of the early records of Ely Abbey, are no doubt absurd enough to the eye of reason; but it were more foolish to think of them as evidences of the credulity only of our ancestors. The artisan came and offered his day's labour once or twice in every week without remuneration, and his wife parted gladly with her solitary trinket; when the peasant gave his corn, and the merchant his rich stuffs; when the noble felled his ancestral oaks, and the King decimated his possessions; when, in short, persons of all ranks aided, each in the best way he could, the establishment of the new abbey or priory, and bishops might be seen in the position of the hewers of wood and drawers of water—circumstances all of more or less frequent occurrence in the history of such establishments,—was it the mere vague sense of wonder and profitless admiration of miracles, and processions, which moved the universal heart?—or was it not the fervour and entire devotion of men's spirits unto God, of which credulity was then but a necessary and indeed inevitable accompaniment?—Religion in the middle ages was of a nature all compact;” and, although such a state of things could not, ought not to be permanent, we are experiencing the truth of his remark who overthrew it. It has either propped us on the one side, we have fallen on the other: when shall we find the true balance and elevation? We must now pursue more rapidly our history.

Winton was succeeded by Colchester, during whose abbacy, which extended through the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., steady progress was kept at the west end of the church, as also during the subsequent abbacies of Harbottle, Estney, in whose time the roof of the nave and the great west window were completed, and Islip, in whose abbacy the works stopped, on the completion of Henry's Chapel (the history of which has been noticed elsewhere), although the main and towers were still unbuilt. The latter Wren supplied in a manner that, to say the least of it, does not add to his reputation; the former is wanting to this hour: a bare base, just appearing above the body of the building at the intersection of the transepts, provoking an unsatisfactory inquiry. Two highly-interesting incidents in the history of the Abbey during the rule of Estney and his predecessor, Milner. On the reverse of Edward IV. in 1470, his Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, took refuge in the Sanctuary, where, “in great penury, forsaken of all her friends,” she gave birth to the unfortunate Edward V. Here, again, on her husband's final success she received him in all the flush of victory, and presented the child for the first time to his father's arms; and here, lastly, when Edward was dead, took place those melancholy scenes in which the Protector Gloucester endeavoured, and successfully, to induce her to give up her children to his care. On one of these occasions he describes her as sitting “alow on the rushes” in her grief, to receive the emolument. The other incident to which we allude is the residence in some part of the church—Stow says in the Chapel of St. Ann's, which was pulled down during the

erection of Henry VII.'s building—of the great printer, Caxton, who established here the first English printing-press during the time of Abbot Estney.

We subjoin an extract from 'William Caxton, a Biography, by Charles Knight,' the length of which may be justified by the interest of the subject:—

"The indications of the period at which Caxton first brought the art of printing into England, are not very exact. Several of his books, supposed to have been amongst the earliest, are without date or place of impression. The first in the title of which a date or a place is mentioned is 'The Dictes and Sayinges of Philosophres,' translated by the Earl of Rivers from the French. This bears upon the title 'Enprynted by me, William Caxton, at Westminster, the yere of our Lord m.cccc.lxxvij.' Another imprint, three years later, is more precise. It is in the 'Chronicles of England,' which book the printer says was 'Enprynted by me, William Caxton, in thabbey of Westmynstre by london &c., the v day of Juyn, the yere of thincarnacion of our lord god m.cccc.lxxx.' In 1485 'A Book of the Noble Hystories of Kynge Arthur' was 'by me deuyded into xxi bookes chapytred and enprynted, and fynysshed, in thabbey Westmestre.' The expression 'in the Abbey of Westminster' leaves no doubt that beneath the actual roof of some portion of the abbey Caxton carried on his art. Stow, in his 'Survey of London,' says 'In the Eleemosynary or Almonry at Westminster Abbey, now corruptly called the Ambry, for that the alms of the abbey were there distributed to the poor, John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, erected the first press of book-printing that ever was in England, and Caxton was the first that practised it in the said abbey.' The careful historian of London here committed one error; John Islip did not become abbot of Westminster till 1500. John Esteney was made abbot in 1474, and remained such until his death in 1498. His predecessor was Thomas Milling. In Dugdale's 'Monasticon' we find, speaking of Esteney, 'It was in this abbot's time, and not in that of Milling, or in that of Abbot Islip, that Caxton exercised the art of printing at Westminster. He is said to have erected his office in one of the side chapels of the abbey, supposed by some of our historians to have been the Ambry or Eleemosynary.' Oldys says, 'Whoever authorised Caxton, it is certain that he did there, at the entrance of the abbey, exercise the art, from whence a printing-room is to this day called a chapel.' When we consider the large extent of building that formed a portion of the Abbey of Westminster, before the house was shorn of its splendour by Henry the Eighth, we may readily believe that Caxton might have been accommodated in a less sacred and indeed less public place than a side chapel of the present church. There were buildings attached to that church, which were removed to make room for the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. It has been conjectured that the ancient Scriptorium of the Abbey, the place where books were transcribed, might have been assigned to Caxton, to carry on an art which was fast superseding that of the transcriber. Nor are there wanting other examples of the encouragement afforded to printing by great religious societies. As early as 1480, books were printed at St. Alban's; and in 1525 there was a translation of Boetius printed in the monastery of Tavistock, by Dan Thomas Richards, monk of the same monastery. That the intercourse of Caxton with the Abbot of Westminster was on a familiar footing, we learn from his own statement, in 1490: 'My Lord Abbot of Westminster did shew to me late certain evidences written in Old English, for to reduce it into our English now used.'

"Setting up his press in this sacred place, it is somewhat remarkable how few of Caxton's books are distinctly of a religious character. Not more than five or six can be held strictly to pertain to theological subjects. Bibles he could not print, as we shall presently notice.



"There is no breviary or book of prayers found to have issued from his press. The only book distinctly connected with the church is 'Liber Festivalis,' or Directions for keeping Feasts all the year. It is highly probable that many of such books have perished. But what furnishes a curious example of the accidents by which the smallest things may be preserved, there is now existing, preserved in Mr. Douce's collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, a hand-bill precisely such as a publisher of the present day might distribute, printed in Caxton's largest type, inviting the people to come to his office and buy a certain book regulating the church service.

"Sir Thomas More has clearly shown the reason why Caxton could not venture to print a Bible, although the people would have greedily bought Wickliff's translation. There were translations of the Bible before Wickliff, and that translation which goes by the name of this great reformer was probably made up in some degree from those previous translations. Wickliff's translation was interdicted, and thus More says, 'On account of the penalties ordered by Archbishop Arundel's constitution, though the old translations that were before Wickliff's days remained lawful and were in some folks' hands had and read, yet he thought no printer would lightly be so hot to put any bible in print at his own charge—and then hang upon a doubtful trial whether the first copy of his translation was made before Wickliff's days or since. For if it were made since, it must be approved before the printing.

"The little hand-bill in which Caxton announces his Pies invites the reader to purchase them at the Almonesyre at the reed pale. Wynkyn de Worde, the successor of Caxton, in a book which he printed in the supposed year of Caxton's death, says, 'Wynkyn de Worde this has set in print in William Caxton's house.' William Caxton's house could scarcely be the chapel in the Abbey; and Bagford says, 'The house is the sign of the King's Head, but does not seem so ancient, being a brick building.' This is the place which Stow describes as the Almonry or Ambry. It still exists at Westminster."

At the Reformation Benson was Abbot, a man who will be remembered for his remark to Sir T. More, if for nothing else. The great Chancellor was placed, for a short time, in his custody, when Benson endeavoured to turn him from his purpose of preserving a pure conscience, by showing that he must be in error, since the Council of the realm had so determined. This little revelation of the Abbot's mind may explain the favour shown to the Abbey at the period so dangerous to all such institutions. The Abbey was changed into a Cathedral, with a Bishop, Dean, and twelve Prebendaries, and a revenue of at least 586*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*\*, the old revenues amounting to 3977*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* according to one authority, or 3471*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* according to another. Benson, the late Abbot, was made Dean, the Prior and five other monks prebendaries, four more brethren became minor canons, four King's students in the universities, and the remainder were dismissed with pensions. Thirlby received the bishopric, which, however, he resigned in 1550, when it was suppressed, and the Cathedral, the following year, was included within the diocese of London†. We have not yet done with the settings-up and pullings-down of the old religion at Westminster. On Mary's accession the Abbey was restored, with Feckenham at its head, who set to work with great zeal in his new vocation. He repaired the shrine of the Confessor, provided a paschal candle, weighing three hundred pounds, which was made with great solemnity in the presence of the master and warden of the

\* Widmore's 'History of the Abbey.' Strype says £804.

† In the arrangements that now ensued, some portion of the property of the Abbey (St. Peter's) passed to St. Paul's: whence the popular remark—robbing Peter to pay Paul.



Wax Chandler's Company; he asserted the right of sanctuary, and made the processions as magnificent as ever. It was but for a brief period. Mary died, and Elizabeth restored in effect the Cathedral foundation of her father, with the exception of the bishopric. William Bill was the new Dean. Among his successors have been Lancelot Andrews; Williams, who took so active, and to the court unpalatable, a part in the great revolution, during which time the Abbey was several times attacked by the mob, and considerable injury done; Atterbury, the literary friend of Pope, who was so deeply implicated in the conspiracies against George I., and in consequence deprived of his dignities and banished; Pearce, Horley, &c.

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The nave and choir, with the monuments therein, are open to the public; the chapels and other parts are shown on the payment of a fee



OLD ST. PAUL'S.



CHOIR.

KNIGHT'S CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XI. ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL: I.



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## XI. ST. PAUL'S.

### OLD SAINT PAUL'S.

A few years ago, it seems, a tree grew, but even that no longer marks the spot, where stood of old the famous PAUL'S CROSS, towards the eastern extremity of the vacant space on the north side of the Cathedral. The greater part of this space appears to have been a burying-ground, and no doubt the chief one belonging to the City, from the most ancient times—from the erection of the first sacred edifice, whether Christian church or heathen temple, on the mount now crowned by St. Paul's, or possibly from the origin of London itself. Sir Christopher Wren, who dug deep into all parts of the ground in laying the foundations of the present cathedral, discovered no indications to confirm the tradition that the site had been originally occupied by a temple of Jupiter or Diana: the precious fragments of bucks' horns, ox-heads, and boars' tusks, that had so charmed the antiquaries, had all disappeared, or become transmuted, like airy coin, into much more worthless ware—into bits of wood and shreds of pottery. But he found under the choir of the old building a *presbyterium*, or semicircular chancel, of Roman architecture—a structure of Kentish rubble-stone, cemented with their inimitable mortar—which proved that the first Christian church had been the work of the Roman colonists; and he also clearly ascertained that the northern part of the churchyard had been a depository for the dead from the Roman and British times. Layer upon layer, there they lay—and still lie—the successive possessors of the land; uppermost, the graves of later generations; next under them, our Saxon forefathers from the days of Ethelbert and St. Austin, some more honourably and securely entombed within sarcophagi formed of great upright and horizontal flags, most embedded in cavities lined with chalk-stones—in either case the one enclosure serving for both grave and coffin; then, the Britons of the period between the departure of the Romans and the establishment of the Saxons, their dust mixed with great numbers of ivory and box-wood pins, about six inches long, the fastenings apparently of the now mouldered shrouds in which the bodies had once been wrapped; and, lowest of all, eighteen feet or more below the surface, other remains such as these last, but interspersed with fragments of Roman urns, revealing the burial-place of the colony when Romans and Britons lived and died together."

The first cathedral was erected in the beginning of the sixth century, although the disturbed state of the country, and the unsettled standing of the faith itself, did not at first permit much expenditure of time or money in its adornment. Erkenwald, the son of King Offa, the fourth bishop from Melitus, was the first to supply the deficiencies. He not only procured privileges from the reigning kings of England, and from the Pope, but spent a considerable portion of his own estate in adding to the funds provided for the improvement of the fabric. Among other and subsequent benefactors may be enumerated Kenred, King of the Mercians; Athelstan, who endowed it with numerous lordships; Edgar and his Queen, Æthelred; Canute, and the pious Confessor. Then came the Conquest; and during the short struggle that preceded William's coronation as King of England, rude hands laid hold of some of its possessions; but the politic Norman had not come to war with the Church; so St. Paul's had everything restored, and received at the same time a charter from the hands

of the King, dated the very day of his coronation, conferring the whole of its property to it in perpetuity. The Conqueror added his benedictions to all who should augment the revenues, and his curses on those who should diminish them.

During this reign the church was burnt, and a new one commenced by Bishop Maurice towards the close of the eleventh century. We need hardly observe that, since the erection of the previous edifice, architecture had made a great advance. Westminster Abbey (the Confessor's building) had just been erected; Lincoln was now in progress of erection by the able and indefatigable Remigius. The eminent ecclesiastics of that day appear to have been inspired with a noble spirit of emulation, each striving to outstrip his fellows in raising those architectural wonders which we gaze on with admiration and awe, but seem unable to rival, or even finely to imitate. In the same fire that burnt St. Paul's, the castle known as the Palatine Tower had suffered. In consequence, the materials were placed at Maurice's disposal. He now laid out his plan and began the foundations, which were designed for so extensive and magnificent a structure, that the good bishop could have hardly hoped to live to see the whole finished. But, in the language of Wordsworth—

“ They dreamt not of a perishable home  
Who thus could build.”

So Maurice went patiently and courageously on for the twenty years he lived, and then left the completion as a noble bequest to his successors. William of Malmesbury about this time describes the church as being “so stately and beautiful that it was worthily numbered among the most famous buildings.” Maurice was succeeded by Richard de Beaumeis, of whose character it may be sufficient to adduce one illustration: he bestowed the entire revenues of his bishopric on the edifice, and maintained himself and family by other means. His share of the work seems to have been the completion of the walls, enlarging the exterior space by the purchase and pulling down of houses that encumbered the pile, and the erection of a strong wall of enclosure, which extended as far as Paternoster Row and Ave Maria Lane on one side, and to Old Change, Carter Lane, and Creed Lane, on the other. Scarcely, however, does the entire edifice seem to have been completed before architecture had again made such progress, that a work a century old was no longer able to satisfy our magnificent-minded churchmen. As we find Henry III., through a considerable portion of his reign, pulling down and rebuilding the Confessor's erection at Westminster, so do we find his subjects in various places imitating his example, and more particularly at St. Paul's. In 1231 a new steeple was finished, and in 1240 a new choir. This was dedicated in the presence of Henry, attended by Otto, the Pope's legate, and the most eminent of the English ecclesiastics. The mode in which the money was obtained for these works is an interesting part of the history of Old St. Paul's. The prime mover in and skilful designer of the whole business was Bishop Roger, surnamed Niger. Having no king or other great benefactor to depend upon, he formed the determination of obtaining what he wanted from the people of England and Ireland. Accordingly he induced the general body of British bishops to issue letters to the clergy and others under their jurisdiction, granting indulgences for a certain number of days to all those who, having penance to perform, and, being penitent, should assist the new work. Dugdale speaks of seeing a multitude of such letters written at the period and for the edifice in question. How cheerfully the people answered this and similar appeals we perceive in the completion, not only of the works mentioned, but of the addition of an entirely new portion to the east end, including the subterranean church of St. Faith, which was begun, in 1256, by Fulco Basset, the then bishop.

On a tablet hung up in the choir was written in large characters the measurements of the edifice, as taken accurately in 1315; when the length was found to contain 690 feet, the breadth 130, the height of the nave 102, and the length of the same 150. The hall on the top of the spire (520 feet high) was large enough to contain ten bushels of corn, and had a cross on the top of that, making the entire height 534 feet. The space of ground occupied by the building was found to measure three acres and a half, one rood and a half, and six perches.

With the exception of an accident now and then, such as the injury done by lightning to the spire in 1444, which took a long time to repair, there is nothing of moment in the history of the edifice from the period of its completion down to that when the Reformation began to perplex hierarchies with fears of change even more than monarchs. From that time St. Paul's is a troubled history for the next one hundred and fifty years. Amongst its records we find a gratifying evidence of the progress of the Reformation—Englishmen reading the Bible in their own language. The first announcement of the King's purpose was made known by his direction, in 1536, for a translation to be made. Coverdale had, the year before, completed his translation, which was now placed in the King's hands; and, as the translator himself told his audience one day at St. Paul's Cross, various opinions having been expressed as to its value, "Henry ordered divers bishops to peruse it. After they had had it long in their hands, he asked their judgment of it: they said there were many faults in it. But he asked upon that if there were any heresies in it: they said they found none. Then," said the King, "in God's name, let it go abroad among my people." Cromwell accordingly directed a copy of Coverdale's Bible to be chained to a pillar or desk in the choir of every parish church. As soon as the new translation was completed, in 1539, similar directions were issued with regard to that; and again, in 1541, showing that the earlier orders had been but indifferently obeyed. Bonner was now Bishop of London; and, in obedience to the proclamation, he caused six Bibles to be set up in different parts of the church, with a brief admonition attached, that they should be read humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently; that no persons should read them with loud voices, or during divine service; and, more particularly, that the laity were not to dispute of the mysteries contained therein. But the awakening mind of man was preparing to accomplish mightier things than breaking through a bishop's injunction. Many a group might be seen about these chained Bibles, now listening in deep silence to the voice of one who read, now arguing hotly upon some disputed passage or point of faith it involved. Bonner was the last man to submit to this in peace. He threatened publicly to remove the Bibles if these abuses continued; whilst in private, he, with the other chief heads of the clergy, who viewed with alarm the growing schism, strained every nerve to undo what had been done, but with little or no effect.

The most important point in the history of St. Paul's during the reign of Elizabeth is the destruction of the tall steeple, in 1561. In the accounts published at the time, the damage was attributed to lightning during a tempest, "for divers persons, in time of the said tempest, being in the fields near adjoining to the city, affirmed that they saw a long and a spear-pointed flame of fire (as it were) run through the top of the broche or shaft of Paul's steeple from the east westward;" but a later writer, Dr. Heylin (1674), says, that a plumber had since confessed that it happened through his negligence, in leaving a pan of coals and other fuel in the steeple when he went to dinner; and which, taking hold of the dry wood in the spire, had become so dangerous before he returned, that he kept his secret. The damage done was immense. Not only the entire steeple was destroyed, but the roof of the church and aisles. By 1566 the roof was repaired; but it now began to be perceived



that a general repair of the edifice was needed, and there was still the steeple to build.

We may mention some particulars to show the extraordinary state of neglect and ruin into which this once proud edifice had been by this time allowed to fall. Towards the close of the sixteenth century it is stated that the benches at the door of the choir were commonly used by beggars and drunkards for sleeping on, and that a large dunghill lay within one of the doors of the church. The middle aisle was the famous Paul's Walk, which, between eleven and twelve in the morning, and three and six in the afternoon, was the resort of persons of all ranks of society; and a pretty medley, it seems, they formed. Dekker, the dramatist, says, "At one time, in one and the same rank, yea foot by foot, and elbow by elbow, shall you see walking the Knight, the Gull, the Gallant, the Upstart, the Gentleman, the Clown, the Captain, the Apple-squire, the Lawyer, the Usurer, the Citizen, the Bankrout, the Scholar, the Beggar, the Doctor, the Idiot, the Ruffian, the Cheater, the Puritan, the Cut-throat, the High-men, the Low-men, the True man and the Thief: of all trades and professions some of all countries some. Thus, whilst Devotion kneels at her prayers, doth Profanation walk under her nose in contempt of religion." More than twenty private houses were built against the walls of the church, the owners of several of which had cut closets out of the sacred edifice, while in other instances doors had been made into the vaults, which were converted into cellars. At one of the visitations the verger presented that "the shrouds and cloisters under the convocation-house are made a common lay-stall for boards, trunks, and chests, being let out unto trunk-makers; where, by means of their daily knocking and noise, the church is greatly disturbed." One house, partly formed of the church, is stated to have been "lately used as a play-house;" the owner of another, which was built upon the foundation of the church, had contrived a way through a window into a part of the steeple, which he had turned into a ware-room; and a third person had excavated an oven in one of the buttresses, in which he baked his bread and pies.

Nothing considerable was done in the work of repair till Charles's reign, when, in 1633, Laud, then Bishop of London, laid the first stone of a new portico, and Inigo Jones, the architect, the fourth. It would have been well for this great architect's fame if his connection with St. Paul's could be altogether forgotten. After looking upon the elegant tracery and beautifully-pointed architecture of the old cathedral, and then on the monstrous additions made by him, such as Corinthian porticos, round-headed windows, balustrades ornamented with round stone balls along the top, one needs to remember the Banqueting House, Whitehall.

Many honourable instances of private zeal in the restoration of the cathedral have been recorded. Charles himself set the example by erecting, at his own expense, the portico on the west, whilst Sir Paul Pindar restored the beautiful screen at the entrance into the choir (the one single work that seems to have been done in the right spirit), and gave no less than 4000*l.* to the repair of the south transept. And thus, by 1643, the whole was finished except the steeple, at an expense of about 100,000*l.*, when the Civil War broke out; and men, in their struggle to prevent or to accomplish a reform of all the evils which political or religious institutions are heir to, became too much engrossed to attend any longer to the state of St. Paul's. On the abolition of bishops, deans, and chapters, in 1642, the revenues and buildings attached to St. Paul's were seized, and much injury done to the interior of the cathedral by the quartering of horse-soldiers in the nave, and the erection of a wall between the nave and choir, in order to partition the latter off for divine service. Charles II. began the work of repair and restoration in 1633, but before any great advance was made came the Great Fire.

the very beginning of the Civil War an eminent antiquary conceived and executed a scheme of no ordinary importance or toil, which he has thus described in the preface to his work on St. Paul's:—"The said Mr. Dugdale, therefore, receiving encouragement from Sir Christopher Hatton, before mentioned, then a member of House of Commons (who timely foresaw the near approaching storm) in summer, 1641, taking with him one Mr. William Sedgewick (a skilful arms painter), went first to the cathedral of St. Paul, in the city of London, and next to the church of Westminster, and there made exact draughts of all the monuments and of them, copied the epitaphs according to the very letter, as also of all arms and windows or cut in stone; and having so done, rode to Peterborough in Northamptonshire, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark-upon-Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston-upon-Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Lichfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and did the like at those cathedral, collegiate, conventual, and divers other parochial churches, as in any tombs or monuments were to be found, to the end that the memory of them, in the case of that ruin then imminent, might be preserved for future and remote times." A more interesting passage, or a more gallant deed than this, we nowhere find in the annals of antiquarianism. And whatever the amount of danger apprehended and the mischiefs done to our cathedrals during the Civil War, one event of infinitely greater moment, that he could not anticipate, the Great Fire has left us almost entirely dependent upon what Dugdale did at this period for our knowledge of Old St. Paul's. In the vaults beneath the present cathedral are remains of some half-dozen monuments dug up out of the ruins of the former church, and this is nearly all we should have known of the sumptuous structures he has described but for his labours.

#### PAUL'S CROSS.

From a writ of *quo warranto* of the year 1287, the 15th of Edward I., it appears, according to Dugdale, that the ground on which Paul's Cross stood, described as lying hard from the church, and as that on which the citizens of London had been annually wont to hold their Folk-motes, was claimed as belonging to the King, and had newly come to be used for the interment of the dead. The people, it is stated, to be summoned to the folk-mote by the ringing of a bell, hanging in a tower which stood on the ground. In 1285, the churchyard was, apparently for the first time, completely walled round. The northern part of St. Paul's Churchyard, however, still continued to be the Forum of the Londoners, and the Cross to be the station to which, in those days, when as yet there was no printing and little reading, announcements and harangues on all such matters as the authorities in church or state wished to be of public concern were poured into the popular ear and heart. Stow describes it as "a pulpit-cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead;" and this was probably its form before as well as after his day. We may conjecture that it came first to be used for ecclesiastical purposes after the ground on which it stood was taken into the churchyard in the reign of Edward I.; at least the first occasion on which it is recorded to have been so employed was in the year 1290. Very soon after this date we begin to hear of sermons regularly preached from Paul's Cross.

The great era of preaching at Paul's Cross began with the revolt of Henry VIII. against the authority of the Roman see, and the struggle of more than a quarter of a century between the two religions that followed. During all that period of commotion and vicissitude, from the middle of Henry's reign to the accession of Elizabeth,



for a great part of which people, when they went to bed at night, hardly knew of what religion they might rise in the morning, the conflict between the old and the new faith, in so far as it was waged by eloquence and argument, and on a popular arena, was chiefly carried on here. One of Henry's first measures, after he had taken his bold resolution of setting about the overthrow of the papal supremacy in England, was to secure this station. One of a series of propositions submitted to the Council in December, 1533, was to the following effect :—"That order be taken that such as shall preach at Paul's Cross from henceforth shall continually, from Sunday to Sunday, preach there, and also teach and declare to the people, that he that now calleth himself Pope, ne any of his predecessors, is and were but only the Bishops of Rome, and hath no more authority and jurisdiction by God's laws within this realm than any other foreign bishop hath, which is nothing at all ; and that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore hath been only by usurpation and sufferance of princes of this realm ; and that the Bishop of London may be bound to suffer none others to preach at St. Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same."

In the next reign the pulpit at Paul's Cross was filled by the most eminent preachers of the Reformation. Here Latimer and Ridley frequently proclaimed to crowds of eager listeners that testimony which they both afterwards sealed with their blood. Ridley, in acuteness and literary accomplishment the first of the fathers of the English Reformation, preached a famous sermon at Paul's Cross on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper towards the close of the year 1547, being then Bishop of Rochester. But, we confess, we would rather have heard honest old Latimer, plain and homely as he was, sometimes to the verge of the absurd and the ludicrous, or beyond it, yet shrewd withal, and full of matter, and always interesting from the very boldness and directness of his appeals, and the goodness of heart and genuine simplicity of character that shone in everything he said. Latimer preached his first sermon at Paul's Cross on New Year's Day, 1548, and his second and third on the two following Sundays. What is called his *Sermon of the Plough*, which is among those in the printed collection, was probably one of these, although it is stated to have been preached on the 18th of January, which would fall on a Wednesday in that year. It was preached, we are told, in the *Shrouds*, which appears to have been a sort of covered gallery attached to the wall of the cathedral, in which, probably, the more distinguished portion of the congregation used commonly to be seated, and where the preacher also sometimes took his station when the weather was coarse. Latimer was at this time nearly seventy years of age ; but he was as stout in spirit, if not in body, as ever ; and the one of them that has been preserved affords evidence sufficient, that in these sermons at Paul's Cross, he did not mince matters in telling his audience of their besetting sins, or spare either small or great.

The most remarkable occasion on which Ridley officiated at Paul's Cross, in this reign, was that on which the new service book was used for the first time. "The 1st of November, 1552," says Stow, "being the feast of All Saints, the new service book, called of Common Prayer, began in Paul's Church, and the like through the whole city. The Bishop of London, Dr. Ridley, executing the service in Paul's Church in the forenoon, in his rochet only, without cope or vestment, preached in the choir ; and at afternoon he preached at Paul's Cross, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and crafts in their best liveries being present ; which sermon tending to the setting forth the said late-made Book of Common Prayer, continued till almost five of the clock at night ; so that the mayor, aldermen, and companies entered not into Paul's Church, as had been accustomed, but departed home by torchlight." It was a zealous time,



well as an interesting occasion, when people could thus be detained hearing a sermon in the open air, in a noisome churchyard, till five o'clock on a night in November.

As soon as Mary was fairly seated on the throne, the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross was more taken possession of by the friends of the old religion. At first, there were tumults, and the preachers were insulted. Then, during the next five years, the Cross resounded with the doctrines of Rome. On the 6th of February, 1558, a sermon of Gardiner's was attended by sixteen bishops, the lord mayor and aldermen, and many of the judges. But lord mayor, aldermen, judges, and bishops, were all afterwards obliged to suit themselves, as best they could, to another change. The Cross had been only three days out of Mary's body when on the 20th of November the pulpit at Paul's Cross was mounted by Dr. Bill, the new Queen's chaplain, and he resounded once more with the doctrines formerly preached by Ridley and Cramer. Horne, Jewel, and other eminent divines of the re-established Protestant Church, vindicated the new order of things at Paul's Cross; and the sermons delivered there every Sunday, as of old, appear to have been well attended throughout the reign of Elizabeth.

For was the glory of Paul's Cross over till many years after this date. James I. came in great state on horseback, from Whitehall, to hear a sermon preached from the famous pulpit by Dr. John King, Bishop of London, on Mid-lent Sunday, the 26th of March, 1628. And Pennant is mistaken in supposing this was the last sermon preached here. It was not even the last attended by royalty; for, on the 30th of May, 1630, Charles I., like his two predecessors, also came in state to St. Paul's, after having attended the service in the cathedral, took his seat in a place prepared for him, and heard the sermon at the Cross. But this was very nearly the last of those sermons delivered in the open air. In April, 1633, while the cathedral was undergoing extensive repairs, and the churchyard was occupied with masons and building materials, the sermons were removed into the choir; and it does not appear that the old pulpit out of doors was ever again occupied. At last, by the votes of the Houses of the Long Parliament, on the 10th and 11th of September, 1642, for abolishing of bishops, deans, and chapters, "the very foundation of this famous cathedral," to quote the impressive words of its historian, "was utterly shaken in its basis; . . . so that the next year following, 1643, the famous Cross in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the most noted and solemn place in this nation where the gravest divines and greatest scholars to preach at, was, with the rest of the monuments about London and Westminster, by further order of the said parliament, pulled down to the ground."

#### THE BUILDING OF ST. PAUL'S.

The Fire of London roused the indomitable spirits of Englishmen. "They beheld," says Dr. Sprat, with the ruins of the metropolis smoking around him, "the ashes of their houses, gates, and temples, without the least expression of pusillanimity. Philosophers had done this, it had well become their profession of wisdom; if gentlemen, the nobleness of their breeding and blood would have required it: but such greatness of heart should be found amongst the poor artisans and the vulgar multitude, is no doubt one of the most honourable events that ever happened. \* \* \* A new city is to be built, on the most advantageous seat of all Europe for trade and command. This, therefore, is the fittest season for men to apply their thoughts to the improving of the materials of building, and to the inventing of

better models for houses, roofs, chimneys, conduits, wharfs, and streets." On the morning of the 7th of September, Evelyn made a painful pilgrimage through the ruins, clambering over heaps of smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where he was. "The ground," he says, "was so hot that it burnt the soles of my shoes." The fruit of this excursion was a plan for the restoration of the city. "The King and Parliament," he wrote to Sir Samuel Tuke, in December, 1666, "are infinitely zealous for the rebuilding of our ruins; and I believe it will universally be the employment of next spring. \* \* \* Everybody brings in his idea: amongst the rest I presented his Majesty my own conceptions, with a discourse annexed. It was the second that was seen, *within two days after the conflagration*; BUT DR. WREN HAD GOT THE START OF ME." Wren was appointed Deputy Surveyor-General, and principal architect for rebuilding the whole city, having been previously appointed architect, and one of the commissioners, for the restoration of St. Paul's. The intimate knowledge he obtained of the topography of the metropolis in the course of his official surveys, and the natural tendency of a mind which has projected a general plan for the erection of a city to execute minor details with a constant reference to it, put him in a condition to realize some portions of his design.

The leading features of Wren's plan are stated by himself:—"From that part of Fleet Street which remained unburnt, about St. Dunstan's Church, a straight street, ninety feet wide, crosses the valley, passing by the south side of Ludgate prison, and thence in a direct line, ends gracefully in a piazza at Tower Hill, but before it descends into the valley where now the great sewer (Fleet Ditch) runs, it opens into a round piazza, the centre of eight ways. \* \* \* Leaving Ludgate prison on the left side of the street (instead of which gate was designed a triumphal arch to the founder of the new city, King Charles II.), the street divides into two others as large, and before they, spreading at acute angles, can be clear of one another, they form a triangular piazza, the basis of which is filled by the cathedral church of St. Paul. Leaving St. Paul's on the left, we proceed, as our first way led us, towards the Tower, the way being all along adorned with parochial churches. We return again to Ludgate, and, leaving St. Paul's on the right hand, pass the other great branch to the Royal Exchange, seated at the place where it was before, but free from buildings, in the middle of a piazza included between two great streets—the one from Ludgate leading to the south front, and another from Holborn over the Canal to Newgate, and thence straight to the north front of the Exchange." There was to be a commodious quay on the whole bank of the river from Blackfriars to the Tower; a canal was to be cut at Bridewell, with sluices at Holborn Bridge and at the mouth, and stores for coal on each side; the Halls of the twelve chief companies were to be united into one regular square annexed to Guildhall; the churches were to be designed "according to the best forms for capacity and hearing," adorned with useful porticos and lofty ornamental towers, and steeples in the greater parishes; and all churchyards, gardens, and unnecessary vacuities, and all trades that use great fires or yield noisome smells, were to be placed out of the town. It is clear from this outline that the nucleus of Wren's plan for rebuilding London was that cathedral, the capabilities of which he had so thoroughly studied, and was so eagerly bent upon developing to the utmost. His plan being rejected, he was restricted to the realization of his idea of an Anglo-episcopal cathedral, to dropping his halls and churches here and there in narrow spaces, obscured by the close proximity of tall houses, in the hope, perhaps, that a more civilised generation might deem it worth while to excavate them, and to introducing from time to time reforms in the line of streets, sewerage, and mode of constructing houses in the metropolis.



Some time, however, elapsed before he was allowed to set to work even upon the cathedral. On a particular survey by the architect and the rest of the commissioners, it was determined that part of the body of the old cathedral towards the west should, as being least damaged, be fitted up as a temporary choir, wherein the dean and prebends might have divine service until the *repair* of the whole (for that was still dreamed of), or a new cathedral should be built. A royal mandate was issued on the 15th January, 1667, for commencing these operations. The whole of that year, and part of the next, were consumed in clearing away the rubbish, and ascertaining the condition of the ruins. This examination established the correctness of Wren's judgment regarding the ineligibility of merely repairing the building. Dr. Sancroft wrote to him on the 25th of April, 1668, "As he said of old, *Prudentia est quedam divinatio*; so science, at the height you are master of it, is prophetic too. What you whispered in my ear at your last coming hither is come to pass. Our work at the west end of St. Paul's is fallen about our ears. Your quick eye discerned the walls and pillars gone off their perpendiculars, and I believe other defects too, which are now exposed to every common observer. About a week since, we being at work about the third pillar from the west end, on the south side, which we had new cased with stone where it was most defective, almost up to the chapitre, a great weight falling from the high wall so disabled the vaulting of the side aisle by it, that it threatened a sudden ruin so visibly, that the workmen presently removed, and the next night the whole pillar fell, and carried scaffolds and all to the very ground. The second pillar, which you know is bigger than the rest, stands now alone, with an enormous weight on the top of it, which we cannot hope should stand long, and yet we dare not venture to take it down." Some entries in the 'Diary' of Pepys, rather later in the same year, convey an impressive though sufficiently grotesque picture of the state of the ruins, and enable us to conjecture the utter helplessness of the *dilettanti* who obstructed Wren, and fancied themselves adequate to the task of restoring St. Paul's:—"I stopped at St. Paul's, and there did go into St. Faith's Church, and also in the body of the west part of the church; and did see a hideous sight of the walls of the church ready to fall, that I was in fear as long as I was in it; and here I saw the great vaults underneath the body of the church." And again—"Up betimes, and walked to the Temple, and stopped, viewing the Exchange, and Paul's, and St. Faith's, *where strange how the very sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple do make me sea-sick!*" It was therefore natural enough, on the part of Dr. Sancroft, earnestly to require Wren's "presence and assistance with all possible speed" in April, and to inform him in July, that they could do nothing without him.

In consequence of the urgency of the commissioners, Wren made a report, in which he demonstrated that it was impossible permanently to save the existing building. At the same time he stated in the most emphatic language the difficulties in the way of a new erection:—"The very substruction and repair of St. Faith's will cost so much that I shall but frighten this age with the computation of what is to be done in the dark, before anything will appear for the use desired." Nevertheless, with the hopefulness characteristic of great minds, he pointed out how the task might be begun. An order was issued in consequence of his report, by the King and council, to take down the walls, clear the ground, and proceed precisely as recommended by Wren. Still the half-hearted and narrow-minded portion of the commissioners contrived to throw so many impediments in the way of the architect, that in April, 1671, we find them still prating of repairing instead of rebuilding, and the site so encumbered with the old materials, that it was impossible to proceed with



the inspection of the ruins. A representation to this effect from Wren elicited an order for the removal and sale of the rubbish from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop and Lord Mayor of London, in which, alluding to "the new fabric," a significant "which we hope may speedily begin" is added. It was not, however, till 1673 that the intention of repairing the old edifice was finally abandoned, and the architect desired to make designs for an entirely new edifice worthy the greatness of the nation, and calculated to rival every edifice of the kind in Europe. Even then the difficulties and annoyances to which Wren was subjected rather changed their character than abated.

His original design for the cathedral (of which the elevation is given, p. 262) embodied some great principles expressed in his first report on the old church. The length of aisle to which he objected was necessary, perhaps, for the processions and pageantry of the Romish ritual, but was uncalled for in the reformed cathedral service. He availed himself of this circumstance to give greater compactness and squareness to the church, which was to be the basis and substructure of his dome. His judges, however, could not emancipate themselves from the notion that the form and arrangement of a cathedral to which they had all their lives been accustomed was the only proper and possible form for such a building. The Duke of York, too, insisted, Spence tells us, on the authority of Mr. Harding, that side oratories should be added—the anecdotist suggests because he already meditated converting the fabric to the use of the Romish worship. He adds—"It narrowed the building, and broke in very much upon the beauty of the design. Sir Christopher insisted so strongly on the prejudice they would be of, that he actually shed tears in speaking of it, but it was all in vain. The Duke insisted on the long aisles and oratories being inserted, and he was obliged to comply." The modification of the original design which has been erected—a cruciform Italian cathedral, closely resembling that of St. Peter at Rome—was accordingly resolved to be carried into execution; and letters patent were issued superseding the old commission for "upholding and repairing" the ancient cathedral church, authorising the commissioners to "rebuild, new erect, finish, and adorn the said cathedral church upon new foundations," and empowering them to "take down and demolish what is yet remaining of the old fabric."

Sir Christopher now commenced his great work by making the necessary preliminary arrangements for the accomplishment of his design. He appointed officers and chief workmen, with their proper officers, subalterns, and departments, all in subordination and rendering their accounts to himself. Early in the year 1674 the workmen began to clear away the ruins of the ancient cathedral, preparatory to laying the new foundation. The pulling down of the old walls, which were in many places eighty feet high and five in thickness, was an arduous undertaking. At first the men stood above, working them down with pickaxes, while labourers below moved away the materials that fell, and dispersed them in heaps. The accumulation of rubbish by this means was so great as for a time to hinder them in forming the foundations; part, however, was in time removed to heighten or pave streets, or build the parochial churches. Before this was accomplished, however, Wren constructed scaffolds high enough to extend over the heaps in his way; and, dropping perpendiculars from lines drawn carefully upon the level plan of the scaffold, he set out his foundations. He worked on in this fashion, gaining every day more room, till he came to the middle tower that formerly carried the lofty spire. The workmen quailed before the dangerous task of mounting two hundred feet to cast down this ruin; and Wren's inventive genius immediately conceived the idea of attaining his

end by the agency of gunpowder. He drove a hole two feet square to the centre of the pier, deposited in it a deal box containing eighteen pounds of gunpowder; affixed to this a hollow cane containing a quick match, and, closing the mine, gave directions for its explosion. This small quantity of powder lifted up the whole angle of the tower, the two great arches that rested upon it, and the two adjoining arches of the aisles, with the masonry above. The walls cracked to the top, and were lifted visibly, *en masse*, about nine inches; then, suddenly subsiding again, they fell into a heap of ruins without scattering. It was half a minute before the heap opened in two or three places, and emitted smoke. The fall occasioned such a concussion, that the inhabitants round about took it for the shock of an earthquake. The architect, confident in the accuracy of his calculations, awaited with perfect calmness the result of his experiment. His next officer, charged during his absence with the explosion of another mine, put in too much powder, and did not drive the hole deep enough; the consequence of which was, that a fragment of stone was shot into the room of a private house, where two women were at work. Neither were injured; but the terror of the neighbours induced the commissioners to prevent any further use of gunpowder. The architect was thus forced to turn his thoughts to other methods of saving time, diminishing expense, and protecting men's lives and limbs. His most successful expedient was the adoption of the ancient battering ram. He provided a strong mast of timber, about forty feet in length, and armed the bigger end with a great spike of iron, fortified with iron bars along the mast, secured by ferrules. This machine he suspended from two places to one ring with a strong tackle, on a triangle (such as were used to weigh heavy ordnance), and kept thirty men beating with this instrument against the same part of the wall for a whole day. The workmen, not discerning any immediate effect, thought this mere waste of time; but Wren, who knew the internal motion thus communicated must be operating, encouraged them to persevere. On the second day the wall began to tremble at the top, and fell in a few hours.

The first stone of the new cathedral was laid on the 21st of June, 1675, by the architect. It was October, 1694, before the choir was finished, as to the stone-work, and the scaffolds struck both without and within in that part. It was the 5th of December, 1697, before divine service was performed at St. Paul's for the first time since the Fire of 1666. And it was not till the year 1710, when Wren had attained the seventy-eighth year of his age, that his son Christopher laid the highest stone of the lantern on the cupola, attended by the venerable architect himself, Mr. Strong, the master-mason to the cathedral, and the lodge of Freemasons, of whom, says his biographer, Elmes, "Sir Christopher was for many years the active as well as the acting master." Forty-four years had elapsed since the burning of the ancient fane; thirty-five since the laying of the first stone of the new. Three reigns had terminated; a revolution had driven a family from the throne; a dynasty (that of Orange) had received the sceptre and become extinct; whilst the stately pile, "the Corinthian capital" of the metropolis, was slowly growing up. The cause of this delay is not the least interesting part of our tale.

The royal mandate of the 14th of May, 1675, which was Wren's warrant for laying the foundation stone, was in fact little more than a permission to carry his plan into effect if he could. In the first place, proper materials were not easily procured, notwithstanding an order issued by the King in Council, in May, 1669, to the effect that "there hath been for many years past great waste made of our stone in the Isle of Portland \* \* \*; in consideration of which, and the great occasion we have of using much of the said stone \* \* \* for the repair of St. Paul's, our pleasure is, and



we do by these presents will and require all persons whatsoever, that they forbear to transport any more stone from our Isle of Portland, without the leave and warrant first obtained from Dr. Christopher Wren, surveyor of our works." In the next place, money was not forthcoming in sufficient quantities. It is true that, in addition to the proportion of coal-duties allotted to the building of St. Paul's, King Charles graciously states in his second commission—"We are very sensible that the erecting such a new fabric or structure will be a work not only of great time, but of very extraordinary cost and expense;" and adds, "We are graciously pleased to continue the free gift of £1000 by the year, to be paid quarterly out of our privy purse, for the rebuilding and new erecting of the said church;" but the value of a "promise to pay" from the merry monarch was very fluctuating and uncertain. The remaining provisions for raising funds were—authority given to the commissioners to ask and receive voluntary contributions from all subjects; an injunction to the judges of the Prerogative Court and others to set apart "some convenient proportion" of all commutations for penance towards the erection of St. Paul's; and an inquisitorial power vested in the commissioners to inquire after any legacies and bequests for the benefit of the cathedral church that may have been fraudulently concealed. In 1678 the Bishop of London felt it necessary to publish a very earnest and urgent address, exhorting all classes of persons throughout the kingdom to extend their liberality towards the building; and among the receipts of one year we find entered £50 from Sir Christopher Wren, whose annual salary as architect was only £200. But the greatest obstruction he experienced was occasioned by the prejudices and ill-will of a section of the commissioners. They pestered him by incessant attempts to force him to deviate from his own plan, and introduce alterations, the suggestion of crude ignorance. This annoyance began with his undertaking, and even survived its close. The alterations forced upon him by the Duke of York have already been noticed. In 1717 the commissioners transmitted to him a resolution importing "that a balustrade of stone be set up on the top of the church, unless Sir Christopher Wren do, in writing under his hand, set forth that it is contrary to the principles of architecture, and give his opinion in a fortnight's time; and if he doth not, then the resolution of a balustrade is to be proceeded with." The venerable architect replied by a demonstration of the ignorance which dictated the proposal, prefacing his remarks thus:—"I never designed a balustrade. Persons of little skill in architecture did expect, I believe, to see something they had been used to in Gothic structures, and *ladies think nothing well without an edging*. I should gladly have complied with the vulgar taste, but I suspended for the following reasons," &c. He concludes with the emphatic declaration—"My opinion therefore is, to have statues erected on the four pediments only, which will be a most proper, noble, and sufficient ornament to the whole fabric, and was never omitted in the best ancient Greek and Roman architecture; the principles of which, throughout all my schemes of this colossal structure, I have religiously endeavoured to follow; and if I glory, it is in the singular mercy of God, who has enabled me to begin and finish my great work so conformable to the ancient model." It would have been well had the thwarting he experienced been confined to this meddling coxcombry of tampering with his plans; but, irritated at his opposition to their interference, his persecutors had recourse to still meaner devices for annoying him. As early as 1675 we find their creatures set on to fly-blow his fame with accusations of undue delay in the payment of workmen; and in 1710 we find them throwing obstacles in the way of finishing the building, for the avowed purpose of keeping him out of £1300, the amount of a moiety of his salary suspended by Act of Parliament till the completion of the building. Notwithstanding these obstructions,



Wren single-handed completed St. Paul's in the course of thirty-five years from the laying of the foundation-stone; while St. Peter's was the work of more than twenty architects, supported by the treasure of the Christian world, under the pontificates of sixteen successive Popes.

Nor was St. Paul's the work of an undistracted attention. In a manuscript book of the transactions of the privy council, in the possession of Mr. Elmes when he wrote the *Life of Wren*, the architect's name occurs in almost every page. Petitions are instantly referred to the "surveyor-general," in order that he may make personal inspection and report. Upon him devolved the task of detecting and abating all nuisances, irregular buildings, defects in drainage, &c., that might prove prejudicial to public health or the beauty of the Court end of the town. These tasks imposed upon him much personal exertion and extensive and intricate calculations. The Royal Exchange, the Monument, Temple Bar, Chelsea Hospital, many of the Halls of the great companies, seventeen churches of the largest parishes in London, and thirty-four out of the remaining parishes on a large scale, were rebuilt under the direction and from the designs of Wren, during the time that he was engaged upon St. Paul's. When an Act of Parliament was passed in the seventh year of the reign of Queen Anne for the erection of fifty additional churches in the cities of London and Westminster, Wren was appointed one of the commissioners for carrying on the works.

Previous to his undertaking this new office he submitted to his colleagues a report on the proper method of conducting such an important business, pointing out the most fitting situations for new churches, the best materials to be used, the most proper dimensions, situation of the pulpit, and other necessary considerations. As we find the germ of the conception of his own St. Paul's Cathedral in his report to King Charles on the condition of the ancient structure, so we find embodied in this report to the commissioners a satisfactory exposition of his theory of ecclesiastical architecture. Wren, a man of equally-balanced disposition and strong judgment, was born and had his early education in the family of a dignitary of the Church of England; his scientific and literary training and many distinctions he received at Oxford. He was emphatically a Protestant according to the views of the Church of England—an admirer of its subdued yet elegant stateliness of ritual. This feeling, co-operating with his fundamental principle, that in architecture use and ornament must always go hand in hand, produced his peculiar style of church-building, and must never be left out of view in attempting to estimate the character and success of that class of his works. The first object with Wren was to ascertain the proper capacity and dimensions of a church. Owing to the populousness of London, "the churches must be large; but still, in our reformed religion, it should seem vain to make a parish church larger than all who are present can both hear and see. The Romanists, indeed, may build larger churches; it is enough if they hear the murmur of the mass and see the elevation of the host; but ours are to be fitted for auditories." Having determined the most eligible size of a church upon this principle, and hinted the variations of form and proportion of which it was susceptible, he proceeds to the internal arrangement—the distribution of the area and the position of the pulpit:—"Concerning the placing of the pulpit, I shall observe a moderate voice may be heard fifty feet distant before the preacher, thirty feet on each side, and twenty behind the pulpit, and not this unless the pronunciation be distinct and equal, without losing the voice at the last word of the sentence, which is commonlyaphatical, and if obscured spoils the whole sense." Upon the useful he superimposes his external ornament, taking care that there shall be no discordance between the two:—"As to the situation of the churches, I should propose they be brought as

forward as possible into the larger and more open streets; not in obscure lanes, nor where coaches will be much obstructed in the passage: nor are we, I think, too nicely to observe east or west in the position unless it falls out properly. Such fronts as shall happen to lie most open in view should be adorned with porticos, both for beauty and convenience, which, together with handsome spires or lanterns, rising in good proportion above the neighbouring houses (of which I have given several examples in the City, of different forms), may be of sufficient ornament to the town, without a great expense for enriching the outward walls of the churches, in which plainness and duration ought principally, if not wholly, to be studied. When a parish is divided, I suppose it may be thought sufficient if the mother-church has a tower large enough for a good ring of bells, and the other churches smaller towers for two or three bells." Wren had a just conception of what was required from the architect in our climate and state of society. The Grecian temple was a dark and narrow sanctuary, externally adorned. The Gothic cathedral was a vast field for the processions of a gorgeous ritual, in climates not always favourable to out-of-doors display. The public buildings of England are places for assemblies in which men can hear and understand each other, or for the display of works of art. If ever we are to have an English architecture worthy to rank alongside of English literature, English statesmanship, and English science, the use of our buildings must be made the first consideration, and their external form must be made not incongruous with—but immediately derivative from—that use. This truth Wren felt, and made his guide on all occasions. His extensive scientific acquirements enabled him to give that firmness and solid consistency to his structures which alone is susceptible of receiving and retaining high finish and ornament. The outlines of his works are, like all his conceptions, at once stately and graceful. If there be occasionally deficiency, or even faultiness, in his ornaments of detail, that is owing to his limited acquaintance with the architecture of different ages and nations, and not unfrequently to his work having been stunted by a scantiness of funds.

#### [THE EXTERIOR.]

Approaching London, or pausing on the last hill-top to look back on its wide expanse, we feel that the graceful and majestic dome of St. Paul's is the centre of the City—the nucleus about which its masses congregate—the stately Queen, round which tower, monument, and spire stand ranked as attendant handmaidens. Whether we stand on Battersea Rise on a summer evening, with the Abbey towers of Westminster showing their distinct outlines through pure air, when the distant city is veiled by the pall of smoke which the light breeze is inclining towards the ocean, while the stately dome ascends where the regions of definite form and dim amorphous haze fade into each other, its golden cross gleaming through a slumberous golden light—or whether from the heights of Hampstead, when in the silence of the dewy morning we could imagine nothing was awake but the sun and ourselves, we behold the mighty structure by the deceptive influence of the clear air and sidelong light projected into startling nearness—or whether from the hill of Greenwich we see the huge mass swathed in mist, now dim and scarce distinguishable, now lost to view and again re-appearing, dark and threatening, like some Highland mountain amid its congenial vapours—from every point of view, under every change of atmospheric influence, the dome of St. Paul's remains the prominent and characteristic feature of London, viewed from a distance. Nor does its power over the fascinated eye and imagination cease when we mingle with the spring-tide of human existence, hurried in incessant ebb and flow along the multitudinous and labyrinthine streets of the metropolis. Ever



and anon we are aware of the mighty pile seen through some street vista, or appearing over the house-tops as if close at hand. It is ever present, ever beautiful, ever imposing. The Cathedral church combines all the elements of grandeur and beauty. Of colossal size, its summit mingles with the clouds, and at times appears to shift with the thin mists that float past it. The impression made by its graceful outline is heightened by the finish of all its parts, indicating a compactness of structure which gives promise of an eternally youthful appearance.

"In the beginning of the new works of St. Paul's," writes Sir Christopher Wren, in the 'Parentalia,' "we are told an incident was taken notice of by some people as a memorable omen: when the surveyor in person had set out upon the place the dimensions of the great dome, and fixed upon the centre, a common labourer was ordered to ring a flat stone from the heaps of rubbish (such as should first come to hand) to be laid for a mark and direction to the masons: the stone, which was immediately roughed and laid down for that purpose, happened to be a piece of a gravestone, with nothing remaining of the inscription but this single word in large capitals—"*Resurgam*" [shall rise again]. How much the architect himself was struck by the circumstance, we see by the decorations of the pediment over the southern portico, where an exquisitely-sculptured Phoenix rising from the flames, with the motto "*Resurgam*," has been placed in accordance with the idea suggested by the incident. And St. Paul's, as indeed risen again in consummate beauty and grandeur. Surrounded as it is on all sides with the countless structures which the religion, trade, commerce, amusements, and luxuries of the first capital of the world have required, many of them separately deserving and enjoying our high admiration, who ever thinks for a moment of comparing any of them (Westminster Abbey excepted) with St. Paul's? who ever, indeed, thinks of them at all, when the eye, casually glancing over the mighty panorama of which they form a portion, is so completely occupied by the one sublime object, soaring upwards so far into the skies, the far-famed dome of the Cathedral? The man who was born within the sound of its bell, and can scarcely remember when he overpassed those limits—the stranger from the country on a brief visit, who obtains perhaps but a single view—the foreigner, familiar with the architectural marvels of other climes—the old and the young, the ignorant and the enlightened, alike feel thisondrous pre-eminence, which makes St. Paul's seem not so much a feature, however great, of London, as an embodied idea of London itself. Can any one fancy London without it? In the absence of this grand central object, toward which, as in a picture, everything around appears to tend, and grow regular and coherent from that very connection, the British metropolis would certainly look like the "great wen" that Cobbett calls it. For this reason it may be said, somewhat paradoxically, that the finest view of St. Paul's is obtained from a spot where a considerable portion of it cannot be seen, namely, Blackfriars Bridge; for the body of the structure being hidden, the dome, in consequence, with its pilastered basement and colonnaded pedestal, really seems to rest as it were upon the City; and we can imagine nothing more magnificent than the effect. Wren, it must be owned, was most fortunate in the site for his work. It is true that it is sadly shut in on all sides, but we can amend that matter whenever we please; on the other hand, the advantages of the spot are inestimable. It is in the very heart of the metropolis, and so elevated, that—if we may trust the inscription on the curious little piece of sculpture with a naked boy, in the neighbouring Panyer Alley—

"When you have sought the city round,  
Yet still this is the highest ground."



Above all, it stands in the midst of the busiest of London thoroughfares, where thousands daily, as they hurry along with the press, must look upon it; and who shall say how often many of these may not have carried away with them some impression of its beauty, majesty, and power, which may open, however unconsciously, the door to a thousand other refreshing and elevating influences?

St. Paul's is the only English cathedral built in that style of architecture which, to employ the most comprehensive phrase, may be denominated the Classic, as distinguished from what is called the Gothic, including the various forms that successively arose in Europe after the fall of the Western Empire. Of course, as there were no Christian churches in Greece and Rome, at least during the flourishing times of architecture and the other arts, a modern cathedral cannot exhibit in every respect either an imitation of any Greek or Roman building, or a complete exemplification of the principles of classic architecture. As, on the one hand, these edifices, even when most strongly marked with all the peculiarities of the Gothic style, retain traces of the fashion of the Roman Basilicæ, or royal palaces, from which they took their origin, those of them on the other hand that are in general constructed on the purest classical principles must in some things differ from any classic building that ever existed. Indeed, what is called the classic style of architecture, as exemplified in Christian churches, is in all cases something of a very mixed description. St. Peter's at Rome is an evidence of this as much as St. Paul's in London. In these two buildings the columns and the arches that connect them belong, it is true, to the ancient orders, but in almost all other respects they are nearly as unlike any Greek or Roman building as is York Minster itself.

Without entering upon the question as to which of the two styles possesses the greatest beauty or suitableness for ecclesiastical buildings in this country and climate, we may at least assume that it was desirable to have in England one cathedral not Gothic. That of London is the only one of our old cathedrals which has been entirely destroyed, and which, consequently, it had become necessary to rebuild from the foundation, since what may be called the proper age of Gothic architecture—when it was practised, we mean, not imitatively, as now, but because it was natural to the time; not as a language is spoken after it is dead by those who have learned it from books or at a school, but as men speak their vernacular tongue. This particular cathedral, therefore,—necessarily new at any rate,—seemed to offer a good opportunity for a single exemplification of a new style. No Gothic pile was sacrificed in order to make room for the classic one. At all events, it will be acknowledged that, Sir Christopher Wren being the architect, it would have been unfortunate if the task assigned to him had been the erection of a Gothic cathedral. Neither his studies nor the character of his genius fitted him for excellence in Gothic architecture. The two western towers of Westminster Abbey, which he erected, show how indifferently he would, in all probability, have acquitted himself if he had been forced to exert his powers, on this occasion also, on an attempt for which they were so little suited; and we should have lost a structure which is undoubtedly one of the noblest the world has ever seen, let us judge it by what standard we may.

Like most other cathedrals, St. Paul's is built in the form of a cross, the longer arm of the figure extending from east to west. The shorter, or transept, is nearer the east than the west end; but there is also at the west end what may be called a smaller transept, in respect at least to the external form of the building. The entire length of the church, from east to west, is 500 feet, and that of the proper transept 285. The breadth of the body of the church is 107 feet, and that of the transept

nearly the same. Over the intersection of the transept and the nave rises a dome, surmounted by a lantern, a globe, and a cross ; and two campanile towers, or belfries, also ascend from the two extremities of the west front. The height from the pavement of the church to the top of the cross over the dome is 356 feet ; and the campanile towers are each about 220 feet in height. The general height of the walls is about 90 feet. The three entrances to the church are at the west end, and at the north and south ends of the transept. The two last-mentioned porches are each formed by a portion of a circle. The line of the east end of the church is also broken by a semi-circular projection of its central portion.

Such is the general outline of the external form of the Cathedral. But the vast pile, which would be imposing from its mere magnitude, had it little more to boast of, is invested with the highest degree of beauty and grandeur by the superb decorations with which almost every part of it is enriched. The west front is now generally admitted to be superior to any other in existence ; not excepting that of St. Peter's. The grand portico in its centre consists of two parts ; the lower formed by twelve columns of the Corinthian, and the upper by eight of the composite order. Wren's original idea was to employ only one order, and a single series of pillars ascending from the ground to the majestic height (including pedestals, capitals, and other ornaments above and below) of nearly 90 feet. In simplicity and purity, this elevation would have been superior to the present ; and the effect would probably have been exceedingly noble. But the design was found impracticable, from the impossibility of finding blocks in the Portland quarries of the requisite dimensions. It may be safely said that the great architect, by the arrangement actually adopted, has made as much as it was possible to do of the materials to which he was confined, and more than was ever before made of the same space. To a spectator coming up Ludgate Hill, which must be regarded as the grand avenue to the Metropolitan Temple, this façade, seen through the narrow opening, which almost cuts off every other object except the portico, the towers, and the dome of the Cathedral, presents a combination of majesty and beauty which cannot be contemplated by the intelligent eye without the deepest sense of the presence and the power of triumphant art. It sometimes happens that the rays of the afternoon or evening sun, coming through a clear atmosphere, are thrown strongly upon the columned and sculptured display, while a black cloud veiling the opposite quarter of the heavens, forms a back-ground, from which the whole pile projects in full relief, and so as to produce the finest contrast of light and shade. In these circumstances the west front of St. Paul's is seen in all its glory ; and, although the street is both too narrow to afford a view of the whole building, and its direction is such as to show only obliquely what it does discover, it may be doubted if a more full and direct exposure at this point would produce an effect so striking and noble. It has indeed been disputed whether, upon the whole, this magnificent structure would be seen to greater or less advantage if it stood in the midst of a large open space instead of being surrounded, as it actually is, on all sides by other buildings that approach within a few yards of its walls. It is apprehended by some that, if these surrounding buildings should be removed, the Cathedral would lose much of the imposing appearance which it now derives from the contrast between its vast bulk and their comparatively puny dimensions. We are inclined to think that the church has magnitude enough to sustain itself without this foil, and that even if it stood in the midst of Salisbury Plain, with nothing else within sight but the sky and the great panorama of nature, it would be a grand object. But be that as it may, no such perfect solitude and absence of all objects of comparison would be produced by merely removing the nearest of the buildings by



which, as it stands, it is on all sides so closely environed. Houses and streets innumerable would be still around it;—it would still look down upon the whole mighty world of London, although there should be no other building within a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards of it. That distance would not take them out of the scope of the eye in whose field of vision it was the principal object; but it would allow every part of the cathedral to be seen from the proper point of view, and the whole extent of the edifice to be taken in at once, which at present can nowhere be done. Even of its magnitude we have now no other means of obtaining an idea except by walking round it. Seen from a more distant station than is now to be had,—from the front of the New Post-Office, for instance, with the intervening parts of Newgate Street, Paternoster Row, and the houses in the churchyard removed,—it would fall upon the eye and the mind with a simplicity and completeness of effect altogether new. Its size, we are convinced, would seem vaster than ever. But, at all events, whatever is admirable in the building apart from its mere magnitude, is at present in many parts nearly hidden from view altogether, and, in others, can only be seen with difficulty, and under such disadvantages as destroy more than half its magnificence or beauty. Excepting the view already mentioned that is obtained of the west front from Ludgate Street, there is scarcely a good view to be had of any other part of the body of the church. The towers and dome, indeed, are seen to great advantage from Blackfriars and Waterloo Bridges; but none of the under portion of the building is visible from these points. The glimpse afforded by the opening into Cheapside, at the north-east angle of the churchyard, is too oblique, besides being extremely limited; and the east end is so pressed upon and hidden by the buildings forming the opposite side of the street, as, unless it may be from the windows of these houses, to be nearly invisible from any point whatever.

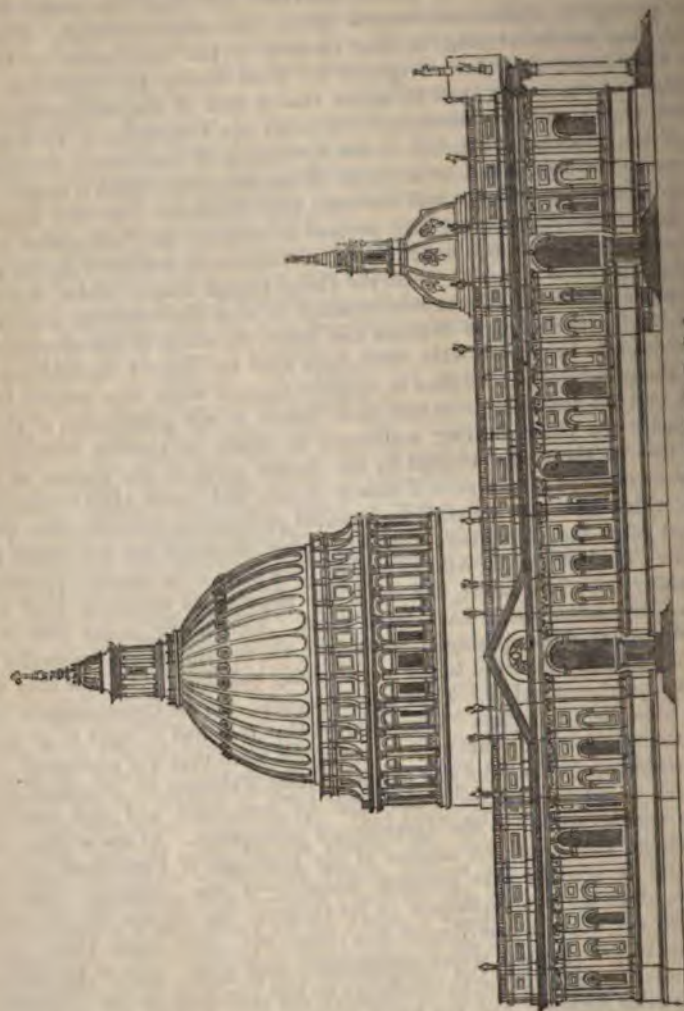
After the west front, the north and south porches, and the latter especially, present the most superb appearance. The entablature over the principal entrance contains a representation of the miraculous conversion of St. Paul, by Francis Bird. Over the pediment are placed three statues; that on the apex representing St. Paul, that to the north St. Peter, and that to the south St. James. The entablature of the northern portico presents a carving of the royal arms supported by angels, and over the south door is a Phoenix rising from the flames, with the word *Resurgam*—I shall rise again—under it, in allusion to the destruction and restoration of the cathedral. The bird is carved by Gabriel Cibber, the father of the more celebrated Colley, and also the sculptor of the two statues, of great merit, which formerly stood over the front gate of the Old Bethlehem, in Moorfields. Bird modelled the scrolls, ball and cross, for the lantern, and the pines for the towers. He also executed the statue of Queen Anne, with the statues of England, France, Ireland, and America, seated at her feet, before the west front of the church; and for this group he received in all 1180*l*. Her majesty's nose was struck off by a lunatic nearly a century ago, and has never been restored. The chiselling on the exterior of the cathedral is already everywhere great defaced, partly owing to the smoke which has settled upon it, but more from the effects of the weather upon the freestone, which unfortunately is very ill adapted to resist the winds and rains of such a climate as ours.

Before leaving the exterior of the cathedral, we ought, perhaps, to notice the iron balustrade, or railing, enclosing the portion of the churchyard immediately around the building, which is still used as a cemetery. It appears to have excited extraordinary admiration when it was first erected, although it will hardly be looked upon as anything very wonderful in the present day. It consists of between two and three thousand palisades, each five feet and a half in height, and cost above 11,000*l*. It



is cast at Lamberhurst in Kent. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' describes it as "the most magnificent iron balustrade, perhaps, in the universe."

We may observe, also, that there is a building nearly opposite the northern portico, which is seldom noticed, even by curious observers, and which yet recalls the memory of a passage in modern ecclesiastical history, not without interest. That tall, substantial, but somewhat dingy-looking mansion is the Convocation or Chapter house of the Cathedral, and was repaired by Wren during the rebuilding of St. Paul's. Many of our readers will be aware that a kind of clerical Parliament, or convocation, as it is called, is summoned with every new Parliament of the kingdom. The writ of the sovereign is directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanding him to summon the bishops and lesser clergy. When they meet, which is usually in St. Paul's, they form the two Houses, and nominate their Speakers; but—the conclusion rather ludicrous—the moment they proceed to business, the Convocation is prorogued, to meet no more, except under similar circumstances and for a similar termination. But there was a period when the clergy turned restive under this treatment, and made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to turn their nominal powers into real ones. During the reigns of William and Anne, the clergy of the establishment came divided into two parties—the one looking with the deepest mortification and disgust on the principles of toleration in religious matters which were secured by the revolution, and not hesitating to extend their hatred to the government of the Revolution itself; the other, holding sentiments as nearly as possible diametrically opposite. One of the modes adopted by the former party in the pursuit of their objects, was an attempt to restore to a state of speech and action their ecclesiastical Parliament, which had been muzzled by repeated prorogations from the time of the meeting just after the Revolution, when the King perceived but too clearly their hostile spirit. The last year of William's reign gave them a favourable opportunity. Tory ministry came into power, and one of the stipulations attending that event was, that a Convocation should have leave to sit. Accordingly, on the 10th of February, 1701, the day of the opening of Parliament, the two Houses of Convocation met at St. Paul's, and then adjourned to the neighbouring building. And now they went to work in a most vigorous style. Their mortal enemies, the old Commonwealth men, might have been their exemplars. They asserted that they had a right to sit whenever the Parliament sat, and could only be prorogued when that was prorogued; and when the Archbishop, on the third day of their sitting, February 25, prorogued them, they continued to sit in defiance of the order for some time, and then *adjourned themselves* to the day named in the Archbishop's prorogation. At one of their subsequent meetings, they asked for another of the privileges of Parliament, and one of them resorted to even by that potential assembly—a free conference with the Upper House, which did not participate in its violence: the request was, of course, refused. Open war between the Houses now broke out. The Lower House again issued an order of prorogation: severe recrimination took place. One of the bishops, Burnet, was officially attacked for the doctrines he had put forth in his 'Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles,' and the whole business grew daily more and more embroiled, and was, at last, only put an end to for the time by a royal writ directed to the Archbishop, at the period of the dissolution of Parliament. The accession of Anne, with her known Tory principles, made the Lower House, at their subsequent meetings, bolder than ever, and, in consequence, made their pretensions less dangerous from their extravagance. Although the contest continued for the next few years, it was at last effectually stopped in 1717: from that time the Convocation have never been allowed to proceed to any business.



[Sir Christopher Wren's first design for St. Paul's.]





LOOKING EAST.

UNDER THE DOME.



VIEW OF DOME.



VIEW OF DOME.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

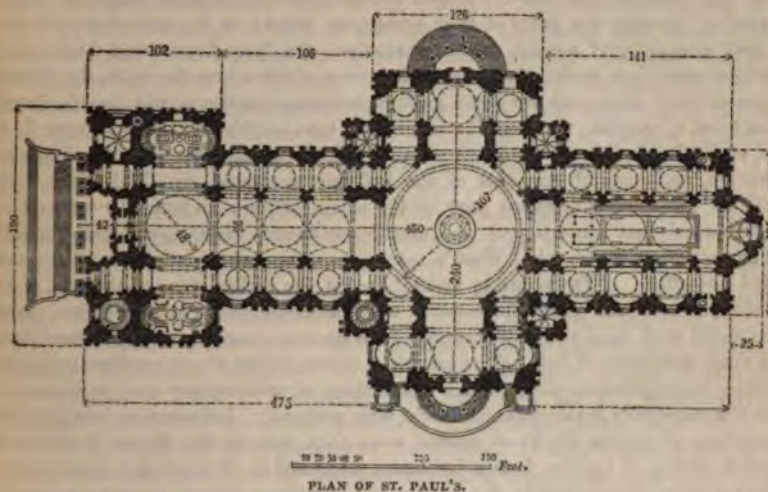
NO. XII. ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL: II.





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## ST. PAUL'S: II.



The plan of St. Paul's, we repeat, is a cross. Over the circular space, where the nave, choir, and transepts join, rises the dome, supported by eight great piers, forming as many semicircular arches, disposed in an octagonal form. The view enjoyed by a spectator standing directly below the dome is truly magnificent. The imposing circle of lofty arches, which seems to enclose the charmed gazer, or to open only that his eye may range along the vistas of the nave or choir, and enhance his sense of what he sees by a consciousness of how much still remains to be seen, becomes still more imposing as he looks upward, and sees how grand a duty has been allotted to them—that of bearing the glorious concave which more peculiarly makes “St. Paul’s” an honoured name through the civilised world. Another fine view of the structure is obtained from the western doors. From thence you look along the nave, across the circular space below the dome, and, when the doors of the choir are open, through that also, an arched perspective in all of 500 feet, the nave alone measuring 340 feet. In still closer imitation of our gothic cathedrals than Wren desired, the nave has its side aisles, a measure forced upon him, and, it is supposed, through the influence of the Duke of York, then secretly planning the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, when the “long-drawn aisles” would have been again in requisition. The architect is said to have shed tears when yielding to a measure which he conceived so objectionable. Although we cannot quite agree with the author of the ‘Guide,’ that the “shields, festoons, chaplets, cherubims, and other devices,” give St. Paul’s “a richness and grace which are wanting in all buildings of gothic construction,” yet there is no doubt Sir Christopher was sedulously attentive to the important subject of decorations; and, whilst he has in consequence left us some valuable works of this nature, we also know how much more he would have done had he been more liberally supplied with funds. We cannot, however, adduce the “shields, festoons,” &c., as any

remarkable example of refined elegance in the art, or as any striking proof of Wren's taste; nor need we dwell upon the handsome marble pavement, "paved alternately with dark and light-coloured marbles, the dark slabs forming a complete mariner's compass, exhibiting the thirty-two points with the half and quarter points complete; nor on the "beautiful screen of wrought-iron, the workmanship of Monsieur Tijou; for, passing through the gates of that screen, we behold in the carved wood-work of the choir something of a much higher character. On those flowers and fruit, and on those more ambitious works, the Caryatid figures, which adorn the stalls, the different thrones or chief seats, and the organ gallery, we recognise the unmistakeable impression of the hand of genius: these can be but by one man—Gibbons. For his work in the choir of St Paul's he received the sum of £1333 7s. 5d. To all this richness of decoration, and general grandeur of the building decorated, the high altar, which should be the most sumptuous part of the whole, offers a melancholy contrast. It is to be hoped that some liberal and munificent-minded dignitary of the Cathedral may hereafter remember what Wren's intentions were, and endeavour to have them carried into effect. "The painting and gilding of the architecture at the east end of the church over the communion-table was intended only to serve the present occasion, till such time as materials could have been procured for a magnificent design of an altar, consisting of four pillars wreathed, of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture; for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared. Information, and particular descriptions of certain blocks of marble, were once sent to the Right Reverend Lord Compton, Bishop of London, from a Levantine merchant in Holland, and communicated to the surveyor, but, unluckily, the colours and scantlings did not answer his purpose, so it rested in expectance of a fitter opportunity; else probably this curious and stately design had been finished at the same time with the main fabric." (*Parentalia*).

Choral service is performed here twice a day (at a quarter to ten in the morning and a quarter past three in the afternoon), and few things can be more deliciously soothing to the "o'erwrought spirit" than to step out of the ceaseless turmoil, the petty cares and strifes of the world's daily business, into the holy quiet of this place. It may here be mentioned that on the north side of the nave, near the western extremity, there is a morning-prayer chapel, where divine service is performed every morning (Sundays excepted) at seven in summer and eight in winter. This chapel, with the Consistory Court on the opposite side of the nave, forms a kind of lesser transept, of the same breadth as, and connected with, the western front, so that from the exterior it hardly looks like a transept. The organ of the choir is justly reputed one of the finest instruments in the country. It was erected by Schmydt about the close of the seventeenth century, who received £2000 for it.

Interesting as St. Paul's is in its general and more essential features to all persons of whatever amount of taste or knowledge, yet it must be owned that a few of its adjuncts enjoy at least their fair share of attention and admiration. Nay, we fear numbers are somewhat considerable who think a great deal less of the dome than of the ball at the top, into which they themselves have actually ascended—who are more anxious to appreciate the wonders of the clock-work than of the architecture whose amazement is more readily called into action by the size of the great bell than by the statement of the dimensions of St. Paul's—who would be infinitely better pleased by being able to distinguish the friendly whisper across the famous gallery than to listen in awful silence to the voice of their own heart, which such a scene is calculated to call forth, and with the happiest effects. And if we do not particip



such views, there is no doubt all these, with the other curiosities of St. Paul's, are deserving of notice. Before we ascend to the upper portion of the building, where these curiosities are to be found, we may mention two assemblies which annually draw considerable share of the popular attention to the Cathedral. These are the musical meeting for the benefit of the Sons of the Clergy in May, and the meeting of the great body of the charity children of the metropolis (connected with the established church) in June. The origin of the former is thus described. In 1655 the Rev. G. Hall preached a sermon for the relief of the sons of such of the clergy as had been reduced to indigence for their Nonconformist principles. The appeal was so successful, that a similar one was made annually, and during the reign of Charles II. a charter was granted to the promoters of the charity, which then took the form that it still holds, of a charitable establishment for the relief of the widows and orphans of poor clergymen. The house is situated at St. John's Wood. The performances consist of miscellaneous selection of sacred music from our great writers, Handel, Boyce, and others. The collections average nearly £1000. The other meeting is one of still greater attraction. The circle beneath the dome is formed into an amphitheatre of seats for the five or six thousand children present, the members of the choir are placed against the organ, the area in the centre is filled with persons of rank, fashion, and intellectual distinction, whilst the nave accommodates that portion of the public which can obtain tickets of admission. One feature of the day is certainly very touching and beautiful—the sound of so many youthful and infant voices when they join in the choruses and other portions of the service. It may be useful to add, that at these meetings, as well as to the previous rehearsals which take place on each occasion, any one can obtain admittance to the body of the church by making a contribution to the charity, which is expected to be not less than half-a-crown.

Let us now ascend. A door in the south aisle, close to the circle, opens to a staircase winding upwards, and which presently conducts us to the long galleries over the aisles of the Cathedral, with their massive timber rafters overhead and along the right side. In the southern gallery we find the Library, founded by Bishop Compton, whose portrait adorns the walls. Here are preserved some manuscripts belonging to Old St. Paul's, and on the table facing us as we enter is an open book of ancient music, with square notes, and written on four lines only. The decorations of the room are very beautiful: the gallery is supported by exquisitely-carved oaken brackets of great size, and the floor consists of small pieces of variously-coloured marble, disposed in geometric patterns. At the end of this gallery is the geometrical staircase, built by Wren, for the convenience of access to the Library. In the northern gallery is the model of the first design for St. Paul's, which, however, is so badly situated, that to judge of the character of the proposed building is almost impossible. Here hang some of the tattered flags which formerly desecrated the dome. Returning to the southern gallery, a very narrow circular staircase in the southern campanile tower leads up to the bell and clock works. A strange mistake has been made with regard to the bell. It is continually said to be the same, only recast, as that which, from the reign of Edward I., hung in the bell-tower in front of Westminster Hall, and which was at first known as Edward of Westminster, and then as the Great Tom. It is true that this bell was given by William III. to St. Paul's, and recast by one Wightman, but proved so faulty, that "Sir Christopher employed Mr. Phelps (an honest and able bell-founder, as appeared by several specimens and testimonials) to make a bell proper for the clock, all of new metal; and the agreement was so ordered, that this new bell should be delivered and approved

before he was paid anything for it; and that he should accept the bell cast by Wightman, in part payment towards the new one, so far and at so much as the weight produced at the price of old bell metal; and Wightman's bell was likewise to remain at the Church till the new bell was approved. And there were all other due and necessary cautions used in the agreement with Mr. Phelps, as may be seen by it at the office of the works at St. Paul's. This new bell, then, after trial, being found good and approved of, Wightman's faulty bell was delivered to Mr. Phelps, for the balance of his account." But we do not need a six-centuries' character to enable us to know that the bell of St. Paul's is a truly magnificent instrument: we are not even obliged to believe the story of the soldier, at Windsor, who saved himself from capital punishment by hearing St. Paul's strike thirteen, when it was alleged he was asleep—to teach us how far and wide its voice may be heard as it continues, hour after hour, to record the steps of Time; or when, still more grandly, it announces the death of some distinguished personage—for on such occasions alone is Great Tom called upon to put himself in positive action, the hour being merely struck upon the bell. Its weight is 11,474 lbs., its diameter nine feet.

As to the clock, when we state that the dial on the exterior, the guide of innumerable minor satellites, is 57 feet in circumference, and the minute-hand 8 feet long, it will be tolerably evident the works behind must be of no ordinary calibre. If, in descending the narrow staircase, the visitor should happen to hear the hour struck, he will not speedily forget it.

Returning towards the Dome and again ascending, we reach the uppermost of the two galleries which encircle it, known as the Whispering Gallery, from the circumstance that a whisper uttered in one spot may be heard right across the vast circle to the spot directly opposite. The Whispering Gallery had formerly a higher purpose. From hence was enjoyed the best view of the paintings, by Sir James Thornhill, in the cupola above, but which are no longer distinguishable. The space is divided into eight compartments, devoted respectively to subjects illustrative of the different events of the life of St. Paul. Sir James was paid for this work at the rate of forty shillings a square yard. It was whilst engaged in these paintings that he had so narrow an escape from instant destruction. Stepping backwards one day, painter like, to observe the effect of his finishing touches upon the head of one of the Apostles, he gradually came close to the undefended edge of the scaffold. Fortunately a friend was with him, who, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up a brush and hastily smeared the picture. "Bless my soul," said the artist, rushing forward, "what have you done?" "Only saved your life," was the reply; and there did not need many more words of explanation. Whatever the character of Sir James Thornhill's works may have been, they are, in effect, worthless now (through the damp), and thus another opportunity is afforded of decorating the Dome in the manner designed by Wren, and on which he had evidently set his heart. He says: "The judgment of the surveyor was originally, instead of painting in the manner it is now performed, to have beautified the inside of the cupola with the more durable ornament of mosaic work, as is nobly executed in the cupola of St. Peter's in Rome, which strikes the eye of the beholder with a most magnificent and splendid appearance; and which, without the least decay of colours, is as lasting as marble or the building itself."

Before we again begin to ascend towards the top of the dome, we may say a few words on the construction of that great work, which, as we stand in the whispering gallery, appears to terminate at no considerable height above us, but the very base

of which, as it appears on the exterior, we can hardly fancy we have reached. On inquiry, therefore, we learn that the dome may be said to consist of no less than three domes, the inner one being that which is seen from the interior ; the second, of brick-work, rising over this in a conical form, and supporting the lantern, ball, and cross ; and the third, surrounding the second, of wood covered with lead, which is the dome seen from without.

We are now once more mounting : the stairs, at first so broad, and so gentle in their elevation, become narrow and steep, and as we step out into the first gallery, the one encircling the base of the great "colonnaded pedestal" of the dome, we see we are already considerably above the level of the tallest houses around. The figures on the pediment of the western front here appear of the gigantic stature they are, eleven feet, and the beautiful towers display their graceful outlines and decorations in an almost startlingly clear manner. We again follow the apparently interminable circle for some time. Another pause ; a door is opened, and we are in the second gallery, which, though still below the dome, lifts us above the tops of the lofty campanile towers, as well as of the innumerable surrounding spires. The houses around the base of the pile are with difficulty separately distinguishable ; the occupants of the streets begin, like the fishermen in Shakspeare's well-known passage, of which we are instinctively reminded, to "appear like mice." But we have as yet accomplished little more than half our journey. A narrow door in the external wall now opens for our admission, and our way lies through the almost impenetrable gloom of the interior of the chief dome. All about us are gigantic ribs of the vast body of the dome, looming through the darkness. Now in this direction, now that, shoots upward through the whole the felt but unseen staircase. At every turn there is a kind of unpleasant suspicion of the possibility of finding some unguarded spot, some accidental opening in the low rails, through which one may plunge suddenly into the unfathomable abyss. But there is no fear. Ah, light again ! Another door, and gallery ; but how small the circle it makes ! yes, we are above the dome. We must look down for the western towers. As to London, it seems little else than one dense mass of house-tops, chimneys, and spires, shutting in the Cathedral on all sides, and extending to beyond the scope of our vision, the whole seen but dimly through the thick atmosphere. The Thames, however, has become a conspicuous object from its form and colour, and we know that those dark lines across, at intervals, are the different bridges. The rest of our way lies through the upper portion of the brick cone before mentioned, and the elegant lantern it supports. It is well that our fair readers can accompany us in these pages, for we should otherwise have to part company speedily. The ascent, growing more and more difficult, is at last accomplished only by perpendicular ladders, rising from one stage to another. The last of these ladders admits us through a little square aperture to a narrow chamber in the small dome immediately below the open support of the ball and cross. Forcing ourselves with difficulty into the circle of slender iron pillars in the centre of the chamber, we must now advance merely by the assistance of the small projections placed against the masonry on one side, and by our grasp of two of the pillars. The top of this reached, we pass through a circular opening, just large enough to admit a man of ordinary bulk, and we are suddenly standing in a place open on all sides to the sky from the feet upwards, and scarcely large enough to admit of any companionship. Above us we look into the dark ball. We would fain look down, but such a place and such a height require a little time to habituate ourselves to both, as well as a powerful vision to enjoy the prospect. We may add, also, firm nerves are useful. With these



requisites, the view from hence during the clear and serene mornings of summer, before a natural or artificial cloud of any consequence rests on the sky above, or on the sleeping and wonderful world below, must be such that it would be difficult to parallel, either in its physical or moral features. As we descend we suddenly catch the sound of the organ, pealing upwards; it is the afternoon service; we shall yet be in time to be present, and allow the mind to reassume the feelings which more fitly harmonise with the objects of the structure.

#### THE INTERIOR.

The objects in the interior of St. Paul's, by which the attention of visitors is usually first attracted and longest detained, are the monumental sculptures erected in honour of various distinguished individuals. The several large spaces, bare of all ornament, presented by the walls and massive piers, had long been felt to produce a heavy effect. There is every reason, indeed, to believe that these vacant spaces were intended by Sir Christopher Wren to serve for the receptacles of statues or paintings, and that it was in this view he left them so unrelieved as they are by any architectural decoration. The enthusiastic admiration excited by the philanthropic exertions of the celebrated Howard led to an application being made to the dean and chapter for liberty to erect some testimony of the public feeling in the metropolitan cathedral. It was favourably received; but, after subscriptions to a considerable amount had been collected, the determined opposition of the person whom it was intended thus to honour, made it necessary to relinquish the design. On Howard's death, however, very soon after, it was revived; and the late Mr. Bacon was commissioned to furnish a statue of the illustrious philanthropist for thirteen hundred guineas. This monument was opened for public inspection on the 23rd of February, 1796; and soon after the statue of Dr. Johnson, by the same sculptor, was erected over against it. They occupy the corresponding corners of the two great piers on each hand of the avenue from the transept towards the choir.

This commencement has been followed up by the introduction of other monuments, from time to time, for the most part voted by Parliament, in honour of distinguished naval and military officers, though there are a few, also, to persons eminent in the annals of literature and art. Besides that of Dr. Johnson, for instance, there are those of Sir William Jones and Sir Joshua Reynolds. But in general, while civil eminence has been commemorated in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's has been made a Pantheon for those who have immortalised themselves by their achievements in the defence of their country. Here are, among others, Elliot, the heroic defender of Gibraltar, and Howe, and Jervis, and Duncan, the victors of Brest, and Cape St. Vincent, and Camperdown; and Nelson, and Collingwood, and Abercrombie, and Moore, and Picton.

Not much can be said in praise of the style of art in which most of the monuments in St. Paul's are executed. It is to be lamented that, with few exceptions, we have in these works, instead of a vivid and poetical transcript from nature, almost in every instance only some hard-laboured, half intelligible, and totally ineffective, allegorical invention. Those from the chisel of Chantrey afford almost the only examples of exemption from this unfortunate taste.

A writer in the 'London' has attempted, in an imaginary dialogue, to record the impressions which might be made upon the mind of a Grecian sculptor of the age of

axiteles or Phidias, could his shade be allowed to revisit the earth, and to wander while among the monuments of St. Paul's. We will distinguish the Greek as *A.* (ancient), and the Englishman as *M.* (Modern):—

*A.* "And what has been the effect on Art of all these marvellous changes you describe in the religion, morals, and manners of the world, during these two or three thousand years; and, more particularly, in my own department, sculpture? Art, to be true to its own first principle—*Truth*—must be an exponent of what it sees of duty or sublimity in the double world round it,—nature and man. These materials by its own inherent powers it idealises—making the beauty more beautiful, the sublimity still more sublime. The new work then returns to the people, from whom so much of it was derived: their sympathies—nay, their vanities—are excited by the partial reflection of themselves: and thus the artist obtains a vantage-ground to raise them to the contemplation of higher things—to bring them, in a word, nearer to his own level. From their improvement he again derives fresh strength; and thus Art and the enjoyers of Art act and re-act upon one another, to their constant and mutual improvement. In this we see but the beautiful harmonies and reciprocities of nature generally—the ceaseless circle she so delights in: with the difference—glorious privilege of Man!—that he at the same time goes forward. These considerations render me unable even to guess what new form sculpture can have assumed to be worthy of what you tell me of the greatness of your country. I can only fear *our* works must have faded from your recollection, from the difficulty of making any practical use of them in a state of society so essentially different."

*M.* "Hem! hem! Why, no, we have managed that pretty well. If you look around, you will see that a forgetfulness of either Grecian or Roman sculpture is the great fault with which we can be chargeable. Here, for instance, is the monument of a zealous and intrepid soldier, Major-General Hay, where we have introduced a naked figure of Valour to support the dying man, although he is in his proper military uniform as an officer of the nineteenth century, and the rank of soldiers there, with the short square-tailed jackets, are in theirs. I flatter myself that does not look like forgetfulness."

*A.* "You jest; this medley must be caricature."

*M.* "Jest? If you read the inscription, you will see it was erected at the 'public expense' of a people not at all remarkable for levity, more particularly where thousands of pounds are concerned."

*A.* "I must see further before I ask for any explanation of the many difficulties that crowd upon me. Yet there is one question I should be glad to have answered. How do the people—having, as you before explained, lost the faith which with us made these impersonations of Valour and other deities a stirring impulse to the hearts and minds of those who gazed upon them—how do they relish such (to them) cold abstractions; or, rather, how do they know this figure means Valour at all?"

*M.* "We tell them so."

*A.* "Ah, that is indeed an answer! You open a melancholy prospect; but go on."

*M.* "Well, here is a monument by a mightier hand. This is by Banks, in memory of a naval hero who fell in one of our great victories, the battle of the Nile; a locality marked, as you perceive, by the sphynxes and palm-trees, and by the river god himself. The hero is falling into the arms of Victory"—

*A.* "Who is almost thrown off her balance by the weight, and, instead of keeping him up, seems likely to fall herself, and in a not very dignified or decorous manner. The idea, however, is ingenious—the fall of so great a man overpowers for the moment even Victory; and the sculptor has exhibited considerable tact in choosing the



precise moment that shows this, and yet leaves it to be inferred and hoped that the goddess may recover herself. Are these the only kind of monuments that I am to expect?—for, if so, I will not trouble you any further."

*M.* "Pause one moment before this, and then perhaps I may better satisfy you. The ship's prow and other devices on the base show you it is a naval monument. The hero is Captain Faulkner, who fell in maintaining a contest for five hours with a much stronger French frigate."

*A.* "Do your English captains, then, like our athletes of old, go naked into battle?"

*M.* "Excuse a smile at your question: they do not. But we consider the costume of our own time too suggestive of a matter-of-fact spirit; and we imitate you—we desire to cultivate the ideal."

*A.* "Imitate us!—the ideal!—is it possible? Why, my friend, this figure is positively revolting to me, from the absence of anything not mischievous that my imagination can take hold of. It is simply and truly a colossal piece of nudity, only the more striking for the paltry strip of drapery that hangs from one shoulder, and from the prim garb in which Victory is arrayed as she presents the sword."

*M.* "I fear you are right; for about the period of its erection it is said that certain parties were so struck by this effect, as to induce them to apply to the artist to add a little to the breadth of the drapery. But come, here at least, in the southern aisle, is a work better calculated to please your somewhat fastidious taste. This is the monument to Lord Collingwood, by Westmacott. I will read you the description of it given in the 'Guide Book.' 'The moment chosen by the sculptor for illustration in this monument is, the arrival of the remains of the admiral on the British shore. The body, shrouded in the colours torn from the enemy, is represented on the deck of a man-of-war; the sword of the hero, which he used with so much glory to himself and to a grateful country, is in his hand. In the foreground, attended by the genius of his confluent streams, is Thames, in a recumbent posture, thoughtfully regarding Fame, who from the prow of the ship reclines over the illustrious admiral, proclaiming his heroic achievements,' " &c.

*A.* "The pervading principle of Grecian sculptors was simplicity; but then, it is true, we had not the 'Guide Book.' How much we had to learn! The general grouping of this work I admire; the separate figures are excellent; that of Thames, when you can manage to forget the associations raised by the babes playing about his knees, has a lofty and severe air, in which I recognise something kindred to the old spirit; yet, with us, the general effect of a work—the sentiment expressed at once by it to the minds of ordinary spectators—was so pre-eminently the object of the sculptor's toil and ambition, that a compliment to any of the lesser points, whilst that was passed by in significant silence, would have been the signal for the artist instantly to break up his work, and re-task his energies for a race where success was indeed glory. What sentiment, at once simple and forcible, does this convey? That exquisite beauty of workmanship there on the latter part of the ship is, for this reason, to me, worth all the rest. The delicate continuous scroll enveloping the different phases of the story suggests but to the eye—what the examination of each confirms to the mind—the beauty and completeness of the thought. We do not need your 'Guide Book' here to tell us the meaning of the boyish form gazing upon the movements of the 'Nautilus' in one compartment; or of his trusting himself so doubtfully to a frail bark with a flowing streamer, in imitation of the 'Nautilus's' sail in the next, or the rude support for the sail he has raised in a third, whilst looking upwards to the stars that guide his course; or of the compass in his hands in the fourth; or, lastly



the weapons he finds it necessary to forge for defence in the fifth. In that space three or four feet long by only a few inches broad, you have a history of Navigation, which Art may be proud of."

M. "Under the window there, at the farther end of this transept, is another work the same artist, Sir Ralph Abercromby's memorial."

I. "Aye, this is truly a step upwards. Here we can understand an entire work without the aid of the 'Guide.' The death-wound given in the moment of conflict—fall from the horse into the arms of an attendant soldier, and the scene—Egypt—marked by the sphynxes on each side, express at least an interesting fact in a vigorous and truthful manner. But it does more than this. The choice of these Egyptian symbols is truly artistical. Remaining to this hour one of the most characteristic pictures of that ancient kingdom, the mind at once acknowledges the propriety of their presence, as a means of marking the scene of the event commemorated; and then looking upon their passionless yet high and solemn countenances, imbibes an influence, but indescribable, which affects the aspect of the whole work: the sculptor, in art, has idealised it by their means. What is that monument which caught my eye to the right of the entrance into the innermost part of the structure?"

J. "You mean Flaxman's memorial to Nelson, our great naval hero. There it is."

I. "I begin now to perceive you *may* have a great English school of sculpture, if our sculptors will but understand their deficiencies. Out away this feeble moral on one side, Britannia and the two boys she is bidding to look up to their exemplar, the same with the still feebler allegorical lion on the other, and you have a truly great work—a representation of your hero as simple and austere as it is grand and resolute. It is very unlike a Grecian hero, it is true—and there lies one of its merits—the artist is not ashamed of his own country, but shows us, as he ought, an English warrior in an English garb. Yet neither this nor the other monuments of which I see here and there around us speak to me as they ought of the acknowledged glory of your country. You tell me of the superiority of your religion and morals, those we cherish—of our love for physical and yours for mental and moral utility and grandeur; surely that superiority should evidence itself in your arts. What is there among these productions, which include, it appears, some by all our best artists, that can possibly be to your posterity, two thousand years hence, as ours, you tell me, are still to you? You are silent. Well, let us change the subject. I see, from the great number of the monuments to naval and military men, that we must be in a temple dedicated in some way or other to their worship, or, at least, to their honour. If I might venture to guess its name, I think I should be far wrong. There must be some latent idea in the great number of shapes which represent the God of Victory—is it not some kind of Temple of Victory?"

With this question the consideration is forced on us, what have such works to do in a place of religious worship? There must be something indeed inexpressibly striking to a pure and devout mind, filled with the spirit of Him who came to teach "Peace on earth, good will among men," to find the records of deeds of valour and slaughter intruded upon his notice, in the very temples where he might expect to find such associations. War may be necessary, and, as a consequence, the form of "hero-worship;" but it is truly humiliating to find a Christian country a Christian government so inconsistent as to make every pier and window and aisle in our chief Cathedral repeat the same melancholy story of war—war—still everywhere war. There are now about forty-eight monuments in St. Paul's, of which there are but seven devoted to other than naval and military men. The recklessness

with which such monuments have been determined on is no less striking; we have had in half a century forty-one heroes, or we have, in many cases, expended our money and degraded the art in cutting in stone "paragraphs of military gazettes," to use Flaxman's phrase. And if, as it often happens, there be in the lives of such men some delightful incident which would really render their memory dear to us, that, be sure, is forgotten. Here is a signal instance in this monument by Rossi, where Victory and Fame, seated at the two corners, in a posture as unbecoming as it must be uncomfortable, are placing medallions of Captains Mosse and Riou on the front of the work. The inscription does tell something more, for it records an act of intrepidity of Riou's, in the preservation of a ship under his command, not unworthy of remembrance. But this friend of Nelson's, this seaman of whom Southey, alluding to his death, says, that "except it had been Nelson himself, the British navy could not have suffered a severer loss," was something better and higher still. Before the fleet left our shores for Denmark in 1801, some Danes in Riou's frigate, the 'Amazon,' learning the place of their destination, went to him, and entreated that he would get them exchanged into some other ship not included in the proposed expedition. They assured him they had no wish to quit the British service; but begged most earnestly that they might not be sent to fight against their own country. "There was not," says Southey, "in our whole navy a man who had a higher and more chivalrous sense of duty than Riou. Tears came into his eyes while the men were speaking. Without making any reply, he instantly ordered his boat, and did not return to the 'Amazon' till he could tell them that their wish was effected." During the tremendous battle of Copenhagen, Riou, whilst endeavouring to obey Sir Hyde Parker's signal of retreat, was exposed to a most murderous fire. Although he had been already wounded in the head, he took his place upon a gun to encourage his men. First, his clerk was killed by his side; then several of the seamen, who were hauling in the main brace, were swept away. "Come then, my boys," was Riou's address to the others, "let us all die together." The words had scarcely left his mouth, when he fell dead, cut in two by a raking shot. We must dismiss the remaining monuments of the class in question, by merely recalling to the recollection of those who have seen them, or suggesting as worthy of examination to those who have not, the noble figure of Lord Duncan by Westmacott, Chantrey's powerful battle-pieces, the Cadogan and Bowes memorials, and the recently-erected statue of Sir Pulteney Malcolm, by the same artist. The more ambitious works which we have passed unnoticed speak very loudly for themselves.

Among this host of heroes, seven men of pacific eminence have been condescendingly admitted, and very ingenious and thoughtful seem to have been the arrangements. Thus we have two bishops, Fanshaw Middleton and Heber, a considerate compliment to the church in which the heroes have been so kindly treated; one philosopher, Johnson; one philanthropist, Howard; one artist, Reynolds; one physician, Babington; and as a mere poet would have been, perhaps, too greatly honoured in being chosen, a kind of medley of all the foregoing, added to some poetical reputation, makes up the seventh in Sir William Jones. Of these the memorials of the first three alone demand notice. Johnson's, by Bacon, is often the subject of high praise, and, no doubt, if it were the memorial of some Stoic of the earlier ages of the world, or of some bulky philosopher of the woods, it would be indeed a masterly performance; but—the desire may be a very foolish and inartistical one—we confess we would rather see *Johnson* in a representation of the author of the 'Rambler' than all the Stoics of ancient Greece. The statues of Howard and Reynolds are among the finest works in the whole Cathedral—the first, from the perfect and impressive manner in which

history of a life is told in the simplest manner, by the key in his hand, the chains on his feet, and the dungeon scene in the bas-relief of the base; and the second, for its graceful serene dignity which so happily represents the original, as well as for its unobtrusive manner in which we are reminded of him who was little less than the object of idolatry with Reynolds, Michael Angelo, by the medallion-portrait on the pedestal, to which our great painter's fingers seem, as they rest on the latter, unconsciously to point. The sculpture is by a kindred spirit, Flaxman.

For the reasons before given, the sculpture in St. Paul's be little else than a dedication of the sacred edifice to the devout, and a barbarism from its inapplicability to any man of refinement, there is an incident in the history of the edifice, the mere remembrance of which may well make both classes doubly impatient. The reader remember Wren's intentions with regard to the sumptuous altar-piece and the apsidal dome: let him suppose these views carried out, and then the views developed in the following passage from Northcote's 'Life of Reynolds,' and imagine what a scene of splendour St. Paul's would have become: "The Chapel of Old Somerset House, which had been given by His Majesty to the Royal Academy, was mentioned at the meeting [of the members] as a place which offered a good opportunity of convincing the public at large of the advantages that would arise from ornamenting cathedrals and churches with the productions of the pencil: productions which might be useful in their effect, and at the same time not likely to give offence in a sensitive country. The idea was therefore started, that if the members should ornament this chapel, the example might thus afford an opening for the introduction of the art into other places of a similar nature, and which, as it was then stated, would not only present a new and noble scene of action that might become highly influential to the kingdom, but would be in some measure absolutely necessary for the future labour of the numerous students educated under the auspices of the Royal Academy. All the members were struck with the propriety, and even with the probability of success that attended the scheme; but Sir Joshua Reynolds, in particular, immediately took it up on a bolder plan, and offered an amendment, saying, 'instead of the chapel, they should fly at once at higher game, and undertake St. Paul's Cathedral. The grandeur and magnificent liberality of this idea immediately gained the suffrages and plaudits of all present, and the President was engaged to make the proper application to the Dean and Chapter: an application which was immediately acceded to on their part. At that time Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, was Dean of St. Paul's, who was a strong advocate in favour of their scheme. A meeting of the Academy then took place, when six artists were chosen for the attempt; these were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. West, Mr. Shee (late President), Mr. Dance, Cipriani, and Angelica Kauffman. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures also took up the business, and added four artists to the original number. The subject which Sir Joshua proposed to execute was that of the Virgin and Christ in the Manger, or the Nativity. But the whole plan was set aside in consequence of Dr. Terrick, then Bishop of London, having refused his consent." This has been noticed by Barry in one of his letters, where he says, "Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had undertaken the management of this business, informed me last Monday, after his return from Plympton, where he was chosen mayor, that Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London had never given any consent to it, and that all thoughts of it must consequently drop." The Dean (Bishop Newton) has also left an account of this splendid offer, and its reception, with some additional particulars. He says, "The Dean [himself], in the fullness of his heart, went and communicated it to the great patron of arts, and readily obtained his royal con-



sent and approbation ;" and half intimates that it was from jealousy of his having anticipated his ecclesiastical superior that the latter refused his consent, although the plea was—the noise and clamour that would be excited against the measure as an artful introduction of Popery. To some such miserable feeling we certainly owe this great national loss, for Dr. Terrick had himself sanctioned the setting up a picture of the Annunciation, by Cipriani, in his own College Chapel, Clare Hall, Cambridge, and, when pressed to admit only two pictures by way of experiment in St. Paul's, returned an equally ungracious refusal. These two were to have adorned the compartments over the doors leading from the choir into the north and south aisles ; the painters named were Reynolds and West, the former having, as before mentioned, the Nativity for his subject, the latter the Giving of the Two Tables to Moses from the Cloud of Glory : "Here," as the Dean remarks, "was the beginning both of the Law and the Gospel." To appreciate the value and self-sacrifice of the artists in this offer, it is only necessary to give a single illustration—Reynolds obtained twelve hundred guineas for the picture with which he had proposed to commence at St. Paul's. Allan Cunningham, alluding apparently to the Royal Academy, says, the rejection of this offer is "considered as an injury deserving annual reprobation." There has been a rumour of the revival of such a plan at the present time. The warm-hearted and persevering Dean, having failed one way to introduce the Arts, tried another. He left, by his will, five hundred pounds for the erection of a monument in the Cathedral ; but the ecclesiastical heads were as obdurate as ever. And it was not till 1791 that any relaxation of the severe rule of exclusion took place : Howard's statue was then admitted, and soon after Johnson's. How widely the doors were subsequently thrown open we have already seen.

"Is there no monument here to Wren?" is, no doubt, a question often asked, before that inscription over the entrance into the choir has been noticed, but never after. In the few concluding words—"If you would behold his monument look around you"—a monument has been raised, which makes the cold frigidities of the greater part of the surrounding sculpture positively painful to contemplate. Let us hasten to a more interesting spot. Wren himself lies below in the Crypt, or vaults, a solemn and mysterious looking place, dimly lighted at intervals by the faint beams which alone penetrate into their depths.

Tread reverently on these stones as you move forward—great men repose beneath. Mark the names which those half-illegible letters form ; Sir Thomas Lawrence, Benjamin West, John Opie, James Barry, Sir Joshua Reynolds—a company that may well make death itself proud—gathered together in those few yards of space. Step a little farther and you add Fuseli's name to the list. Near the men whose works he had so appreciated, and so enthusiastically striven to introduce into his Cathedral, is the grave of Bishop Newton. And, lastly, in the same aisle, in appropriate juxtaposition, the tombs of Mylne and Rennie, the engineers and architects, both men who have adorned their country with some of her most useful and grandest works. The Blackfriars Bridge of the one, and the Waterloo and Southwark Bridges and the famous Breakwater of the other, promise to both a long period of fame, which men of equal merit in other departments of art and science can scarcely hope to enjoy.

Penetrating still farther into the crypt, along the middle avenue, where the massive character of the piers and arches and pillars constantly remind you that St. Paul's is upon them, the guide lights his lantern, and the grandly picturesque resting-place of Nelson is before us in the centre of a circle of pillars directly below the dome. The sarcophagus we see was originally prepared by Cardinal Wolsey for his own interment in the chapel at Windsor, but unused on account of his disgrace, and subsequently

forgotten. On the top of the sarcophagus are Nelson's coronet and certain knightly emblems; the latter having a suggestive value, which changes what would be otherwise a mere heraldic absurdity into something appropriate and forcible. They seem to remind us that, if the age of chivalry is gone, never perhaps did the spirit of chivalry burn more brightly than in the breast of our great naval commander. There are events in his life as a man which rival some of the most touching stories of the world's history, and which would make his name an honoured one, were it possible that the events of his professional history could be forgotten. Two incidents in particular rise to the recollection, and these are not the only ones of the kind to be found. In the night attack on Teneriffe, where our forces were defeated, he received a severe wound in his arm, that he must have perished in the boat where he was, but for the assistance rendered him during all the hurry and excitement of the scene; which assistance, of course, was of the rudest kind. The first vessel the retreating boat came across was the Seahorse, commanded by Captain Freemantle, whose newly-married bride was on board. Faint as he was, however, he insisted on being carried to another vessel, saying, "I had rather suffer death than alarm Mrs. Freemantle by letting her see me in this state, when I can give her no tidings whatever of her husband;" and so they went on till another was found. It was that wound which caused the loss of his arm, and three months of intense agony before the amputated limb healed. The other incident occurred during the battle of the Nile, when a piece of langridge-shot laid bare his forehead to the bone, and blinded him. He thought the wound was mortal. As soon as he was brought to the cockpit, the surgeon came running to assist him, not unnaturally forgetting every one else around the appalling danger of losing his commander. "No," said Nelson, quietly, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows;" and he rigidly kept his determination. Who can wonder at the idolatry of the sailors for such a man, or help sympathising in their delight when "Saint Nelson's" turn did come at last, and the dreaded wound was pronounced superficial? His prayer before the battle of Trafalgar, and the circumstances of his death in it, reveal another phase of his character, still more deserving of honour and imitation. "May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity, after victory, be the predominant feature in the British fleet," &c. That these were no empty words, the issue of that battle as regards him reminds us but too painfully. Twice did he order his own men to cease firing into the French ship, the Redoubtable, which was alongside, thinking she had struck; but his humanity towards his enemies had outrun his desire to avail themselves of it: he was mistaken, and from that ship received a death-wound soon afterwards. His last words were, "I thank God, I have done my duty;" and they found solemn response in the anguish with which his countrymen generally, of all classes and parties, received the news of their bereavement. They could think little of the great victory that had been achieved: it appeared at the last only a fatal success. And as the first effects of the blow wore off, and the funeral rites had to be paid to the hero's remains, the anxiety of the nation generally to lavish all conceivable honours upon them is almost without parallel. At the time the body was shifted from the coffin in which it had been brought home, and placed in another, the history of which forms an interesting episode in Nelson's life. After the battle of the Nile, part of the mainmast of l'Orient, the French ship which blew up with so terrible an explosion during that battle, was picked up by Captain Alliwell of the Swiftsure. Some time after Nelson received the strange present inscribed in the following letter: "Sir, I have taken the liberty of presenting you



a coffin made from the mainmast of l'Orient, that, when you have finished your military career in this world, you may be buried in one of your military trophies. But that that period may be far distant is the earnest wish of your sincere friend, *Benjamin Halliwell*." Nelson not only accepted the coffin in the spirit in which it was offered, but caused it to be placed upright against the bulkhead of his cabin, behind the chair in which he usually sat. He was persuaded, however, to remove it out of sight by a faithful and attached servant, and ultimately it was sent to his upholsterer in London. Before leaving London for the last time, he called on the upholsterer, and desired him to engrave the history of the coffin on its lid, remarking that it was highly probable he might want it on his return.

After lying in state in the Painted Chamber at Greenwich, the body was brought in procession to Whitehall Stairs, the sombre but magnificent pageant comprising, first, four principal barges, then the barges of the King, the Lords of the Admiralty, the Lord Mayor, and each of the civic companies, the whole flanked by gun and other boats keeping clear the line of progress, moving to the sound of the 'Dead March in Saul,' and the occasional booming of the artillery at the Tower and other places passed. From thence the body was conveyed to the Admiralty for the night. The next day, January 9, 1806, the grand procession to St. Paul's thronged the streets with the densest multitude ever perhaps collected in them. To describe the pageant would occupy many pages. Suffice it, therefore, to say that, from the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of York and Clarence downwards, all that was distinguished in rank, as well as all that was illustrious in judicial, legal, or political station, was present. Hardy and a little band of the other dear companions of the dead chief were objects of especial interest. So were those veterans, forty-eight in number, chosen from Nelson's own ship, from among Nelson's own men. The marked attention to these men is one of the most delightful evidences of the spirit in which the funeral was conducted. Around the opening in the pavement beneath the centre of the dome, where the body was to be lowered into the vaults, they took precedence even of the blood of royalty itself, forming a circle round the beloved remains they were soon to behold no more. Beyond them was a starred and gartered multitude, with all the lesser personages of distinction who had shared in the procession; then a clear space, like a broad encircling ring, the outer line of which was formed by the Highland soldiers who had been with Abercromby in Egypt; and, lastly, a lofty amphitheatre of densely-packed human faces, with other ranges, branching off without interruption along the nave to the very entrance doors. As the afternoon came on a magnificent effect was given to the scene by an octagonal lantern, covered with innumerable lamps, suspended from the centre of the dome. But there were feelings at work that made the moral grandeur of the scene far outstrip the physical, unprecedented as that seems to have been. Could Nelson have been sensible of all that passed, we doubt not he would have felt more deeply the touching incident that marked the lowering of his body into the grave than all the honours of the magnificent ceremonial. Nelson's flag was to have been placed by his side in the grave; but, just as it was about to be lowered for that purpose, the sailors, moved by one impulse, rent it in pieces, keeping each a fragment. Lord Collingwood, in accordance with his own request, lies near Nelson, beneath a plain altar-tomb.

Retracing our steps, we meet with the graves of Dr. Boyce (next to Purcell perhaps the greatest English musician) and of George Dance, the architect, and last survivor of the original forty of the Academy. But what is this dark recess in the eastern wall, where all sorts of grotesque or mutilated figures are dimly descried? "They are the remains of the monuments of Old St Paul's," we are told; and the guide, ascending



the platform of the recess with his lantern, the cause of their grotesque appearance in the gloom is explained. One statue of goodly aspect, and in complete armour, has lost its legs: strange enough to say, that is supposed to be Elizabeth's dancing Lord Chancellor. Two others, male and female, that appeared to be equally deprived of their fair proportions, we now see are in a sitting posture, a third is noseless, a fourth still more extensively mutilated. Among the additional remains which have been recognised are the effigies of Sir Nicholas Bacon, in full armour, bare-headed, and of Dean Colet. Of all the figures here, but one remains perfect, and that is Donne, the poet, whose whole history is a kind of serious but deeply-interesting romance, and in which this effigy itself forms not the least unromantic feature. Why this statue is not carefully cleaned, and placed in one of the best parts of the Cathedral, it is impossible to say. St. Paul's certainly does not possess any other relic of half its interest—the history of the Cathedral presents no name that is calculated to shed so much lasting honour upon it as the poet-dean's.

Donne was made Dean of St. Paul's by James, on the removal of Dr. Carey to the bishopric of Exeter. Among other pleasant reminiscences of his connection with St. Paul's, is that of the hymn composed during one of his illnesses, commencing—

"Wilt thou forgive that sin where I began," &c.

which he caused to be set to "a most grave and solemn tune," and sung frequently by the choristers to the accompaniment of the organ during the evening service. He was wont to say of such occasions, "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness, when I composed it. And, O! the power of church music!" The monument was originated by Donne's intimate friend, Dr. Fox, who persuaded him to have one made. The mode he adopted of carrying his friend's wishes into effect was not a little remarkable. He first sent for a carver to make him an urn. "Then without delay a choice painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth. Several charcoal fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted, to be shrouded and put into their coffin or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might show his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned towards the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus Christ." He was drawn in this posture; and the picture became from that time an object of continual contemplation. After his death, the statue was sculptured from it.

The following, according to the guide-books, are the prices of admission to the different parts of St. Paul's:—to the body of the church, 2*d.*; to the Whispering Gallery and the outside galleries, 6*d.*; to the Library, the Model Room, the Geometrical Staircase in the south turret, and the great bell, 1*s.*; to the ball, 1*s.* 6*d.*; to the clock, 2*d.*; and to the vaults, 1*s.*; in all, 4*s.* 4*d.* from each visitor.

We have only one remark to be made upon these fees, which we put in the form of a question:—Is ENGLAND TO BE DISGRACED IN 1851 BY THE OBSTINATE RAPACITY OF THE OFFICIALS OF THIS, OUR GREAT NATIONAL TEMPLE?

Wren was a man well qualified for drawing around him an intellectual and social circle of acquaintances. His talents were of the highest order, and he had overlooked no branch of knowledge cultivated in his day. Evelyn, in his 'Diary,' says "1654, July 11. After dinner I visited *that miracle of a youth*, Mr. Christopher Wren, nephew to the Bishop of Ely;" and in his '*Sculpture, or History of Chalcography*,' "Such at present is *that rare and early prodigy of universal science*, Dr. Christopher Wren, our worthy and accomplished friend." His Latin composition is elegant; his mathematical demonstrations original and perspicuous. In 1658 he solved the problem proposed by Pascal as a challenge to the scientific men of England; and proposed another in return, which was never answered. In his fifteenth year he was employed by Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent lecturer on anatomy, as his demonstrating assistant; and he assisted Willis in his dissections for a treatise on the brain, published in 1664, for which he made the drawings. His anniversary address to the Royal Society, in 1664, bears testimony to the comprehensive and varied range of his intellect, as also to his constant recurrence to observation as the fountain and corrector of theory. With the characteristic carelessness of true genius, he freely communicated the progress and results of his inquiries, unchecked by any paltry anxiety to set his own mark upon them before he gave them currency. The earlier annals of the Royal Society bear record that many small men have plumed themselves upon 'inventions and discoveries which really were Wren's, but which he did not take the trouble to reclaim. His was of a social disposition, and the workings of his intellect afforded one of his means of promoting the enjoyment of society. It is a flattering testimony to his temper, that during his long life he seems never to have lost a friend. Steele, in his sketch of Wren, under the name of Nestor, in the 'Tatler,' dwells with emphasis on his modesty:—"his personal modesty overthrew all his public actions"—"the modest man built the city, and the modest man's skill was unknown." It was, however, no sickly modesty—the want of a proper consciousness of his own strength. The bitter tears he wept when forced to abandon his original design for St. Paul's, are a proof how truly he estimated its value. When told one morning that a hurricane which occurred in the night had damaged all the steeples in London, he replied, with his quiet smile,—"*Not St. Dunstan's, I am sure.*" There are passages in his 'Reports to the Commissioners,' conceived in the very spirit in which Milton announced his hope to compose something which future ages "would not willingly let die." An anecdote of Sir Dudley North, preserved by his brother Roger, conveys a distinct notion of Sir Christopher's conversation:—"He (Sir Dudley) was so great a lover of building, that St. Paul's, then well advanced, was his ordinary walk: there was scarce a course of stones laid, while we lived together, over which we did not walk. . . . We usually went there on Saturdays, which were Sir Christopher Wren's days, who was the surveyor; and we commonly got a snatch of discourse with him, who, like a true philosopher, was always obliging and communicative, and in every matter we inquired about gave short but satisfactory answers." His equanimity supported him when the intrigues of German adventurers deprived him of the post of surveyor-general, after the death of Queen Anne. "He then," observes his son, "betook himself to a country life, saying only with the stoic, *Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophari*; in which recess, free from worldly affairs, he passed the five last years of his life in contemplation and study, and principally in the consolation of the Holy Scriptures;—cheerful in solitude, and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light." It is said—and it must be true—that the greatest enjoyment of his latter days was an occasional journey to Lon-

, to feast his eyes upon St. Paul's. On one of these occasions he was residing in James's Street. He had accustomed himself to take a nap after dinner, and on 25th of February, 1723, the servant who constantly attended him, thinking he not longer than usual, went into his apartment, and found him dead in his chair. His mortal relics are deposited beneath the dome of St. Paul's, and his epitaph may be understood in a wider sense than even of that sublime interior: it embraces not merely the British metropolis, but every region where one man is to be found who has benefited by the light which Wren, and his associates in philosophical inquiry, were so instrumental in kindling:—

“SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE.”

#### WREN'S CHURCHES.

We must recall to mind the position of the citizens of London, if we would rightly understand or appreciate the noble qualities of which these churches are the enduring memorials. Twelve churches only were saved from the great fire out of the ninety-seven standing within the walls. When we find what an architect they did employ for their churches, what sums of money they did expend upon them, and how numerous were the buildings they did erect, it is impossible to repress a warm feeling of admiration at the conduct of our civic forefathers.

It was under great disadvantage that Wren erected the structures which, as a whole, form enduring monuments of his genius; for in them he appears as emphatically the inventor of a style of ecclesiastical architecture adapted to the wants of a Protestant community. Of the exteriors of Wren's churches we have little to say. An engraving which we give exhibits the features of the spires and towers of the most considerable. The confined and frequently obscure position of the buildings rendered it impossible that fine architectural exteriors could be adequately enjoyed, and the architect declined giving them, but, instead, concentrated his energies and skill upon the parts exposed to observation, by their height, as in the campanuli; and in the interiors. Two external peculiarities, however, must not be overlooked—the unusual and picturesque manner in which he has applied ornamented details from Italian to the forms of the gothic, and the grace with which he has placed his designs on the supporting towers. As to his interiors, perhaps variety of plan is the most striking characteristic. Looking over the entire number of churches (fifty-eight) erected by Wren in the metropolis (that is, including two not burnt in the fire, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Clement Danes, and one new church, St. James, Westminster), we perceive they may be divided into three classes:—the Domed; the Circular (that is, with nave and side-aisles divided by pillars from each other); and Miscellaneous, consisting of some with single rectangular plans without columns, and some rooms, in short, apart from their decorations;—some with a single aisle, formed to conceal the intrusions of the lower part of the tower on that side of the church;—some with pillars, disposed within the rectangular area, to give it the appearance of a cross. The churches of each of these classes are generally in the Roman style, with some noticeable exceptions—as St. Mary Aldermary, and St. Alban's, Wood Lane, both of which belong to the gothic—the latter, says Wren, “as the same was burnt in the fire.”

Reversing the order of the three classes enumerated, we will now first refer to the Miscellaneous; in one division of which, the churches with simple rectangular plans, and more or less regularity of outline, may be enumerated St. Lawrence Jewry, and



Allhallows, Lombard Street: in another, consisting of churches with pillars introduced into the area to give the effect of a cross, St. Martin's, Ludgate, and St. Ann and Agnes, Aldersgate Street; and a third, the churches with a tower introduced into one corner, and a continuous aisle to conceal the awkwardness that would otherwise be apparent, St. Margaret Patten's, and St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf. Greatly do the churches of this class vary in the extent and beauty of their decoration, from St. Matthew's, Friday Street, at the lower end of the scale, up to St. Lawrence Jewry at the higher, which, with all its simplicity of design, is one of the handsomest of Wren's structures; the chaste elegance of the exterior and the noble style of decoration adopted in the interior are equally worthy of admiration. There is a vestry attached to it scarcely less beautiful, where the painted compartment of the rich stuccoed ceiling represents the apotheosis of St. Lawrence. Among the monuments is one to Tillotson, some of whose best sermons were delivered here. In the old Jewry is the church of St. Olave, with a tablet to Alderman Boydell, bearing a long inscription that does but justice to this enlightened and generous patron of art. Of the other churches of this class we may mention a few for the sake of the incidental matters of interest connected with them. In St. Edward the King, a church as beautiful, in spite of the extremest simplicity of plan, from the picturesque effect of the dark oak pews, pulpit, and galleries, so admirably contrived and so richly carved and which is remarkable for having its altar on the north, are some handsome modern stained glass, and two pictures, Moses and Aaron, by Etty. In the old church of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, was the monument of Anthony Munday, the great literary and mechanical architect of civic pageants for a long period of years, a dramatist, writer, and an antiquary, and in another old church, that of St. Mildred, Poultry, one whose inscription told us,—

"Here Thomas Tusser clad in earth doth lie,  
That sometime made the 'Points of Husbandry,' &c.

Inigo Jones was buried, at the age of eighty (as estimated), in St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf. The church of Allhallows the Great may be mentioned for its beautiful carved oak screen, with very slender twisted pillars, supporting a rich entablature in the centre of which is an eagle with outspread wings; the whole most exquisitely carved. The Merchants of the Steel Yard occupied the adjoining precincts, and in early times probably used the church; their descendants, the Hanse Merchants of the last century, as supposed (for the time is uncertain), sent over this screen as a token of their remembrance of the old connection. With the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, the name of Whittington is inseparably associated; there it was that he founded his magnificent college. The modern church possesses a work of art of high value—Hilton's admirable picture of Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Jesus, who is reproving Judas for his envious complaint that the ointment was sold and the money given to the poor, in the beautiful passage "The poor always have ye with you, but me ye have not always."

In the churches on the ancient plan, the Basilical, with their nave and side aisles and central recess for the altar, and occasionally with their clerestory above, we have to deal with a much more important class of architectural productions. The church of St. Magnus, Bartholomew by the Exchange (now lost), Bride, Bow, Andrew, Hildborne, Dunstan's in the East, and Michael's, Cornhill, all belong to this division, which they are the most distinguished ornaments. St. Magnus, it appears from Madox's account, has been rebuilt, but, we presume, without material alterations of Wren's design. It now presents a noble interior, in spite of the appearance of want

idity produced by the slender columns, and exceedingly broad intervals between. The church is further distinguished by one of the handsomest altar-pieces of its kind in London, and by the circumstance that Miles Coverdale was rector of the church in 1566, when he resigned it. The parishioners, within the last few years, have erected a handsome memorial of his presence among them. St. Bartholomew's, with the remains of its ancient tower, and a body remarkable for its simple harmony of proportion, claimed a nearer connection with this translator of the first entire edition of the Bible published in the English language, for he was buried beneath its communion-table. Bride Church, with its most beautiful of steeples, and its sumptuous though not very accurate copy, in stained glass, of Rubens's great picture, the Descent from the Cross, has a fine but not in any way remarkable interior. Bow Church is perhaps, of all the buildings we have mentioned, the most distinguished for breadth and grandeur of effect. It is an adaptation from Wren's favourite classical authority, the Temple of Peace, at Rome. Among other peculiarities, the happy mode of introducing the galleries may be noticed. The tower of Bow Church is an object of universal admiration.

The tower of St. Andrew's, Holborn, of the date of Henry VI., displays Wren's rearing hand in so unfavourable a light that we willingly pass to the interior, the architect's own composition, that we may admire the air of magnificence he has given it. All the accessories tend to enhance this effect—the gildings, the paintings, the stained glass, which in the chancel reach to a high point of splendour. St. Andrew's may almost be called the poets' church. Webster, Savage, Chatterton, here repose after their struggles.

With respect to the churches of St. Michael, Cornhill, and St. Dunstan, East, one of the most curious results of Wren's studies in combining the Italian and Gothic styles is exhibited in the history of the former, which had first a body erected in the Italian style to the fine old gothic tower spared by the fire, and then, fifty years later, when the tower was pulled down, a reversal of the former process in the erection of gothic tower to the Italian body. Fabian was buried here. The tower of St. Dunstan's is an imitation of that of St. Nicholas at Newcastle, built in the fifteenth century, a circumstance that of course somewhat lessens the architect's merit by giving us so elegant and fairy-like a thing. The body of the church built by Wren has now gone, it having been rebuilt in harmony with the steeple, by Mr. Laing, the years 1817 to 1821. At the east end, a large and beautiful window has been reserved, which is understood to have been an exact copy of one Wren discovered in the re-building. Among the remaining buildings of the Basilical style may be mentioned St. Andrew Wardrobe, with its striking monument by Bacon to Romaine; St. Augustine, where the fraternity of the same name were accustomed, as Strype tells us, to meet on the eve of St. Austin, and in the morning at high mass, when every brother offered a penny, and afterwards was ready either to eat or to revel, the master and wardens directed; St. Sepulchre's, with its exceedingly beautiful antique porch and its dreadful associations with the neighbouring prison; and, lastly, St. James, Westminster, where Wren has exhibited the most consummate union of beauty and fitness in the interior, and, as a kind of practical antithesis, in the exterior destitute of these or any other valuable qualities.

In the last class of Wren's churches that we have to notice, the Domed, the genius of the architect shines out more clearly than in either of the others. At the head of this division stands the far-famed St. Stephen's, Walbrook, into the interior of which one can have ever entered for the first time without obtaining a higher opinion of the architect of St. Paul's. Proportion, harmony, and repose are its per-



vading characteristics; and, with one exception—the walls left almost in their primitive nakedness—he seems to have felt the influence of his own beautiful work lead him into a greater degree of delicacy in all the subordinate features of decoration to harmonise therewith, than is usual with him. Hence the perfect effect produced. Hence the opinion of one of our most accomplished architectural critics, that, all things considered, its equal in its style is not to be found in Europe. The dimensions of St. Stephen's are only 82 feet 6 inches from east to west, within the walls, and 59 feet 6 inches from north to south, the ground plan forming, therefore, nearly a parallelogram. The exterior, as usual, Wren has treated as though scarcely condescending to notice its existence; till the aspiring steeple attracts his regard, when he puts forth his strength, and makes it his own. This beautiful church has been restored, and was re-opened on Sunday, January 5, 1851. The following description of its interior, and of the repairs, is taken from the 'Times':—

"The church is on the plan of a parallelogram, about 83 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth, exclusive of a lobby, vestibule, vestry, and inner vestry, over which the tower stands. It is divided by four rows of columns, running east and west. There are five columns in each of the outside rows, about 10 feet apart, with the exception of the second and third, counting from the east, which are about 17 feet apart. In the two inner rows the second and third columns are omitted, so that the total number in the church is sixteen. Looking at them standing north and south, the distance between the first and second column is about 10 feet, between the second and third 17 feet, between the third and fourth 10 feet, and the same in all the rows except the second and third, where there are only two in each. If the reader were to consult a ground plan of the church, he would find that some of the columns in the first, second, third, and fourth rows form an octangular area. It is from this that reduced to a circle, the dome springs, which forms the principal beauty of the church. The other columns form passages, which furnish the nave, transepts, and chancel, and give the church interiorly a cruciform shape. The order employed is Corinthian. The columns are not fluted, but plain, they are round, and have an *entasis*, or swelling towards the middle, and are surmounted by rich capitals, which are again capped by a handsome cornice running round the church, and still marking out the cruciform shape. From this again spring semicircular arches round the area spoken of above; on this rests a rich composite circular cornice, and over all the dome surmounted by a lantern, the total height of which from the pavement is 70 feet. The dome is divided into four tiers or rows of caissons; the second one, which is the highest, is elaborately ornamented with branches and rosettes, and the other three with rosettes and festoons. The lantern rests on a band, with a leaf twined round it, and gilt. The roof of the nave and chancel is formed by the intersection of semicircular groins springing from the cornice over alternate columns, with rosettes at the point of intersection. The roof of the transepts is semicylindrical. The height of both is up to the springing of the cornice from which the dome rises. The intrados of all the arches are ornamented with festoons of flowers. These, as well as all the enrichments of the dome, are plain stone. The pulpit is of oak, hexagonal in shape, resting on a single pillar. The sounding board is also oak, supported by a Corinthian pillar, and decorated with carved angels' heads, as are also the compartments of the pulpit with flowers. The reredos of the altar, screen before the lobby, pews, skirting round the church, desk, and cover to font, are all oak. The east wall has three large lights. The other windows are elliptical, and perfectly plain in the lower story, and semi-elliptical in the clerestory. The King's arms, carved in oak, originally surmounted the altar screen. At a later period an organ, with a carved oak case, surmounted by



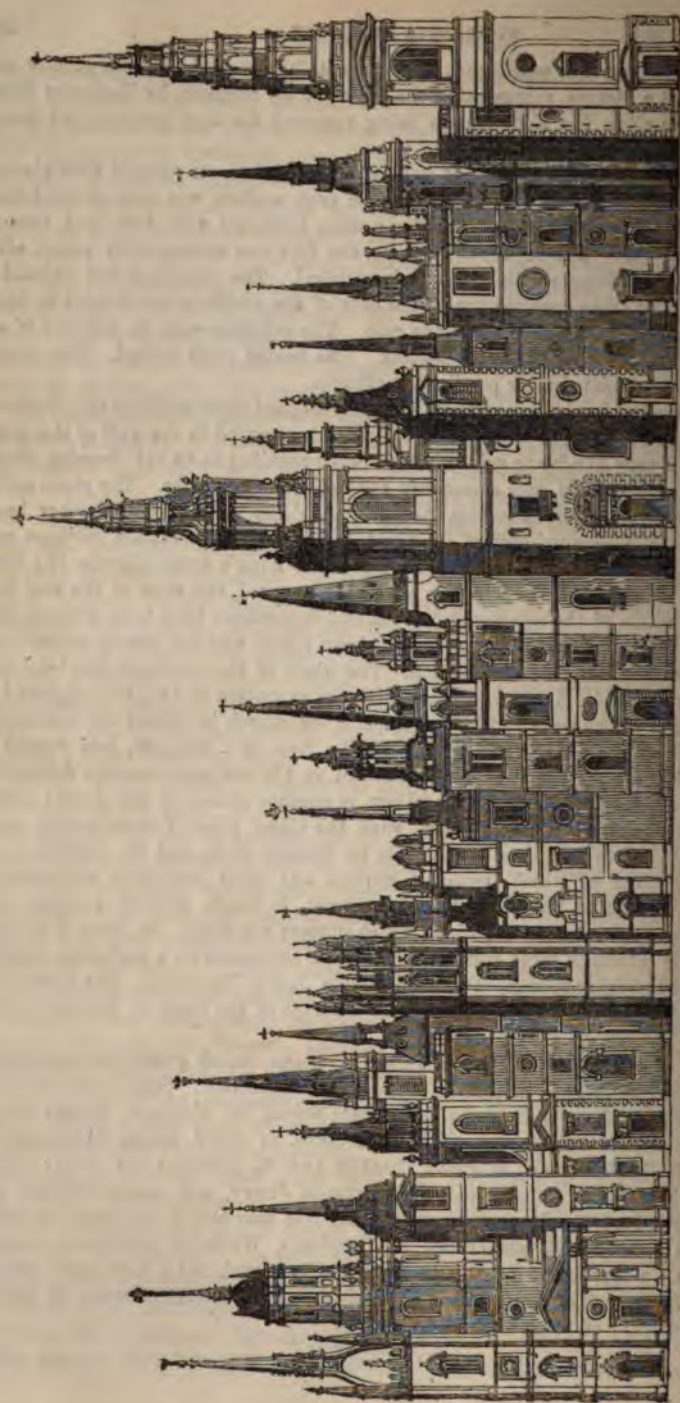
angels with trumpets, was purchased, and at a still later period the east window was blocked up, and a picture, representing the burial of St. Stephen, by Benjamin West, placed over the altar, the King's arms being removed for that purpose, and transferred to adorn the vestibule.

"We now pass on to the sad age of neglect. The walls were covered with plaster, which, put on without regard to preserving an even surface, was soon covered with dust and dirt. The ornaments of the dome were incrustated with filth, and became almost lost to view. The beautiful cover to the font was covered with paint, altogether hiding the flowers with which it is enriched. The panelling was painted a dark colour. The stone architecture of the door of the vestibule was hidden by some cumbersome contrivance to keep out the cold. The columns were, in defiance of all taste, encumbered with monumental tablets. The leaded roofs leaked. The graves under the church emitted their pestilential effluvia.

"The east window has been re-opened, when the original stone mullions and transoms were found imbedded in the wall. West's picture is removed to the wall of the north transept, and a very handsome oak carving, made according to an old drawing found among the church records, now surmounts the reredos of the altar. The stone architecture of the vestibule once more sees the light, the doors being carried further back. The font cover is disencumbered of its paint, and shows its handsome carvings and top, with small figures of the cardinal virtues. The King's arms (Charles II.) form the organist's screen. All the windows have been restored, and most of the roof new leaded. The whole of the interior stonework and decorations have been scraped, and are now of a proper colour. The paving has been relaid, and the graves arched over and covered with cement six inches deep. The whole of the woodwork has been new scraped and varnished. The monuments, with the exception of two, are promoted to the walls, which before were perfectly plain, and the church is lighted and warmed."

St. Benet Fink, with its external walls in the form of a decagon, and worthy of notice, if it be only for the ingenuity exhibited in the conquest over the difficulties attending a confined and irregular position, is another church of the domed class; as are also St. Swithin's, Cannon Street, with the oldest piece of metropolitan antiquity, the well-known London stone, let into its exterior walls, and St. Antholin's, or Anthony's; neither of which, however, require any more particular architectural notice. The church of St. Mildred, Bread Street, is small, without columns, but beautiful from the elegance of the arches which support the dome. St. Mary Abchurch exhibits in the interior a large and handsome dome supported on a medallion cornice, and is adorned with paintings, attributed to Sir James Thornhill. The Corinthian altar-piece is decorated by some of the finest carvings of the finest of masters in the art, Gibbons.

The costs of erection of Wren's churches of course varied greatly in accordance with their great differences in plan and amount of decoration. Some were built for less than 2500*l.*, as those of St. Anne, Aldersgate Street, St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey; many for about 5000*l.* or 6000*l.*, among which may be enumerated St. Bartholomew, St. Peter, Cornhill, and St. Edmund the King; whilst three, St. Bride, Christ Church, and St. Lawrence Jewry, cost nearly 12,000*l.*, and one, Bow, above 15,400*l.* In contrast with these last four stands the most beautiful of all Wren's ecclesiastical structures, St. Stephen's, Walbrook, which was erected for 7652*l.* 13*s.*; a significant proof how little the true architect's fame need depend upon the mere amount of funds at his disposal—upon the extent of space he has to cover—the quantity of brick or stone to pile.



1. St. Dunstan's in the East.—2. St. Magnus.—3. St. Benet, Gracechurch Street.—4. St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street.—5. St. Margaret Patten.—6. Allhallows the Great.—7. St. Mary Abchurch.—8. St. Michael, Cornhill.—9. St. Lawrence Jewry.—10. St. Benet Fink.—11. St. Bartholomew.—12. St. Michael, Queenhithe.—13. St. Michael Royal.—14. St. Antholin, Watling Street.—15. St. Stephen, Walbrook.—16. St. Swinno, Cannon Street.—17. St. Mary-le-Row.—18. Christ Church, Newgate Street.—19. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.—20. St. Mildred, Bread Street.—21. St. Augustine, Watling Street.—22. St. Mary Somerset.—23. St. Martin, Ludgate.—24. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.—25. St. Bride, Fleet Street.



St. Katherine's



REGENTS PARK  
THE  
INNER GATEWAY  
AND  
GREAT HALL  
CHARTER  
HOUSE.



GREENWICH & CHELSEA HOSPITALS.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.





## XIII. ASYLUMS.

## CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

INSTITUTIONS, like families, seem often to retain permanently the individual characteristics of their founders. As, in a late walk through this well-known place of refuge for our invalided soldiery, we noticed, on the one hand, the thorough kindness and warm-heartedness; and on the other, the high order and regularity that prevail through all the arrangements made for the comfort of the hero of past fights, we could not avoid thinking—Surely the sisterly heart of Nell Gwynn, the presumed originator of the idea of the hospital, and the enlightened brain of the excellent Evelyn, who undoubtedly developed that idea into an organised plan, are still both here, living and working for their protégées, as of yore. As to the precise share of Charles' favourite—his "poor Nelly"—in the affair, two versions were current in the course of the middle of the last century. According to the first—"One day when Nell Gwynn was rolling about town in her coach, a poor man came to the coach door soliciting charity, who told her a story (whether true or false is immaterial) of his having been wounded in the civil war in defence of the royal cause. This circumstance greatly affected the benevolent heart of Eleanor. She considered that (besides the hardship of their being exposed to beggary, by wounds received in defence of their country) it seemed to be the most monstrous ingratitude in the government to suffer those to perish who had stood up in their defence. Warm with these reflections and the overflow of pity, she hurried to the King, and represented the misery in which she had found an old servant, and entreated that he might suffer some scheme to be proposed to him towards supporting those unfortunate sons of valour, whose old age, wounds, or infirmities rendered them unfit for service; so that they might not close their days with repining against fortune, and be oppressed with the misery of want." Such is the account that appeared in a life of Eleanor Gwynn, dated London, 1752. The other story, of the same period, states "that when the garrison was withdrawn from Tangiers, there was among them a considerable number of aged and decrepid persons. It was, therefore, proposed to build a hospital for them, and the King being applied to for a piece of ground for the site, he offered the spot on which King James's College stood, but recollecting himself—"Odso," says he, "'tis true I have already given that land to Nell here." She, who was one of the most generous and benevolent of human beings, immediately said, "Have you so, Charles? Then I will return it to you again for this purpose." And the Hospital was accordingly erected. The King, however, built a house for Eleanor in Pall Mall. One little incident in the history of the Gwynn family suggests a reason why the King might have given the site of Chelsea Hospital to his favourite—her early home seems to have been in the immediate neighbourhood. "We hear," says a newspaper paragraph of the date of August, 1679, "that Madam Ellen Gwynn's mother, sitting lately by the water-side, at her house by the Neat Houses, near Chelsea, fell accidentally into the water and was drowned." But the known facts relating to the earlier history of the place do not, it must be owned, at all favour the idea that it ever belonged to Nell Gwynn. In the time of James I. it rose into note, by that King's founding here a divinity college, which was suggested to him by Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter. The object was,

the defence of the Reformed religion against the attacks, open or insidious, of the church of Rome; and the parties chosen for this purpose, to be members of the college, were divines who had already distinguished themselves by their devotion to the Protestant cause. The King and the Doctor were both very earnest in the matter; the one gave timber out of the forest of Windsor to be used in the erection of the buildings, whilst the other liberally endowed the establishment. But somehow the college never flourished, though people thought great things would some day come of it. "This work has, we confess," remarks a writer of the day, "hitherto proceeded slowly, and no marvel, seeing great works are not easily achieved. Noah's ark—God's Tabernacle and Temple, &c. . . . were long in building." We could not give a more striking illustration than this passage furnishes of the hopes that were raised in connection with the college; an equally vivid idea of their utter failure may be afforded by the briefest narrative of its subsequent history. The college was seized during the civil wars, and used for different purposes—including those of a prison; and even became, we are told, "a cage of unclean beasts," a stable for horses, and was also talked of as a place for the manufacture of guns, and of tuition in horsemanship. Evelyn notes in his Diary a visit he paid here—"On February 8, Ash Wednesday, I visited our prisoners at Chelsey Colledge, and to examine how the Martial and Sutler behaved. They were prisoners taken in war; they only complained that their bread was too fine." Did this complaint, we wonder, refer to the absence of bran? If so, the apparently ignorant and fantastical prisoners were wiser than the enlightened statesman to whom they addressed themselves; who shows no consciousness of the pernicious nature of the practice of separating from the flour one of its most important constituents—that which goes to the formation of bone. Suddenly Chelsea became devoted a second time to elevated objects, having been presented by Charles II. to the members of the Royal Society then newly established; but it does not appear to have suited them very well, and so when the erection of a Royal Hospital was determined upon, in accordance most probably with some such motive and intervention as are described in the first of the two stories we have transcribed, the King obtained the restoration of the place from the Society at a cost of £1300.

It is just 169 years ago, that is to say, in the year 1682, that the site having been thus obtained, Evelyn sat down one night to record in his diary the commencement of operations. "This evening," writes he, under the date of January 27, "Sir Stephen Fox acquainted me again with His Majesty's resolution of proceeding in the erection of a Royal Hospital for emerited soldiers, on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had sold to His Majesty for £1300, and that he would settle £5000 per annum on it, and build to the value of £20,000, for the relief and reception of four companies, namely 400 men, to be as in a college or monastery. I was, therefore, desired by Sir Stephen (who had not only the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceived, himself to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the soldiers\*) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the government. So in his study we set down the governor, chaplain, steward, housekeeper, chirurgeon, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needs have a Library, and mentioned several books, since some soldiers might possibly be studious when they were at leisure to recollect. There we made the first calculations, and set down our thoughts to be considered and digested better, to show his Majesty and the Archbishop. He also engaged me to consider what laws and orders were fit for the government, which was to be in every

\* He was a government contractor on a large scale.



respect as strict as in any religious convent." This Sir Stephen Fox—ancestor of the present Lord Holland—gave no less than £13,000 to the work, to which he was moved by the noble feeling that he "could not bear to see the common soldiers, who had spent their strength in our service, beg at our doors." There were other benefactors also, and the good work rapidly proceeded. Wren was named architect. The foundation stone was laid on the 16th of February, 1682, by Charles, attended by the chief nobility and gentry, and a great concourse of people; and the whole was completed at a cost of £150,000, and within eight years, though not until King Charles had gone to his last account, with a terrible weight of vices and demerits upon his head, and some few virtues. Of the last, Chelsea Hospital may be taken as a fair sample, and will ever ensure to his memory at least a due reward.

We shall not occupy much of our space by formal descriptions of the buildings, which are very numerous and extensive. They occupy three great courts or squares, extending side by side, parallel with the Thames, and are known respectively as the east, centre, and west,—all opening into each other. Beyond these courts, at the eastern and western extremities, are the wide entrance roads, each having the exterior face of a court on one side, and various scattered buildings on the other. The whole line of front on the land side is divided from the public road by a broad lawn, which helps to increase the air of dignity and repose that characterises the Hospital. The centre of this front is occupied by the Chapel Hall. These same buildings form the northern side of the centre court or ward; its east and west sides are devoted to the invalids, and the south side is open to the Thames, and to the half-neglected orchards or garden grounds that interpose between the buildings and the river. In the middle of this court stands the statue of Charles II., by Gibbons, and it is in consequence often called the Figure Court. The west and east court have each on one side the invalids' quarters just named, and on the other residences and offices for the Governor, Secretary, and other officials. The Library is in the west court; the Infirmary on the right of the western entrance road; the Burial Ground on the left of the eastern entrance road.

Evelyn tell us, as we have seen, that the government of the Hospital was to be in every respect as strict as in a religious convent. Was this the King's desire? Was he already so far beginning to repent of his sins, as to wish to live a strict disciplinarian for the future, but—vicariously? Many of our readers will doubtless remember the extraordinary circumstances attending Charles' death-bed, when he exhibited himself a Roman Catholic at heart, and even had the Catholic sacrament for the dying surreptitiously administered to him. It does not seem very likely that either Nell Gwynn, or Sir Stephen Fox, or Evelyn, would have originated such an idea—surely one of the most fantastic that ever entered the mind of man—as that of turning worn-out soldiers suddenly into brand new monks! Well, we can only remark that we looked a long time the other day to find any traces of this new specimen of artificial humanity—but without success. So entirely opposed is the spirit of the government here to any unnecessary restraints, that not even military discipline, beyond a few of its most trivial and least onerous duties, is observed. A pensioner stands at the gate in his dark-blue frock coat, beneath which the scarlet undercoat peeps out, and wearing on his head the majestic-looking old cocked hat—but he is perfectly innocent of arms, and you would never suspect from his bearing that he has been in half the famous battles of our recent history. Entering the gates, there is a little building on the left which you might fancy the guard house; but no—you see written on it "smoking-room." Look inside! It is full of jovial pensioners, clouded in smoke, and engaged for the most part in hot battle—but draughts and dominoes

and cards are the only victims—slain or taken prisoners. On the other side of this entrance road there is a guard-house, and in it a guard-bed, as it is called—a slope of timber; but the *old* soldiers (truly do they deserve that name) make the bed comfortable with a little moveable bedding, a very unmilitary proceeding it might be supposed; but no! the pensioners know the difference between shams and reality—they *have fought* in the field where they went to fight—they *do enjoy* themselves here, for they came hither with that view. A nightly guard is also kept up, but then the men are paid extra for so doing. As to arms, we saw none, unless we may except the solitary pike of the sergeant, stuck up, quite safe, away in a corner. A sort of parade is daily kept up; but the only genuine one, and from which no pensioner stays away if he can help it, is that which takes place thrice a year on the holidays, namely, Charles the Second's birthday, the birthday of the reigning Sovereign, and Christmas, when the veteran hearts are cheered by the foretaste of the coming bounties—a plum pudding and double allowance of beer. This last article, by the way, is certainly worthy of an establishment of old soldiers, who know what is good beer better than most men: it is kept in magnificently roomy cellars beneath the great Hall.

But there is a general movement toward the centre ward: What does it mean? we ask. And the answer is, Twelve o'clock—Dinner! A genial sound evidently! Let us go with the current. It leads us to the pensioners' wards—not as we had fancied to the Hall. Some, however, go to the latter place. These we find are detachments from the main bodies—a sort of foraging parties—whose duty it is (a duty taken in turn) to fetch the messes for themselves and their brethren. Of old the men dined formally in the hall. But as if to show the utter contempt in which the idea of conventual strictness is held, even that custom has been abandoned, and now the food is brought from the neighbouring kitchen to the hall, and there divided into messes, generally for eight men each, that is to say, for the man who takes it away and seven others, who are duly expecting him in the wards. The rate of allowance is, daily, three quarters of a pound of meat, one pound of bread, one pound of potatoes, a pint of porter, a pint of cocoa prepared, tea in the evening, which they are allowed to make for themselves from a given quantity of materials, with lastly, weekly, a quarter of a pound of butter and half a pound of cheese. We shall only need to follow these savoury-smelling messes to the ward, to be satisfied how greatly the comfort of the inmates has been studied in letting them have their meals in what they may call their own homes.

We wish we could give to the reader something like the pleasurable feeling which the first sight of one of these wards called forth in ourselves. But if we cannot do that, we must content ourselves with the reflection, that he or she can eke out an imperfect description by the use of their own eyes; for the place is most hospitably open to visitors. Thank God, England has nothing here to be ashamed of! Very much the contrary indeed. Well, meantime, let the reader fancy he has just opened the door of one of the wards, and is looking in surprise down a very long room, forming quite a vista at the far end, having on the one side an interminable range of lofty windows, with deep sills, filled with plants and flowers, and on the other side, and nearly corresponding with the windows, though somewhat more numerous, a similarly long range of little stalls, or cabins, or rooms, uniform and handsome as a whole by their wainscot fronts and tops, but almost every one varying from every other in the little bits of drapery that depend from the edges of their roofs, or that hang as curtains by or over the little windows. They are certainly the most perfect little nests of comfort that even the shrewdest old soldier could desire as a place of rest for his last days. Look in! On the shelf there is the crockery over the

a bed, and in some there is hardly anything else. Your military stoics haunt the : adornments are not for them. But other cabins, and these are by far the most numerous, are covered so thickly with pictures, like those screens which seem to be their chief beauty, that they are confusedly crowded. Artistic taste, however, has not been much cultivated, we should say, in the military life. But full of a peculiar interest too are these prints—for doubtless in many instances they refer to great events in which the owner, who so often looks up at them from his little bed, was personally engaged. To him, therefore, and to us, if we can get him to discourse, these rough ill-coloured prints discourse most eloquently of (and usually he thinks it) his country's past. Well, he has nothing now to do, but revel in such as he pleases in all such recollections. He has got his own little house—his little den—big enough for all his wants, and to hold all the treasures his somewhat hard-earned money has enabled him to accumulate; which can on occasion accommodate during the day his wife or a child, if he has either, and with whom he may if he pleases share his food-allowance. And then opposite his door is his conservatory; an excellent one, though called a window, as may be readily judged from the healthy aspect of his geraniums, fuchsias, cactuses, &c., &c. Then there are pleasant things to hear as well as to see. He or some near neighbour has a singing bird, bursting out every morning and then into delicious gushes of song. And when the bird is silent, the Dutch clock ticks on, cooily and faithfully, like a humble but loving friend ever at your elbow. Some of the pensioners are eating their mess together at one of the tables in the open part of the room, which is very wide. Others have withdrawn to their solitary recesses and are quietly munching away, with open door and window, through which they look upon us as we pass; whilst some, again, have closed their door, and partially drawn their window curtain, to commune modestly with their own thoughts, and the silent roast beef, entirely free from unnecessary and extraneous matters. One patriotic pensioner has mounted the royal flag of England, as his window defence. He will eat and sleep under that now, as he once fought under it. Two large fireplaces, at about equal distances from the ends of the room, are faced by long high benches, with seats within, big enough together to seat the whole twenty-six inmates of the ward, in those dismal wintry periods when they can find comfort nowhere else, and where they can shut themselves in, and toast themselves at their leisure. No fear of the call to parade now. No more shivering as sentinels, for they are all together, in the bitter frost and sleet. Just behind the entrance door, we perceive the tall pike of the serjeant standing against his cabin, which is larger than the others, and forms really a very nice little room. There are two corporals and two serjeants to keep order in each ward; the other serjeant is similarly located at the other end of the ward. There are also two nurses who live together in a room at the end, whose sole business it is to keep the wards clean, and to wait upon those of the pensioners whose illness or infirmity may demand additional care. Such is one of the wards. Go through an opening in the centre, and you find yourself in the next ward, with the cabins back to back with those we have described. Here we find an additional feature—a washing place, with hot and cold water, sinks, &c., one half of it on one side belonging to one ward, the other half to the other. The ground floor thus includes two wards; pile one story upon another above this until there are four in all, including eight wards, occupying one great range of building on one side of the centre court, rear a similar great range of building on the other side of the court, and you have before you as good an idea as we can give of the actual residences of the Chelsea pensioners.

We had almost omitted to add there are one or two very small wards called



branch wards; of these the one known as No. 18 is so very pretty and complete in all the arrangements, that the authorities talk of making it a ward of merit, that is to say, the best-behaved pensioners to be promoted to it.

The hall of the hospital is very large, wide, and high, and contains a portrait by Verrio and Cooke of Charles II., including a view of the hospital, and also a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which was presented by the British Institution. We wonder it never occurred to the authorities here to do for Chelsea what a public-spirited official caused to be done for Greenwich—that is, establish in it a national gallery of paintings devoted to the portraits of the eminent men, and the representation of the great events, connected with the wars in which England has been engaged. The naval heroes and naval actions are pictorially recorded at Greenwich; the military ones should be treated in the same way here. Already there is a nucleus for the formation of such a military picture gallery. We have mentioned one portrait. In addition to this there is the well-known picture of the battle of Waterloo, by Mr. Jones, which was also presented by the British Institution. We should like to recommend this matter to the consideration of those who are best fitted to deal with it. In our account of Greenwich will be seen the mode adopted there, with such signal success, for obtaining the end in view. There are numerous other pictures scattered about the hospital, among which the most important, perhaps, is the series of royal portraits commencing with Charles II., and including his brother the duke, afterwards King James II., and ending with George III. and his queen. These might temporarily at least, be brought to the hall, to aid in the formation of a gallery. The flags now in the hall would be at once appropriate and picturesque mixed with such pictures, and help to tell precisely the same kind of story. Among these flags are Chinese, Sikhs, and Maltese, the last having been taken from Malta by Napoleon, who, however, was soon relieved from their care by our taking possession of them and the ships that held them. The flags in the chapel also, a place to which they are not appropriate, might be removed here, and they are rich in their number and history. They include American flags, two French ones from Waterloo, some from the wars with the first French revolutionary armies, some of Marlborough's, a French eagle which was taken and retaken three times at the battle of Barossa—terrible trophy of blood! and one flag from Seringapatam. Referring to the last—our attendant remarked with conscious pride, "*I was there!*"

The hall has been connected with some interesting historical events. Here General Whitelocke was tried in 1808 by court-martial, for his mismanagement of the forces at, and consequent failure of, the attack upon Buenos Ayres. The English people were fearfully excited against him. "We are old enough to remember," says one of the authors of the '*Pictorial History of England*,' "the rage excited by the report, that before sending his men to be slaughtered in a hopeless street fight, he ordered all the flints to be taken from their muskets. The name of Whitelocke was universally adopted as a synonyme for a white feather; many believed him to be the most perfect compound of coward and traitor that had ever been known among Englishmen." He was decidedly acquitted of the charge of not furnishing the army with the means of defence, but the verdict was crushing enough still—"that the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever." A much greater man, the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, was concerned in another inquiry that took place in the hall of Chelsea Hospital, in connection with the convention of Cintra, in 1808, by which, after the defeat of Junot in the battle of Vimiera, the French agreed to evacuate Portugal. But the English public were dissatisfied with the

anexed conditions, as being far more favourable than the circumstances warranted. Mr Arthur was personally examined. The result was a sort of compromise: the invention was not unanimously approved of by the court, while, on the other hand, the members were unanimous in a sort of general praise of the generals concerned in making it.

We have mentioned the flags in the chapel: its other chief decorations are the fruit and flowers in wood carving by Gibbons, who, as before stated, is also the author of the bronze statue of Charles II. in the centre court. The semicircular ceiling is handsome, and there is a large painting of the Resurrection behind the altar, by Sebastian Ricci. The library, which the scholarly thoughtfulness of Evelyn provided for the refreshment of the soul-thirsty soldier, is a most comfortable little place, with plenty of books, and interesting ones, too—with a couple of daily papers, its naval and military gazettes, magazines, &c. The visitor should not overlook here a humble print of two pensioners, one on crutches, who though lame can see, and one who is strong though blind, and who holds therefore by his comrade's coat. That picture truly represents an old military spectacle here, of two men thus bereaved, and thus helping each other. At last one died, and the same year beheld the death of the second, who, in the words of our informant, "pined away for his chum." The burial ground where they lie—these others in love and affliction—contains many interesting graves. We transcribe the cord attached to one of them. "Here rests William Hiseland, a veteran if ever soldier was, who merited well a pension if long service be a merit, having served upwards of the days of man; ancient but not superannuated. Engaged in a series of wars, civil as well as foreign, yet not maimed or worn out by either, his complexion as fresh and florid, his health hale and hearty, his memory exact and ready; in stature he excelled the military size; in strength he surpassed the prime of youth; and what rendered his age still more patriarchal, when above a hundred years old he took unto him a wife. Read, fellow soldiers, and reflect that there is a spiritual warfare, as well as a warfare temporal. Born vi. of August, 1620, died vii. of February, 1732, aged 112." Hiseland had been at Edgehill in Ireland, under King William, and in Flanders under Marlborough. The Duke of Richmond and Sir Robert Walpole each allowed him a crown a week. Two female soldiers are buried here, who long served in the army before their sex became known. Among the more eminent dead are Cheselden, the great anatomist, who held the office of surgeon here, and Dr. Burney, the historian of music, and the father of the authoress of *Evelina*: the Doctor became the organist of the chapel for the sake of the pleasant apartments attached to the post.

Ranelagh is a word yet popularly remembered among us, for the sake of its old splendours as a rival of Vauxhall, but we were not aware until our visit here, that a part of the very gardens still exists, and for even still more interesting purposes; now forming pleasure grounds and garden plots for the pensioners, and being absolutely their own property. It was purchased by means of funds left by officers of the army and others, though little use was made of the acquisition until Lord John Russell became paymaster of the forces under the Reform ministry. Then, as was said to us, he *hunted into everything*, and one result was, that he turned out the officers' cows who were pastured here, saying, we are told, "This belongs to the old men, and they shall have it." Accordingly the ground was enclosed by hedges, and divided into little plots of about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  square yards for each man; whilst, lastly, a really handsome brick arbour, now covered with creepers, was erected in the pleasure grounds overlooking the little plots. In summer the scene is beautiful, and as much so to the moral as to the artistical vision. We conclude with an anecdote relating to a



large house, that we pass on our way out by the western road entrance. This was formerly the residence of Dr. Monsey, whose eccentricities have long enriched our jest books. He lived to a very great age; a fact so little anticipated by the men in power, that the reversion of his place was again and again promised. Looking out of his window one day, he observed a gentleman busily occupied in examining the college and gardens, &c.: he was, in fact, surveying his future home, for the Doctor recognised him as one who had secured the reversion to his own post, so he addressed him thus, "Well, Sir, I see you are examining your house and gardens that are to be, and I assure you that they are both very pleasant and very convenient. But I must tell you one circumstance: you are the fifth man that has had the reversion of the place, and I have buried them all; and what is more," continued he, looking very professionally at him, "there is something in your face that tells me I shall bury you too." And he did so. Dr. Monsey died at the age of 94.

The gardens of Chelsea Hospital were opened to the public on New Year's Day, 1851.

#### GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

WHEN a set of men are bracing up their energies for a great and good work, and are stimulating themselves by reckoning its true value, they may fairly include the benefits that it will tend to create, as well as the benefits that it does itself bestow. This accumulative power seems to be one of the influences God has placed at our disposal, to enable us to pass more easily through the toilsome paths that lead from one stage of progress to another. Who can avoid having some such thoughts as these, when they notice, in the histories of Chelsea and Greenwich, that the former was scarcely completed, before the latter was proposed, as its natural complement?—so that within a single quarter of a century, the poor old soldiers and sailors, who had sacrificed their youth, strength, and health, and too often their very limbs, in the service of the country, beheld their position changed from that of the veriest outcasts of the streets and highways, to that of favoured and honoured dependents on the grateful hospitality of their brethren.

It may be remembered by many, that when Frobisher set out, in 1567, on the first of those brilliant voyages of discovery that give such interest to the reign of Elizabeth, she, who was as perfectly capable of looking forward into the future and seeing the importance of the object sought as Frobisher himself and his companions, awaited at a window of her palace of Greenwich the passage of the ships, and waved her hands to the gallant adventurers as they departed. That palace stood where now stands the hospital, and Elizabeth was born in it;—a circumstance that made Johnson cry out in his exuberant loyalty—

"Struck with the seat that gave Eliza birth,  
I kneel, and kiss the consecrated earth."

By the time of the Restoration this old palace had become thoroughly dilapidated, and a new pile was therefore commenced for Charles II., under the designs of Webb, son-in-law of Inigo Jones. Here that monarch occasionally resided. To Queen Mary, wife of William, we are indebted, it is said, for the suggestion that the naval service of the country should also have its asylum, and to Wren for the proposal that Greenwich Palace should be enlarged and adapted for that purpose. It was a happy thought. It would be impossible to find a site more suited to the tastes of the inhabitants, or



in keeping with the idea of the establishment. It commands in one direction tant view of the metropolis of the country these invalids once defended, and is also the home of the Legislature and of the Government from which had ated the policy they have practically carried into effect. In another direction, n its immediate neighbourhood, is the great national arsenal of Woolwich, whilst, it is located on the very edge of the noble river up and down which the veterans so often sailed when departing for or returning from their great expeditions, and they can watch daily other and younger spirits pursuing the same adventurous r. Wren's suggestion was adopted, and new buildings arose under his inspiration. e quadrangle of Charles's erection, three other quadrangles were gradually added ; are known respectively as King William's, Queen Mary's, and Queen Anne's : ames showing the period of erection. They are built chiefly of Portland stone, re in the style commonly designated Roman ; plain in details, but magnificent in ombination of qualities, such as pure and durable material, large dimensions, some porticoes, stately colonnades, and airy and towering domes. For these re- we are indebted apparently to the union of two men of high architectural s, Wren and Vanbrugh. Let us try if we can give the reader some idea of the gement of the chief buildings. There are four quadrangles placed relatively —two opposite each other, with their ends facing the Thames, and having an space called the grand square between them, and then two others, beyond them, in ame line, but not quite so far apart. These last are extremely handsome, for have at the ends next the grand square, on one side the Painted Hall, and on her the Chapel, each surmounted by a dome (these are the famous domes of .wich), whilst along their faces, that continue the great line of avenue from the es, are strikingly noble colonnades, beneath which the pensioners may walk in all weathers. We may here add, that this avenue, beginning so grandly as s from the Thames, and passing through the two pairs of quadrangles, is inter- d as it were in the centre, at a considerable distance, by the masts and rigging perfect model sloop of war of the full size, mounted with twenty brass guns, belongs to the Naval School situated just behind it ; whilst still further in instance, rise gradually the magnificent trees of Greenwich Park up towards ill top, where the whole vista seems most naturally and felicitously crowned : Observatory, a place of world-wide renown, and of equal interest to the most ing practical seaman and to the sublimest-visioned astronomical philosopher. en the Chapel and the Painted Hall, which, with their adjoining quadrangles he space between them, occupy higher ground than the grand square and its angles, on the low but broad flight of steps by which the higher ground is ed, stands a fine piece of ordnance, which was busily used by the Turks against ral Duckworth's fleet when he forced the Dardanelles in 1807. This piece was from a land battery somewhere about Abydos we believe. It would be difficult ss which was most astonished by the conduct of the other on this occasion, the or the English—the one on account of the audacity of the attempt, the other : quality of the ordnance used in the resistance. Imagine, for instance, a shot g into one of the English ships' side of such magnitude that it left a hole enough for two of our sailors to put their heads out, and look up, we suppose in surprise, while the captain, equally astounded, looked down from the deck upon el and portentous a spectacle. In the centre of the grand square stands Rys- 's statue of George II., sculptured from a single block of marble of the weight ven tons ; and which to our pensioners' eyes possesses the additional attraction ring been taken from the French by Admiral Rooke. The statue was the pre-

sent of "Sir John Jennings, Master and Governor." That kind of magnificence which is inherent in the use of large masses of marble, has been expended somewhat lavishly in the Chapel of the Hospital. The entrance lies through a sort of vestibule, above which is the gallery, supported on six marble pillars, each of which is said to have cost a thousand pounds. This Chapel is very handsome, and *not*, as has been suggested, at all out of keeping in its aspect with the nature of the place. Less expensive columns certainly would have been quite as good, but one suspects nothing of their cost unless we are told of it, and in all other respects the place may be characterised as chastely handsome. The roof is carved and ornamented, partly in stucco composition, partly in wood carving. Over the altar is a large painting by West of St. Paul's Shipwreck. The Chapel is large enough to accommodate some thirteen hundred pensioners in the body of the building (the officers and their families using the gallery); this number is found quite sufficient, as many are at all times unable to attend; some are Roman Catholics, Dissenters, &c., who are allowed to attend their respective chapels in the town, and who are accordingly duly mustered every Sunday morning, and marched off under surveillance.

The Painted Hall is the cynosure of all strangers' eyes at Greenwich Hospital. It is that which people chiefly come to see, and for which they are willing to pay an admission tribute on all days but Monday and Friday, these being free days. It is true the receipts from this fee, and from the profits on the sale of the little catalogue of the pictures sold in the Hall, are admirably applied, for they help to support the school we have incidentally named; but still, such national places should be freely open to the nation without twice paying for—once in the general support of the place, once in these particular fees for seeing it. It is also a consideration of some weight on the same side, that the originator of this Naval Picture Gallery upon which we are entering, Mr. Locker, was very earnest in recommending the abolition of the fee system, and not merely the modification of it which now exists. That gentleman we look upon as belonging to those real benefactors of whom we learn too little; the noisiest claimants of the public ear are also generally the most successful in obtaining it. We hope the example will yet stimulate many an official to understand better the opportunities that lie about him for doing good, and thus effectually relieving himself from the tedium and selfish indolence that official life too often generates. Let us note briefly their doings. Up, then, to 1795, this gallery was non-existent—unthought of. The hall itself had been originally used as the Refectory; but when the inmates of the Hospital increased in number it became too small; so dining halls were formed in the basement stories of the different buildings, and especially under the Chapel and Painted Hall. Then, for a long period, the hall was left to silence, dust, and cobwebs. In 1795 Lieutenant-Governor Locker proposed to use it as a National Gallery of Marine Paintings, dedicated in the main to the commemoration of the services of the British Navy. It was, however, left to his son to realise this excellent idea, who obtained, in 1823, the consent of the authorities, and set to work at once with energy and zeal. He thought that an appeal from such a place as Greenwich Hospital, for such an object, would not be idly listened to by those who had suitable pictures to bestow. He was right. Already one hundred and thirty-nine pictures are collected here, all more or less noticeable, many of extreme interest, and great value. George the Fourth contributed handsomely from Windsor Castle, Hampton Court, and the other royal palaces. William the Fourth also gave several pictures; and many other benefactors aided, as we may see by the names attached to the works in the gallery. The pictures comprise portraits of our great Admirals and seamen, from Raleigh and Howard of Effingham, the leaders of our fleet against

the Armada, down to those of the most recent times, Nelson, and Rodney, and Howe, and Exmouth. Of course Blake is among them, that glorious naval representative of the Commonwealth; and all the chief world-navigators, Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish, and Cook; nor are the portraits of foreign heroes shut out; for instance, here is the portrait of the Dutch hero, Van Tromp, whom not even Blake could overpower, nay, whose success for a time was so great, that he mounted a broom at his mast-head to show he had swept or would sweep the seas clean of the English, and under that symbol of sovereignty he sailed up our Channel. He was killed at last by the English, but was then in a battle said to be won on both sides, so hotly was it contested—so doubtful the issue. The pictures also include many sea fights, among them the defeat of the Armada, by Louthembourg, and of the French at La Hogue and at Trafalgar; the bombardment of Algiers, the death of Captain Cook at Owyhee (1779), &c. Perhaps the most interesting portion of the gallery is the Nelson Room, where we find a series of small or cabinet pictures illustrating all the more interesting events of his personal history, commencing with his adventure with a bear, while a midshipman, and when he had a mind to send his father a bear-skin as a trophy, and concluding with his dying scene in the cockpit of the Victory: unless we may call the conclusion of the series his Apotheosis, the subject of a picture by West. Here are also preserved various relics; to mention two of them is enough to suggest the nature of the feelings they excite when looked upon by visitors—we refer to the coat and waistcoat worn by Nelson at the moment he received his death wound at Trafalgar. Models of ships, busts, and statues are among the other attractions of the Hall. The statues of Nelson, St. Vincent, Duncan, and Nelson, are casts from those in St. Paul's; but those of Lord Sidney Smith, Viscount Exmouth, and Lord de Saumarez, are original by the sculptors Kirk, McDowell, and Steele. The hall itself is very handsome, and divided into three portions; first the vestibule, over which is the dome; then we ascend by a flight of steps to the chief central portion, the Hall, at the farther extremity of which another slight ascent brings us to the third division, which is painted in fresco with large designs representing Queen Anne and her husband, the landing of William III. at Torbay, and the arrival of George I. at Greenwich, when he and his German mistresses came to take possession of the sovereignty of England, or as one of the latter innocently phrased it, when desiring to calm the angry English populace, "We come for your goods—for all your goods!" and the populace believed them, the literal meaning of the words—"Yes, and for our chattels, too," was the courteous reply. The ceiling of the Hall represents William and Mary, surrounded by the emblems of prosperity, and a plentiful admixture of allegorical symbols. It was designed by Sir William Thornhill, Hogarth's father-in-law, and, it is said, executed by Andrea.

Let us now look about us, and gather a few facts relating to the economy of the hospital. The scale upon which things are conducted here may be judged of vaguely even when we state that the number of pensioners who can be accommodated at all times (though there are generally some vacancies) is 2710, or more than five times as many as are ever found at one period in Chelsea. In many respects there is, as might be expected, a close analogy between the management of the two institutions; we shall therefore only notice some of the more salient points of difference. It is nearly the same time. Behold! what a general outpouring from all quarters of the compass of men in blue great coats, some with cocked hats, some with caps, men of all ages and outlines, including some who almost assume the appearance of four-footed animals, from their bending so low. They are carrying in their hands all sorts of wares, tin cans, jugs, basons, knives and forks, and spoons. We enter with one of



the streams into one of the dining halls. It is laid out with parallel rows of long benches, each bench containing four messes, placed at equal and respectful distances from each other. Note now, a bit of the exquisite management that prevails here. Each mess is for four men. How shall it be divided without quarrels or jealousies? The four men take the business of division in turns, and he who divides to day takes the last of the four shares; in other words, his three companions help themselves first, and leave him the fourth. Could any human invention secure more perfectly than thus, an absolute desire on the part of the divider for the most perfect possible division? Though the pensioners, unlike those of Chelsea, must all come and sit down here to receive their messes, they are allowed, when they please, to take their food away to their own little cabins, hence the various array of jugs, &c., of which we have spoken. Another good rule is in operation here. Should any of the single men not come for their mess, it is handed over to the married men, to be divided among them, and so indirectly there is a slight aid afforded to the families of the latter. The food consists of half a pound of bread and a pint of cocoa for breakfast; three-quarters of a pound of meat, half a pound of vegetables, and a pint of soup for dinner; and half a pound of bread, half an ounce of butter, and a pint of tea for their last meal. Three pints of table ale are also allowed daily. The provisions are all of the very best quality. The wards are very much like those of Chelsea Hospital, but there are noticeable differences. There are no flowers, no plants at Greenwich—while the Chelsea wards are like so many continuous conservatories. The old seamen's chief amusement seems to be playing at shopping, for the glass windows of their little cabins are in many instances filled with small prints, looking exactly as though they were for sale. Of course there are no serjeants and corporals here, but boatswains and boatswains' mates. Some of our readers may have noticed a curious diamond-shaped design on the clothing of Greenwich Pensioners, containing in each of the four quarters of which it is composed a number or some initial letters. Thus one part refers to the quadrangle, another to the ward, a third to the cabin of the pensioner in question; we forget the object of the fourth, but it helps in the same way to identify each man, by means of his clothing, with his particular domicile among the 2710 domiciles around it. In case of accidents, for instance, this arrangement proves extremely convenient. And accidents are to be expected frequently among a community of such a size and constitution, and where a man dies on the average daily. The most infirm of the pensioners are collected together into a building called popularly by the only too expressive name—the New Helpless! Here the poor fellows have extra attention paid to them. They can smoke and eat and join in social worship together, without ever quitting their homes; and when there is bright sunshine, they can go forth, and bask on the benches in front of their little buildings, and make the most of it before the great luminary sets to their eyes for the last time. The infirmary is of course on a comprehensive scale. Besides a considerable staff of medical officers and assistants (the last coming here as a preparatory step to their obtaining government appointments to ships), no less than ninety out-pensioners are employed as men-nurses to wait on the sick and infirm. All the other arrangements of the Hospital are equally large. It has, for instance, its own brewery and bakery for material wants, and a library for mental comfort. The executive of this vast establishment is confided to a governor, lieutenant-governor, seven captains, as many lieutenants, two chaplains, with secretary, &c., &c. Up to 1829, it was governed by royal commission acting under a charter; but in that year it was placed under the direct control of the Admiralty. It is at the Admiralty that the business of selection of pensioners to fill up vacancies takes place, twice a month, when the candidates

sent themselves, and enlarge as they best can on their merits, long services, wounds and dismemberments. The vast expenditure of the Hospital is supported by large estates that have been forfeited to the Crown, by endowments, and by a rate of sixpence a month on the wages of every seaman in the Navy. Formerly the same sum was levied upon the merchant service for Greenwich Hospital, and produced between £21,000 and £22,000 yearly; but that has been withdrawn, to be added into a fund for the exclusive benefit of the merchant-service seamen. The duties of the pensioners are very light, and are confined, we believe, to each man's attending guard about once a fortnight, and for that only the able-bodied men are selected upon. Leave of absence is readily granted when a pensioner wishes to go out of the Hospital, whether it be for a day or more, even, on occasions of necessity, to three months. The school, with its striking symbol the model sloop in front, is divided into an upper and a lower school, each boarding and educating 400 youths. The lower is open to all sons of seamen who have served in the Navy; the upper is somewhat more exclusive and aristocratic, and the boys are all nominated by the Lords, that is to say, by the Lords and Secretary of the Admiralty, by certain commissioners, and by the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. One hundred are sent solely from the sons of ward-room officers; the other 300 chiefly from the sons of naval officers generally.

#### THE CHARTER HOUSE.

At the middle of the fourteenth century a pestilence broke out in the heart of Asia, which, sweeping across the deserts of Gobi and the wilds of Tartary, found its way through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and at last England, mowing at every step a large proportion of the population, and in some parts sweeping it entirely away. It entered England by the western coast, and, according to Stow, "scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive;" and as there were not sufficient labourers to till the soil,—

" — All her husbandry *did* lie in heaps,  
Corrupting in its own fertility."

In London the state of things must have been frightful indeed, where the plague which reached it in November, 1348) had to deal with a great population, packed as closely as possible in dirty, narrow, and ill-ventilated streets. The horrors of such a period have been made familiar to us by the genius of De Foe, in connection with a similar calamity, three centuries later; we shall not, therefore, dwell upon them here. We may notice that, among the numerous characteristic features of the pestilence of 1348, was the appearance of a new species of fanaticism, which had its origin in Italy, and was brought hither by individuals of that country. These performed public penance; "sometime," says Stow, "in the church of St. Paul, sometime in other places of the city, twice in the day, in the sight of all the people, from the soles unto the heels covered in linen cloth, all the rest of their bodies bare, having on their heads hats with red crosses before and behind, every one in their right hands a staff with three cords, each cord having a knot in the midst, beat themselves on their bloody bodies, going in procession, four of them singing in their own language, the others answering them." The ordinary churchyards of the metropolis were



soon filled, and it became necessary to choose out certain fields for a more wholesale kind of burial; of these the site of the present Charter House formed one of the principal. The benefactor in this instance was Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, who, having purchased a piece of land, then known as "No man's land," enclosed it with a brick wall, consecrated it, and built a church; "which," says Stow, "remained till our time by the name of Pardon Churchyard." The church and churchyard, we may add, lay between the north wall of the Charter House in Wilderness Row, and Sutton Street. But the pestilence, still unsatiated, raged on; and this space being found insufficient, another individual stepped forward in the following year, and purchased about thirteen acres more of land that lay adjoining, called the Spittle Croft, afterwards the New Church Haw. It was consecrated, like the former piece, by the Bishop of London, and in it not less than fifty thousand persons were interred in that single year. The same benefactor caused a chapel to be built (about the centre of the present Charter House Square), where masses were offered up for the souls of those whom the plague had so suddenly cut off with all their imperfections on their head, "unhousel'd, unanointed, unanneal'd." The individual to whom we have referred was Sir Walter Manny, one of those warriors of the martial age of Edward III., who was truly 'The Mirror of Chivalry,' for in him was reflected its gracefulness, its bravery, its untainted and lofty sense of honour, and all the admirable qualities for which its admirers have given it credit, in their most consummate shape. Although a foreigner, his reputation is essentially English.

About the year 1360, Sir Walter de Manny intended to found a college here for a warden or dean, and twelve secular priests; but in the next year that design was altered, when Michael de Northburgh, Bishop of London, joined with him in the building and endowing a priory in this place for double the number of Carthusian monks, which was to be called 'The Salutation of the Mother of God,' and the foundation appears to have been finished about 1370. The gross revenue of this house at its surrender to King Henry VIII., June 10, 1535, amounted to £736 2s. 7d., its clear income to £642 4½d. per annum. Bearcroft, in his 'Historical Account,' says, the site of this house was first granted June 12, 1542, to John Bridges and Thomas Hale, for their joint lives; and April 14, 1555, to Sir Edward North, who was made a baron 1st Mariæ: his son, Roger Lord North, sold it, May 31, 1565, to the Duke of Norfolk, for £2500, whose son, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, sold it in the 9th Jac. 1, to Thomas Sutton, Esq., for £13,000.

Sir Thomas Sutton, the founder of the present Charter House (a corruption of Chartreuse), was born at Knaith, in the county of Lincoln, in 1531, his father being steward of the courts belonging to the corporation of the city of Lincoln. He is supposed to have received his education at Eton and Cambridge, to have removed from Cambridge to Lincoln's Inn, there entered himself as a student, and then to have travelled abroad for some years, acquiring in the chief countries of the Continent an intimate acquaintance with their commercial policy and different languages; information that contributed greatly to his ultimate prosperity. He returned in 1562, when he found himself joint heir with his mother to considerable property, left by the elder Sutton, who died in 1558. He appears now to have been retained for some time about the person of the Duke of Norfolk, both of them subsequent possessors of the Charter House,—a curious coincidence, unless, what is very probable, his connection with the Duke led to a similar connection with the Duke's son, the Earl of Suffolk, from whom he afterwards purchased the Charter House. By the recommendation of the Duke of Norfolk he became secretary to the Earl of Warwick, through



whose influence he obtained the appointment we have before mentioned. The first great source of Sir Thomas's wealth was the lease that he obtained of the manors of Gateshead and Wickham, near Newcastle, wherein several fine veins of coal were discovered, and worked so advantageously, that in a few years fifty thousand pounds profit, it is said, was made. In 1582 he married Elizabeth, widow of John Dudley, of Stoke Newington; a lady who, if we may judge from a passage in one of her letters to him that has been preserved, was happily suited to him. The passage is as follows:—"There is in all of the wheat dressed fifteen quarters three bushels since you went, and now they are about your best wheat: good Mr. Sutton, I beseech you remember the first for the poor folk, and God will reward you." Their town residence at this period was an ancient stone mansion at Broken Wharf, formerly possessed by his patrons, the Norfolk family. About or soon after his marriage he commenced his mercantile pursuits, and rapidly achieved an immense fortune. There is an interesting tradition attached to the Charter House, of an important connection between Sutton and the delaying of the Spanish Armada, which was unable to sail at the time arranged, owing to the return by the Bank of Genoa of certain bills of the Spanish king's. This affair was managed by an Englishman; and Sir Thomas Gresham has had the honour of it, but certainly without any just claim, as he had been dead some years prior to the event. There is every probability therefore that the Charter House is right in attributing the affair to the influence of Sutton, unquestionably the richest merchant of his day. And he had to pay dearly for the reputation he thus obtained, for his friends and acquaintances seem to have turned their intimacy to the best account. Piles of unpaid bonds yet exist among his papers which had their origin in this manner, as well as a variety of letters from persons who, as Malcolm justly observes, seem "to have considered him a mere lotard, ready to throw his gold to avert the threats of Heaven's vengeance they avished on him in case of his denial."

In May, 1611, all that large class of persons who took such a kindly interest in Sir Thomas's affairs, and who, above all, were greatly troubled as to the disposal of his money, had their anxieties allayed by the news that he was about to establish a magnificent charitable institution. On the 9th of that month he purchased the Charter House from the Earl of Suffolk and his relatives. Sir Thomas, after great delays and much anxiety, had obtained, in 1609, an act of Parliament for the erection of his hospital and school at Hallingbury Bouchers, Essex, which place he had first chosen. On the alteration of the site, fresh delay took place, and he had to encounter considerable opposition; and at last he was obliged to pay for the king's charter of incorporation; the Earl of Suffolk's promised influence being considered in fixing the amount of the purchase-money. He had intended to have made himself the first governor of the institution; but the infirmities of age were now fast increasing upon him; so he named the Rev. John Hutton, vicar of Littlebury, in Essex, to the office. A slow fever about the same time seizing him, he made haste to arrange the affairs of the hospital on a safe and prosperous foundation. On the 1st of November he conveyed all the estates specified in the letters patent, which not only included the Charter House itself, but also upwards of twenty manors and lordships, with many other valuable estates, in the counties of Essex, Lincoln, Wilts, Cambridge, and Middlesex, to the governors, in trust for the Hospital. Well might Fuller call this gift "The masterpiece of Protestant English charity!" Sir Thomas died at Hackney, on the 12th of December, 1611, aged seventy-nine years. Six thousand persons attended the funeral, and the procession from Dr. Law's house in Paternoster Row, where

the corpse had been rested, to Christ Church (where he was temporarily interred during the completion of the chapel of the hospital), lasted six hours. In March, 1616, the remains were removed to the spot where they now finally repose, and buried in a vault beneath a magnificent tomb, the work of Nicholas Stone and others, and designed by Stone in conjunction with Bernard Jansen, a Dutch architect.

After various legal delays, the Governors held their first meeting on the 30th of June, 1613, when the necessary arrangements for the commencement of the practical purposes of the institution were devised. Of these governors there are sixteen in number, including the master, and they exercise the entire direction; they form a body corporate. Vacancies are filled up by the other governors. They present to the hospital and school in rotation. The principal officers are the Master, Preacher, Master of the School, Registrar (who is also the Receiver and Steward of the Courts), Reader (who is also the Librarian), Writing Master, Resident Medical Officer, Organist, Manciple or House Steward, and Surveyor. The pensioners are eighty in number, the scholars forty-four. No one can be admitted to the former class under the age of fifty years, unless maimed in war, and only those who have been housekeepers are eligible. They are amply dieted, they have each a separate apartment with proper attendance, and are allowed about twenty-five pounds a year for clothes, &c. Boys are admitted into the school between the ages of ten and fourteen years, receive an excellent education, as the numerous eminent scholars it has sent forth may testify, and, when properly qualified, are sent to the University, where twenty-nine exhibitions of the value of eighty pounds per annum are provided. In other cases an apprentice fee is given.

The principal buildings of the existing Charter House are the Hall, the Chapel, the School Room in the centre of the extensive play-ground, the Evidence Room, the Old and the New Governors' Rooms, the Old Court Room, and the numerous buildings required for the accommodation of the pensioners and boys, which are disposed round three quadrangles or courts of varying size. Passing through the outer gate in Charter House Square, the pediment of which is supported by two lions with scrolls, the Duke of Norfolk's badge, we have before us the way to the quadrangles, where the pensioners and the boys are lodged. Beyond the inner gateway is the great Hall, on the opposite side of a court, and near it, to the right, the Chapel. The Hall is connected with the old Refectory, which is still used for a similar purpose, and with the cloisters. It is supposed to have been built during the reign of Henry VIII., no doubt by Sir Edward North, and to have been afterwards fitted up by the Duke of Norfolk as a banqueting-room. The centre of the ceiling is a lofty semi-circular vaulted roof, the sides are flat and supported by massy oaken brackets or timbers. A gallery runs along one side, and across the northern end, where it is supported on caryatides resting on a handsome screen. In the oriel windows are some pieces of stained glass with various arms. The chimney-piece in the centre is curious—above it are Sutton's arms, very gay with paint and gilding, and flanked on each side by a mounted piece of cannon. From the hall we pass into a kind of vestibule, with a very wide and most elaborately decorated staircase leading up to the Governors' rooms on the right, and a passage in front, lined on the pavement with tombstones, which leads to the chapel. This is of irregular shape and very heterogeneous composition. The entrance is of the miserable style of James's reign, whilst the porch, projecting into the chapel, to which it opens, has a very fine vaulted and groined roof, nearly if not quite coeval with the first foundation of the monastery. The intersections of the groins are carved to represent an angel, and instru-

ments of penance now happily unknown. Above this, forming the basement of the chapel turret, is a part of the old tower of the Carthusian Chapel, still supported in the exterior by a strong buttress. Sutton's monument is in a very dark corner, early facing us, but at once strikes attention by the colours and the gilded spikes of the railings in front. The monument is twenty-five feet high and thirteen broad. The effigy is painted in imitation of life, with gray hair and beard, and in a black ured gown. Near his monument is a tablet to the memory of Dr. John Pepusch, a celebrated musician, who was organist here. The organ gallery is a most elaborate affair, being almost entirely covered with helmets, armour, flags, drums, guns, masks, cherubims, coats of arms, heads, harps, guitars, and composite capitals without wafts, on a kind of termini. We need scarcely add that we owe this brilliant design so to the geniuses of the reign of James I. The master's house includes a handsome suite of apartments, among which is the Governors' Room, so called from its being used as their place of meeting. Here are portraits of Charles II.; Archbishop Sheldon; William, Earl of Craven (the lover of the Empress Palatine), in complete armour; George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham; Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury; the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth; Lord Shaftesbury (the author of 'The Characteristics'); Dr. Burnet; and Sutton himself, a venerable-looking man. The portrait of the author of the 'Theory of the Earth' is a very fine one, by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Burnet was Master of the Charter House, and distinguished himself whilst in office by his successful resistance to James II., when the latter strove to introduce a Roman Catholic into the establishment. The old Court Room is, perhaps, the most interesting part of the Charter House, and has been entirely restored to its pristine magnificence. A single glance at this beautiful room is enough to recall the memory of the time when the stately Virgin Queen trod its floor, attended by a magnificent throng of courtiers, warriors, and statesmen. The ceiling is very high, with its gilded pendants, and fine stucco-work and painting. Its walls are hung with tapestry, which is however very much faded. The most interesting feature of the room is the lofty architectural chimney-piece, with paintings in different-shaped panels, of which the three called Faith, Hope, and Charity are positively extraordinary works of art. They are designed in a very pure style, and correctly drawn. In this room the anniversary of the foundation has long been accustomed to be held on the 12th of December, when, among other old ditties proper to the occasion, is sung one terminating with the pertinent, if not very poetical, verses—

"Then blessed be the memory  
Of good old Thomas Sutton,  
Who gave us lodging—learning—  
And he gave us beef and mutton."

From the beef and mutton the transition is easy to the kitchen, with its two enormous chimneys; which is a genuine piece of the old monastery.



## ST. KATHERINE'S HOSPITAL.

THE Royal Hospital of St. Katherine was founded in 1148 by Queen Matilda, wife of King Stephen. The master has an income of 1200*l.* a year and an elegant mansion in the Regent's Park, situated in the midst of its own pleasure grounds. The three brethren have each 300*l.* a-year, and the three sisters each 200*l.* The real almshouse people are non-resident. Queen Matilda's endowment was for a master, three brothers chaplains, three sisters, and six poor scholars, reserving to herself and her successors, the future queens of England, the nomination of the master upon every vacancy; but she granted the perpetual custody of the hospital to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, which was then in high repute. The ground on which the hospital was built was on the east side of the Tower of London, on the north bank of the river. The site is now occupied by St. Katherine's Docks. In 1255 Queen Eleanor brought a suit against the monks, and acquired the custody of the hospital and its entire revenues. After the king's death she refounded it for a master, three brothers, three sisters, ten poor women, called *bedeswomen*, and six poor scholars. Her charter is dated the 5th of July, 1273. Had not the original hospital been dissolved, St. Katherine's Hospital would now have been the most ancient ecclesiastical community in the kingdom; and it is still the fourth in point of antiquity, coming after Peter House, Cambridge, and Merton and Balliol Colleges, Oxford. The queens of England are by law the perpetual patronesses, it being considered, say the lawyers, as part of their dower. They nominate the master, brethren, and sisters, and may increase or diminish their number, and alter the statutes for the government of the institution. "The Queen Dowager hath no power or jurisdiction when there is a Queen Consort;" but "if there is a Queen Regnant and a Queen Dowager, the latter would have the power in preference to the Queen Regnant." In Queen Eleanor's charter the object of her foundation is stated to be "for the health of the soul of her late husband and of the souls of the preceding and succeeding kings and queens." One of the priests was daily required "to sing the mass of the Holy Virgin Mary; another, daily to celebrate the divine service of the day, solemnly and devoutly for the aforesaid souls." She ordained that every day throughout the year until the 16th day of November, which was the deposition of Edmund the Archbishop and Confessor, there should be given, at the ordering of the master and his successors, to twenty-four poor men, for the aforesaid souls, twelve pence; and on the said day of St. Edmund the Confessor, namely, the day of the death of her husband, King Henry, there should be bestowed in form aforesaid, upon one thousand poor men to each a halfpenny.

In 1442 privileges of a most remarkable kind were granted to St. Katherine's, which we may feel assured, never wanted "a friend at court" while there was a queen consort. The master had reported that the revenues of the hospital were insufficient for its maintenance, on which the king, Henry VI., granted a charter, constituting a certain district in the neighbourhood of the hospital a precinct exempt with all its inhabitants from all ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction, except that of the Lord Chancellor and the master of the hospital. This charter further granted to the hospital a fair to be held on Tower Hill within the precinct every year, for twenty-one days after St. James's Day; also the assize of bread, wine, beer, and other victuals; custody of weights and measures; civil and criminal jurisdiction

exemption from payment of tenths or other quota granted by the clergy ; also exemption from subsidies imposed by the Commons ; and they were to have as many writs as they pleased out of the king's courts without fee of sealing. The hospital held this precinct as its own property and demesne, its revenues being increased by fines on renewal of leases and by ground-rents of the houses which it contained. It is said, and with much probability, that the intercession of Anne Boleyn with Henry VIII. saved the hospital from dissolution. The revenues at that time appear from a survey to have amounted to 338*l*. The first master appointed by Queen Elizabeth sold the privilege of holding the fair to the city for seven hundred marks ; and he was suspected of other peculations not very creditable to the newly-reformed religion. In 1698 Lord Chancellor Somers, as visitor, removed the master, and drew up rules and orders for the better government of the hospital. In 1705 a school was established for the children of the precinct at the charge of the hospital, and after they left school they were apprenticed and placed at service.

Early in 1824 some of the principal merchants in the city obtained the sanction of Government to apply for an Act of Parliament to construct wet-docks between the Tower and the London Docks, a space which would include the site of the chapel, hospital, and entire precinct of St. Katherine ; and when the act was obtained, the new Dock Company made compensation to the hospital, under the direction of the Lord Chancellor Eldon, to the following amount, namely, 125,000*l*. as the value of the precinct estate ; 36,000*l*. for building a new hospital ; 2000*l*. for the purchase of a site ; and several smaller sums, as compensation to certain officers and members of the hospital, whose interest would be affected by removal to another situation. The precinct possessed at this time both a spiritual and a temporal court. The spiritual court was a royal jurisdiction for all ecclesiastical causes within the precincts, probates of wills, &c. ; and appeals from it could be made to the Lord Chancellor only. The officers of this court were a registrar, ten proctors, and an apparitor. In the temporal court the high-steward of the jurisdiction of St. Katherine's presided, and heard and determined all disputes arising within the precinct. A high-bailiff, a prothonotary, and a prison, were appendages of the court. In 1601 the number of houses within the precinct was 731 ; in 1708 there were 850 : and the number successively diminished to 505 in 1801, and 427 in 1821, which were inhabited by 685 families.

A site having been granted on the east side of the Regent's Park by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the new hospital buildings were erected there. The centre consists of a chapel, with chapter-house ; and on each side of the chapel are three houses, those on one side being for the brothers, and the others for the sisters, with requisite offices and outbuildings, including a coach-house ; and at each end, by the Park side, there is a lodge. The residence of the master, on the opposite side of the carriage-road, is situated in about two acres of land laid out in ornamental grounds and shrubberies. The ancient and interesting monuments were transported at the expense of the Dock Company to the new chapel, where they have been restored at an enormous expense. The cost of setting up and restoring the monument of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, who died in 1448, which constituted the most remarkable feature of the old hospital, amounted to nearly a thousand pounds.

The affairs of the hospital are managed by the chapter, which consists of the master, the three brothers, and the three sisters. The brothers are in holy orders, but are not estrained from marriage ; and the sisters are usually unmarried, though instances have occurred of widows being appointed. All important business must be trans-

acted in the chapter-house, and by a majority of the chapter present, as voting by proxy is not allowed. The master, brethren, and sisters, have each a vote, and the requisite majority of four must include one of each; that is, the master, one brother, and two sisters, or the master, two sisters, and one brother. One brother is required to be in residence constantly, in order to conduct the service in the chapel. He is assisted by a reader, who is paid £100 a year from the funds of the hospital. The sisters do not always reside. The original number of ten bedeswomen has been increased to twenty, and an addition made of twenty bedesmen. They are non-resident, and receive £10 a year for life, but have no duties to perform. The appointment of bedesmen and bedeswomen rests solely with the master, and they are usually decayed small tradespeople, old servants of good character, or other aged people. The school is on a small scale, and contains twenty-four boys and twelve girls, who are clothed during their continuance, and dine at the hospital every Sunday. At a suitable age the boys are apprenticed, with a premium; and on the girls going to service they receive an outfit, and a sum is deposited for them in a savings bank. If they conduct themselves well, both enjoy some subsequent pecuniary benefit. The income of the hospital in 1837 was £5504, and the expenditure £4454. The sum paid to the master, three brothers, three sisters, and forty bedesmen and bedeswomen, amounts to £2100 a year. The fines on the renewal of leases are distributed into three parts; one of which goes to the master, one to the brethren and sisters conjointly, and one-third for repair of buildings.

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MORDEN COLLEGE, though not situated within the limits of the metropolis, is chiefly designed for its "poor, honest, sober, and discreet merchants," of the age of fifty at least, and "such as shall have lost their estates by accidents, dangers, and perils of the seas, or by any other accidents, ways, or means, in their honest endeavour to get their living by way of merchandising." It was founded by Sir John Morden, in 1702, and is situated in the parish of Charlton, near Blackheath. The building consists of a quadrangle with two wings, the north wing containing a common hall and a common cellar under it. There is a chapel, vestry, and burial-ground; a common kitchen, laundry, and brew-house; thirty-nine dwellings for the apartments of the inmates, each comprising a sitting-room and bed-room, with a cellar; and those on the upper story have a small room in addition. The chaplain and treasurer have each a garden and small close, and the four senior fellows have each small garden plots. A common table is kept, and a cook, butler, and other servants are maintained out of the funds of the college. In 1828 the number of inmates was only twenty, but there are at present twenty-nine. Their income was raised to £60 a year each in 1835. The Turkey Company selected the inmates as long as it was in existence, but they are now appointed by the East India Company. The total income of the college is about £5300 a year. The chaplain has a stipend of £800 a year, £715 being derived from an estate left for his especial benefit.

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WHITTINGTON'S COLLEGE, called "God's House" by his executors, was founded in 1421 by Sir Richard Whittington, an Alderman of London, "for perpetual sustentation of needy and poor people." It is now under the management of the Mercers' Company. The principal is a person in holy orders, called the tutor, whose duty it



to perform service in the chapel, and "to oversee the husbandry of the house, and wish charity and peace among his fellows." Each poor person admitted is to be "meek of spirit, destitute of temporal goods in other places by which he might impetently live, and chaste and of good conversation." The inmates must be single persons above fifty-five, not having freehold property to the amount of £20, or other property to the amount of £30 a year. They receive from the funds of the college a yearly stipend of £30, besides enjoying some money gifts, and the advantages of liberal attendance and the assistance of nurses. There are thirty out-pensioners, who receive £30 a year. The present college, situated near Highgate Archway, was erected in 1822, at an expense of £17,000, and is handsomely built of stone in the Regiate style. The annual income is nearly £5000.

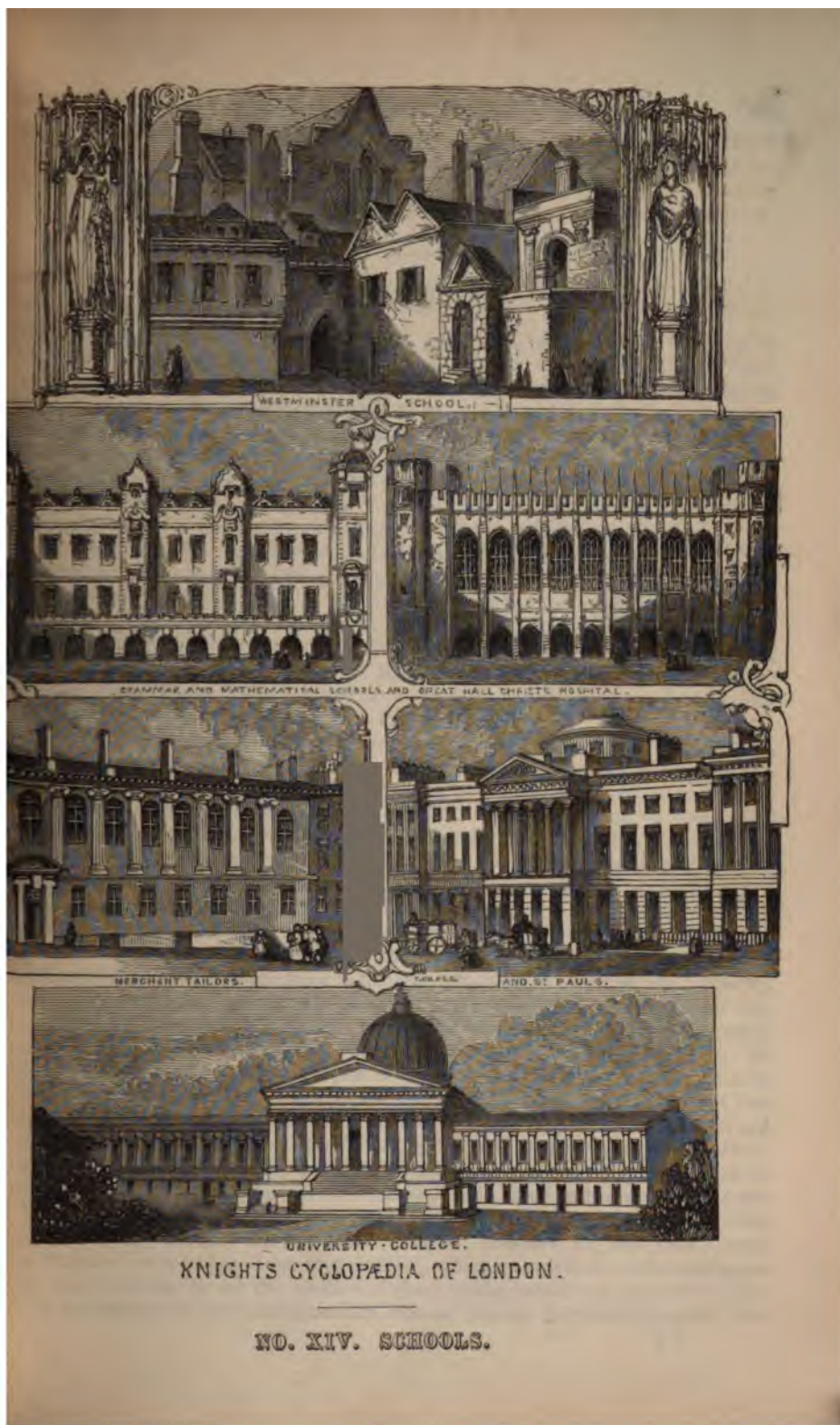
The principal almshouses, properly so called, which are intended as an asylum for aged and infirm, are those under the management of the City Companies, which have been benefited and brought to their present state by successive endowments. They are intended for the liverymen and freemen of each fraternity, or their widows, who are elected by the courts of assistants. The Drapers' Almshouses are amongst the earliest foundations of this kind, having originated in 1522: they are situated at St. Dunstons. The Merchant Tailors erected seven almshouses for fourteen poor widows in 1593, on Tower Hill; in 1637, accommodation was provided for twelve more; and in 1705, in consequence of the dilapidated state of the old buildings, and their confined situation, the Company erected new almshouses at Lee, in Kent, at a cost of £10,000; the number of almswomen is now increased to thirty. The almshouses of the Ironmongers' Company, a handsome modern building, are at Shepherd's Bush. Aske's Hospital, or the Haberdashers' Almshouses, for twenty poor members of the Haberdashers' Company, and for the education and support of twenty boys, forms three sides of a quadrangle, the chapel, a handsome building with a Doric portico, being in the centre, with a statue of Aske, the founder, in front. The almshouses of the Fishmongers' Company, called St. Peter's Hospital, are situated at Newington, opposite the Tower and Castle, and are occupied by forty-two poor men and women, free of the Company or widows of freemen; but this building is about to be abandoned, and a new one has been erected at West Hill, Wandsworth. The married people receive 12s. a week, the single 7s. or 8s., and 10s., according to their age and infirmities; and those who require a nurse enjoy 2s. a week more, or 12s. altogether. The almspeople also receive various gifts in money and clothing in the course of the year. Service is performed daily in the chapel, and the chaplain visits the almspeople when ill. A medical man is paid by the Company for attending to their health. The present hospital consists of three courts, with gardens behind; and there is a dining-hall. The expenditure is about £1700 a year. Most of the almshouses of the Companies are of similar character. The East India Company have almshouses at Poplar for the wives of their officers; and the Trinity Company, in the Mile End Road, have almshouses for the reception of poor captains and other officers in the merchant service, &c. It was founded in 1695.

The total number of almshouses of various descriptions in London, is probably not far short of one hundred and fifty.

The ordinary parochial charities of the City consist chiefly of the following items: viz. in money, bread, clothing, and fuel; loans with and without interest to young persons beginning business; marriage portions; apprenticeship fees; payments for ser-

mons on particular days ; and there is the endowed school of the parish, where the children are gratuitously educated, and, in many instances, also clothed, and in a few entirely maintained. In Sir John Cass's school, St. Botolph, Aldgate, which has an income of above £1500 a year, ninety children are educated, clothed, and fed.

It is no more than justice to the Jews of London to remark that their charitable institutions are, in proportion to their numbers, many, and liberally supported. One of the most important is their Hospital, at Mile End, established by the philanthropic exertions of the late Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid, who began a collection for the purpose among their friends in 1795. So liberal were the contributions that, in 1797, they were able to purchase with them £20,000 of 3 per cent. stock. The Hospital for the reception and support of the aged poor, and the education and industrious employment of youth of both sexes, was purchased for £2300; an adjoining house, soon added, cost £2000. The original endowments were £30,000 of 3 per cent. stock. Additions have from time to time been made to the funds, and considerable sums expended in rendering the buildings more commodious. The present inmates are, twelve aged persons, fifty boys, and twenty-nine girls. A synagogue is attached to the establishment, and workshops in which the boys are taught shoe-making and chair-making, while the girls are instructed in household and needle work. The following, though not strictly of the class of which we have been treating, are given as completing the subject of charities wholly Jewish.—A free-school was established in Bell's Lane, Spitalfields, in 1818, or rather added to the old charity, the 'Talmud Torah;' in which, in 1841, 298 boys and 163 girls were receiving elementary education, in addition to 21 pupils of the Talmud Torah. It was estimated in that year that 3844 had been educated in the institution since its commencement. The Jews have a well-managed infant-school in Houndsditch; and an evening school for adult females in White's Row, Spitalfields, founded and conducted by the persevering charitable exertions of two Jewish ladies. There is also a National infant-school, superintended by ladies of the Jewish persuasion, and the Villa-real Girls' school. The Jews' College, a recent institution, appears to have confined its efforts hitherto to the training of more efficient candidates for the ministry. In addition to these there are almost innumerable institutions for ministering to the necessities and comforts of the Jewish poor:—Orphan institutions; societies for clothing and educating fatherless children; societies for relieving the indigent sick; an institution for the relief of the indigent blind; a society for assisting the Jewish poor at their festivals, &c. &c.







## XIV. SCHOOLS.

## ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

THE Reformation in England had a twofold effect upon education; by breaking up the religious houses it destroyed nearly the whole of our schools; on the other hand, the general awakening of intellect which characterised the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which the Reformation itself may be said to be but one effect, was evidently in the highest degree favourable to the inculcation of knowledge. The intense desire for classical learning (which, preceding the religious movement, was afterwards strongly acted upon and forwarded by it, chiefly through the circumstance that the Greek Version of the New Testament became the universal standard of authority to which the Reformers appealed in all their religious contests,) was a still more direct influence tending to the establishment and diffusion of education. New Colleges at the Universities sprang into existence with startling rapidity; new schools were established almost as fast as the reforming king had destroyed them. Hence it is that of the exceedingly numerous body of grammar-schools scattered over every part of the country, nearly the whole were founded in one century, the sixteenth; hence it is that the whole of the older schools of the metropolis, with the single exception of the Charter House, founded in the beginning of the seventeenth, date their establishment on the present basis from the same period.

We may infer from the personal history of Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School, that the ordinary motives of a religious Reformer of the sixteenth century for desiring the extension of education, acted upon him with so much force as to lead in a great measure to the foundation of that school. His appointment as Dean of St. Paul's was soon distinguished by his vigorous and searching discipline; among other matters recorded of him, it appears, he introduced the practice of preaching himself on Sundays and great festival days. The more luxurious of the clergy could perhaps have forgiven this inroad upon their habits; but the use to which he directed his public preachings, as well as his private influence and conversation—his freedom of opinion—his contempt for the abuses of the religious houses—his aversion to clerical celibacy—above all, his inclination to the new principles of which he was indirectly one of the most active promoters;—all this they could not forgive. Dean Colet very naturally, as his biographer tells us, became highly obnoxious to the metropolitan clergy. They even had a notion of honouring him by a Smithfield martyrdom. No man could better afford such dislike, for no man had truer or better friends. Linacre, the eminent physician, the founder of the College of Physicians, and one of the best scholars of the age, was one of them. Latimer was another. With both these, and with Lily, the first master of Colet's school, he had become acquainted in Italy, where the three were all studying Greek, and where Colet himself had gone for general improvement. Of the relations between Colet and the illustrious author of the 'Utopia,' the following passage from one of More's letters, written to the former while he was abroad, will give the best idea. "Return, therefore, my dear Colet; either for Stepney's sake [where Colet then resided], which mourneth for your absence, no less than children do for the absence of their loving mother; or else for London's sake, in respect it is your native country, whereof you can have no less regard than

of your parents; and, finally (though this be the least motive), return for my sake, who have wholly dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the meantime I pass my time with Grocine, Lanacer [Linacre], and Lily; the first being, as you know, the director of my life in your absence; the second, the master of my studies; the third, my most dear companion. Farewell, and see you love me as you have done hitherto.—London, 21st Oct., about 1510.” The delightful spirit that pervades these sentences needs no comment. They come from the heart, and therefore speak directly to it. Lastly, Erasmus was, if possible, even more than any of these, the constant companion of Colet when in England, his constant correspondent when abroad. Erasmus gives us some interesting particulars of the domestic life of his friend;—of his dining without state among his family, but always, if possible, with some strangers for his guests,—of his short sitting at meals, that there might be more time after for the discourses which pleased only the learned and the good,—of the preliminary reading of the chapter from the Bible by some boy with a good voice, as suggestive of the matter of the discourse,—of his servant reading to him when he had no companions to his mind,—of his dress, plain black, while the clergy generally of his rank wore purple,—of his hospitality in handing over regularly to his steward the entire receipts of his offices in the church for the maintenance of his household, whilst he kept his own private estate for charitable uses. Such was Dean Colet, the man who, in 1509, devoted nearly the whole of that private estate to the admirable purpose of founding St. Paul's School; where children of every nation, country, and class were to be educated free, to the number of 153: the number, with that fondness for conceit peculiar to the time, is borrowed from the number of fish taken by St. Peter. This school he endowed with lands and houses to the value of £122 4s. 7½d., now worth between £5000 and £6000. That a clergyman should have stepped out of his class to find trustees among laymen, and more particularly with regard to a school founded upon an older establishment that had always been under the direction of the Cathedral dignitaries, is of itself a significant feature of Colet's views with relation to the religious differences of the period, and agrees in the main with Erasmus's statement. “After he had finished all,” he says in a letter to Justus Iouas, “he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the chapter, nor to any great minister at court, but amongst the married laymen, to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason of so committing the trust, he answered to this effect—that there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any other order or degree of mankind.” If ever trustees were solemnly called upon to discharge their duties with fidelity, and in a mode that should at the same time animate them with the best possible spirit for so doing, it was surely in such words. The first head master appointed by the Dean was William Lily, the eminent grammarian, “the most dear companion” of Sir Thomas More. The choice was probably determined by that high idea of the value of classical and especially of Greek learning and literature, which the Reformers in particular among our learned men had at the time in question, Lily being the first teacher of Greek in the metropolis after the revival of letters. The success of the school under Lily showed the Dean's selection to have been a wise one. During the twelve years that he lived to conduct it, a host of excellent scholars were sent forth into the different departments of public life, including such men as Sir Anthony Denny, privy counsellor to Henry VIII., Sir Edward, afterwards Lord North, and the eminent antiquary, Leland. It was not, however, without considerable opposition and some obloquy, it would seem, that he and the founder were allowed to carry out their wishes of teach-



ing the classics freely; the latter, in a letter to Erasmus, relates, that one of the prelates of the church, esteemed among the most eminent for his learning and gravity, and, in a great public assembly, accused him in the severest terms for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in his new seminary, which, on that account, he styled a house of idolatry. Lily died of the plague in 1523, six years after his friend and patron, Colet.

St. Paul's School at present consists of eight forms or classes, the first receiving the pupil for instruction in the rudiments, the last dismissing him with a sound classical and mathematical education, including the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. The school is strictly a free one. The age of scholars at admission must not exceed fifteen. The Mercers' Company are the admitters. There are numerous exhibitions at the University in connection with the school. Of the eminent men since Lily's time, who have been educated here, we must not forget such names as John Milton, the physician Scarborough, the gossip Pepys, the divine Calamy, the astronomer Halley, and the warrior Marlborough. The school, as built by Colet, was destroyed in the great fire, but was rebuilt upon the same plan. The present building was erected in 1823-4, from a design by Mr. George Smith.

#### CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

THE origin of this, "the noblest institution in the world," as the late estimable and distinguished Bishop of Calcutta, T. Fanshaw Middleton, designated the chief place of his own nurture and education, is of a more than commonly interesting character, not only from the associations connected with the early and lamented death of its founder, Edward VI., but from the circumstances which were the immediate cause of the foundation. "Mr. Doctor Ridley, then Bishop of London, came and preached before the King's Majesty at Westminster; in which sermon he made a fruitful and goodly exhortation to the rich to be merciful unto the poor; and also to move such as were in authority to travail by some charitable way and means to comfort and relieve them." The youthful King appears to have been so much impressed by the nature and extent of the evils pointed out, that he could not rest till some remedy were devised. So he "suddenly and of himself" sent for the famous Bishop immediately after the close of the service, when the following scene, so admirably and almost dramatically described by Stow, "on the very report of the said Bishop Ridley," took place. "So soon as the King's Majesty was at leisure, he called for him, and caused him to come unto him in a great gallery at Westminster, where . . . there were present no more persons than they two, and therefore made him sit down in one chair, and he himself in another, which, as it seemed, were before the coming of the Bishop there purposely set, and caused the Bishop, *maugre his teeth*, to be covered, and then entered communication with him in this manner:—First, giving him hearty thanks for his sermon and good exhortation, he therein rehearsed such special things as he had noted, and that so many, that the Bishop said, 'Truly, truly, (for that commonly was his oath,) I could never have thought that excellency to have been in his Grace, but that I beheld and heard it in him.' At last, his King's Majesty much commended him for his exhortation for the relief of the poor; 'but, my Lord,' quoth he, 'you willed such as are in authority to be careful thereof, and to devise some good order for their relief: wherein I think you mean me; for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answer unto God for my negligence, if I should not be careful therein; knowing it to be the express commandment of Almighty God to have compassion of

his poor and needy members, for whom we must make an account unto him. And truly, my Lord, I am, before all things else, most willing to travail that way; and doubting nothing of your long and approved wisdom and learning, who have such good zeal, as wisheth help unto them; but also that you have had some conference with others, what ways are best to be taken therein, the which I am desirous to understand: I pray you therefore to say your mind.' The Bishop thinking least of that matter, and being amazed to hear the wisdom and earnest zeal of the King, was, as he said himself, so astonished, that he could not well tell what to say; but, after some pause, said, 'that he thought at this present, for some entrance to be had, it were good to practise with the City of London, because the number of poor there were very great, and the citizens also were many and wise; and he doubted not but they were also both pitiful and merciful.' Edward accordingly gave the good Bishop a letter, there and then, signed by his own hand, and sealed with his own signet, desiring him to deliver it personally, and to let him know, so soon as he conveniently might, how he had proceeded therein. The Bishop was "so joyous of having the said letter," and so "marvellous zealous," that he had an interview that same evening with the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Dobbs, who on its receipt exhibited a like pleasure and eagerness to carry into effect the King's wishes. The Bishop dined the next day with Sir Richard by appointment, when two aldermen and six others of the City were present, and the matter was earnestly talked over. The citizens did not shame the character Ridley had given them for wisdom and humanity. A very comprehensive and business-like plan was soon laid before the King. The poor were divided into three classes:—1. The poor by impotency, consisting principally of orphans, the aged, blind and lame, and lepers; 2. The poor by casualty, comprising "the wounded soldier, the decayed housekeeper," and diseased persons; 3. The thriftless poor, including "the rioter that consumeth all," "the vagabond that will abide in no place," and "the idle person, as strumpets and others." Such were the people for whom provision was now to be made. Bridewell was prepared for the last-mentioned class; the Hospitals of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas for the second (the decayed housekeeper being relieved at home); whilst as to the first—the leper having been comfortably housed in proper places, so as "to keep him out of the city," and "from clapping of dishes and ringing of bells," (the mode in which these unhappy creatures were accustomed to call attention to their wants), and the poor having been accommodated in an Almonry, belonging originally to the Priory of St. Mary Overies,—there remained only the destitute children to provide for: the largest, however, and in every way most important class. For these they set apart the most memorable of the old religious houses of London, the Gray Friars.

The work was commenced by a repair of the old conventual buildings, which had become greatly dilapidated, and the natural effects of time had been assisted by the carelessness of the tenants who occupied them after the dissolution. The citizens, animated by Edward's zeal, soon restored the place to a fit state, and in six months' time three hundred and forty children were admitted into the old monastic walls. They were then clothed in a livery of russet, which was soon changed for the garb that, with some trifling alterations, they still wear. In June 1553, the children, with the Corporation at their head, were received in that same palace wherein but a few months before Edward and Ridley had held their memorable conversation, and the charter of incorporation of the different hospitals before mentioned was delivered by the gratified King. An admirable description of that scene has been preserved by one who was no doubt an eye-witness—the great painter, Holbein, whose work, commemorative of the event, yet hangs in the Hospital hall. The young monarch, in an



easy, natural, and dignified position, sits on an elevated throne, in a scarlet and ermined robe, holding the sceptre in his left hand, and presenting with the other the charter to the kneeling Lord Mayor. By his side stands the Chancellor, holding the seals, and other officers of state. Bishop Ridley, deservedly a prominent figure, kneels before him, with uplifted hands, as if supplicating a blessing on the event: whilst the aldermen, &c., with the Lord Mayor, kneel on both sides, occupying the middle ground of the picture; citizens stand behind them; and lastly, in front, are a double row of boys on one side, and of girls on the other. The old-fashioned square windows, with rude niches between (two having statues), and the chequered floor, bear every mark of being real representations of the chief features of the old palace at Westminster. Stow describes, in his usually graphic manner, a scene which appears to have been a kind of supplement to that just referred to. He says, "And, for a further relief, a petition being made to the King's Majesty for a licence to take in mortmain, or otherwise without licence, lands to a certain yearly value, and a space left in the patent for his Grace to put in what sum would please him, he, looking on the void place, called for pen and ink, and with his own hand wrote this sum in these words:—'four thousand marks by the year;' and then said, in the hearing of his council, 'Lord, I yield thee most hearty thanks that thou hast given me life thus long to finish this work, to the glory of thy name.' After which foundation established, he lived not above two days, whose life would have been wished equal to the patriarchs, if it had pleased God so to have prolonged it."

Benefactions flowed in from different quarters to the support of the infant establishment; one of these in particular deserves especial mention:—"There was one Richard Castell, alias Casteller, shoemaker, dwelling in Westminster, a man of great travail and labour in his faculty with his own hands, and such a one as was named the *Cook of Westminster*; because, both winter and summer, he was at his work before four o'clock in the morning. This man, thus truly and painfully labouring for his living, God blessed and increased his labour so abundantly, that he purchased lands and tenements in Westminster, to the yearly value of forty and four pounds. And having no child, with the consent of his wife (who survived him, and was a virtuous good woman), gave the same lands wholly to Christ's Hospital aforesaid, to the relief of the innocent and fatherless children, and for the succour of the miserable sore and sick, harboured in the other hospitals about London."—(Stow.) The benevolent shoemaker's estate is now of considerable value. Another great benefactor was Sir Richard Dobbs, the first President, and the man who had so praiseworthy exerted himself, in the year of his mayoralty, in carrying out the King's wishes. Since the period of the foundation, the income of the institution has known much fluctuation, and consequently also the number of the inmates. The three hundred and forty children, with which the Hospital opened, had dwindled down, in 1580, to one hundred and fifty; at the present time there are above twelve hundred boys on the foundation in London and Hertford, and seventy girls. The object of the institution has also, in the lapse of time, become materially changed; which may, in a great measure, be attributed to the influence of the Governors or Benefactors, who have now long been the chief supporters of Christ's Hospital.

There are few places in London where visitors may be more frequently observed to stand and enjoy the scene before them than by those large gates which span the opening in Newgate Street, revealing the magnificent Hall to every passer by; with the countless throngs of hatless, blue-gowned, and yellow-stockinged boys, who are making the area before it resound again with their boisterous mirth. Such a scene, indeed, in the heart of London, may well excite notice: but there is some-



thing about a blue-coat boy, or his school, that makes him always an object of interest, whether you meet him in some remote street of London on his holiday, or on the top of a stage-coach during Christmas time, looking as blooming, and uncovered, and apparently as unconcerned as ever at the severities of the season, whilst every one else is shivering beneath the completest panoply of caps, shawls, and great coats,—or, lastly, in some remote country village, hundreds of miles from the school, where the annual visit of the blue-coat boy, in his strange costume, makes as much sensation among the more youthful inhabitants of the place, as the novel appearance of the conjurer from the neighbouring fair, and no doubt the attainments of the boy are supposed to be scarcely less wonderful. Many circumstances combine to create this interest.

Let us enter the gates and pass through the play-ground. We find to the right an entrance (beneath a new building containing dormitories) to the cloisters, forming a large square, enclosing a space called the Garden, where the monks are said to have been once accustomed to solace themselves, and which was at no very distant period covered with grass, and had a fine large tree in the centre. All this part is consecrated, and many burials have taken place both in the cloisters and the quadrangle within. The general burial-ground of the hospital is between the south cloister and the houses in Newgate Street, which conceal it from public view.

From the burial-ground we step into the well-known Christ Church Passage, which forms the entrance to the church and the east cloister, over which is the statue of the youthful founder. This, with the adjoining south front of the hospital, was erected soon after the destruction of the old front, with the church, &c., in the great fire, by Sir Robert Clayton, alderman, and sometime Lord Mayor; one of those men who

“ Did good by stealth, and blush'd to find it fame.”

The Church was built by Sir Christopher Wren, on the site of the choir of the conventual edifice, and is a large and handsome structure. But the Blue-coat boys are here also the chief feature, filling the gallery on both sides of the organ with an almost interminable expanse of faces, and where the order and silence prevailing among so dense a multitude are equally noticeable. Behind the church, and parallel with the East Cloister, is a kind of street opening from Butcher Hall Lane (now King Edward Street), in which are houses for the Masters, and the Counting House with the Court Room above, where the business of the institution is carried on, including the nomination of Governors, and the admittance of children to the benefits of the Hospital. A brief outline of the general management of the Hospital may be here fitly introduced. The Governors consist, first, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and twelve Common Council men, chosen by the other members of the Council; and, secondly, of noblemen and gentlemen of all ranks, who become benefactors to the amount of not less than £500—these elect, for life, an Alderman as President, in whom is vested the chief direction of affairs. The rights of presentation are thus exercised—the Lord Mayor annually nominates two children, and the President three (which includes their rights as Aldermen), each Alderman one, the Treasurer two, besides his occasional one as Governor; lastly, the Governors fill up the remaining vacancies by rotation. The principal qualifications required on the part of the children are,—that they be not less than seven, nor more than ten years of age; that they be neither foundlings nor maintained at the parish charge; that they have been born in wedlock; that they are free from any infectious distemper or incurable disease; and that their parents have no adequate means of maintaining and educating them. The other officers of the house comprise eight classical masters, four

writing masters, two mathematical masters, a French master, a drawing master and a singing master, in the schools; chief and assistant clerks, steward and matron, nurses, beadles, &c., &c. The admission of children and the ordinary routine of the affairs of the Hospital are managed by a numerous Committee of Governors, meeting once a month in the Court Room before mentioned, or in the Treasurer's room adjoining. Here also the Governors and Officers dine together on certain days in every year. It is a handsome, stately-looking place, with a vaulted ceiling, crossed near each end by a carved oak beam supported on a pillar. At the farther end, behind the President's chair, is the famous picture of Edward VI., by Holbein. Two other portraits of the King, one on each side, testify the grateful remembrance in which he is here held. There are various other portraits hung around the walls of this room, and that of the chief clerk's below; among the rest, one of Dame Mary Ramsey, who made a most magnificent bequest to the Hospital, now producing above £4000 yearly. A curious anecdote is told of this lady. She intended to have bequeathed some £500 a year to St. Peter's College, Cambridge, on the condition of the College taking the name of "Peter and Mary." Dr. Soames, the master, drily remarked that "Peter, who so long lived single, was now too old to have a feminine partner;" and so refused the offer. Fuller may well call this "a dear jest."

At the termination of Counting House Yard we find the old play-ground nearly facing Little Britain. This extensive area is called the Ditch, from the circumstance that the great watercourse which environed the ancient city wall ran through it, as, indeed, in the form of a drain, it still does. On the northern side of the Ditch are the Grammar and Mathematical Schools, on the western the Writing School, and on the southern the beautiful architectural gateway over the cloister, which at once, as it were, divides and connects the two quadrangles of the Ditch and the Garden. The Writing School was built by one of the Presidents of the Hospital, Sir John Moore, the architect being Wren. The founder's statue very appropriately stands in front of the building. The elegant structure comprising the Grammar and Mathematical Schools was built in 1832, from the designs of the architect of the Hospital, the late Mr. Shaw. The statues are those of Charles II., the original founder of the Mathematical School, and Edward VI. The interior consists chiefly of two large apartments, with studies, &c., for the masters. Though the buildings have disappeared with which most of the interesting school-memories of the Hospital are connected, yet even the site has a certain interest. One still seems to breathe the same air with the master-minds whose first weak and aimless attempts were here guided and strengthened. Coleridge was here; and a memorable record of his presence, and of the benefits he owed to the Hospital, and its then master, the Rev. James Boyer, has been left to us in the poet's own words:—"He (the master)," writes Coleridge, "early moulded my taste to the preference of Demosthenes to Cicero, of Homer and Theocritus to Virgil, and again of Virgil to Ovid. He habituated me to compare Lucretius, Terence, and, above all, the chaster poems of Catullus, not only with the Roman poets of the (so-called) silver and brazen ages, but with even those of the Augustan era; and on grounds of plain sense and universal logic to see and assert the superiority of the former, in the truth and nativeness both of their thoughts and diction. At the same time that we were studying the Greek tragic poets, he made us read Shakspeare and Milton as lessons; and they were the lessons, too, which required most time and trouble to bring up, so as to escape his censure. I learned from him that poetry, even that of the loftiest and seemingly that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science, and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent upon more fugitive causes. In our English compositions (at least for the



last three years of our school education) he showed no mercy to phrase, metaphor, or image, unsupported by a sound sense, or where the same sense might have been conveyed with equal force and dignity in plainer words. Lute, harp, and lyre—muse, muses, and inspirations—Pegasus, Parnassus, and Hippocrene, were all an abomination to him. In fancy I can almost hear him now exclaiming,—‘Harp? Harp! Lyre? Pen and ink, boy, you mean! Muse, boy? Muse! Your nurse’s daughter, you mean! Pierian spring? Oh! ay! the cloister-pump, I suppose!’” It is only right to observe, that Mr. Leigh Hunt has given, in his ‘Recollections of his Life,’ and “from his own experience,” a terrible reverse to the picture. There is no doubt that Mr. Boyer carried his severity, if not worse qualities, to an undue length. Coleridge himself observed, when he heard of his death, “It was lucky that the cherubim who took him to heaven were nothing but faces and wings, or he would infallibly have flogged them by the way.” Here also was educated Charles Lamb, who has left us two pleasant papers on the Hospital. Going regularly back from the present period into the history of the School, we find among its names, Barnes, the late Editor of the ‘Times,’ “than whom,” says Mr. Leigh Hunt, “no man, if he had cared for it, could have been more certain of attaining celebrity for wit and literature;” Mitchell, the translator of ‘Aristophanes;’ Lamb, Coleridge, Bishop Middleton, Jeremiah Markland, esteemed the best scholar and critic of the last century; Richardson, the great novelist; Joshua Barnes, another famous scholiast, Bishop Stillingfleet, Camden, the most illustrious of British antiquarians.

With notices of the infirmary, the dormitory, and the hall, we shall conclude. Although there is little general need of the large building, erected in 1822, for the purposes of the infirmary, the average number of patients being about *twenty only*, yet it was wisely anticipated that some prevailing epidemic might suddenly appear in the hospital, and, without such provision, might be attended with alarming consequences. It stands behind the hall. The principal dormitories are erected one on each of the east and west sides of the cloister; and present, of course, very similar interior arrangements. The one through which we passed had a row of pillars down the centre, with a range of beds projecting from the line of their base, on each side, and similar ranges from each wall; and very convenient, comfortable-looking little beds they are—each numbered, and each having at the extremity the little box for the books, playthings, &c., of the young owner. Dim lamps, having a very cloistral sort of appearance, are suspended from the ceiling. At the end are the nurse’s apartments, with their curtained windows, looking like a little interior house. But the most noticeable feature of the spot was the corner against the nurses’ apartments, where stood a bed of a more distinguished-looking character than the rest, and by its side a glazed door with the light shining through:—the lamp of the solitary student, one of the intellectual aristocracy of the Hospital, a Deputy Grecian. Before we quit the dormitory, let us in a few words trace the history of a Blue-coat boy’s day. A bell rings at seven (six in summer), that is the signal to rise; at a quarter past, the boys proceed to the lavatory (a model of convenient arrangement), to wash; at eight, they breakfast in the hall. School begins at nine, and lasts till twelve; the boys again wash, play for half an hour, when they hurry into the hall to dinner. From half-past one to four the schools are again open; another half hour’s play, then supper at five in the hall, washing at six; prayers read by the monitor in the dormitory afterwards complete the day’s proceedings. Several small intervals of spare time of course occur, which the boys find no difficulty in disposing of.

The first stone of the new Hall was laid in 1825, by the Duke of York, in the presence of an imposing array of distinguished persons, and was opened in 1829, with



cereemonials of a still more important character. The exterior of this beautiful building is too well known to need description: we merely therefore observe that it is built in the purest style of Gothic architecture, with embattled and pinnacled summit, octagonal towers at the ends, very lofty pointed windows, and low arches in the basement, opening upon an arcade, where the boys find shelter during their sports in bad weather. A bust of Edward decorates the space over the centre arch. The Hall stands on an interesting spot; being erected partly over the foundations of the Refectory of the Gray Friars, and partly on the site of the old City wall. The interior forms, next to Westminster Hall, the noblest room in the metropolis. It measures one hundred and eighty-seven feet in length, fifty-one wide, and forty-six and a half high, and it is in every respect as architecturally beautiful as it is gigantic in dimensions.

The "public suppers" of Christ's Hospital have long been celebrated, and deservedly, for their interesting character. In this magnificent Hall they derive new attractions. They are held on every Sunday evening, from the commencement of February until Easter. At the appointed time the two rows of chandeliers are lighted, and shed their brilliant illumination through the extensive space; the "trade boys," whose turn it is to officiate (a party to each table), bring in their baskets of bread, knives, &c., leathern piggins, into which the beer is poured from a leathern "jack," and among the rest one brings variegated candles, which are lighted and scattered about the tables. Now come the boys, who seat themselves at their respective tables, each of which has its separate nurse. All thus far prepared, precisely at seven o'clock the procession enters, consisting of the Lord Mayor, President, Treasurer, and Governors, walking two by two; the organ swells out its welcome, the vast youthful assemblage stands up and joins in the psalm, which is led by the singing boys in the organ gallery, and as it proceeds the great personages take their seat on the raised dais stretching across the Hall at the farther end. A splendidly-carved chair, framed from the oak of old St. Katherine's Church, invites the Lord Mayor to the chief direction of the feast. Behind him and the long row of personages who accompany him, sit the more distinguished visitors, including a brilliant galaxy of bright jewels, and brighter eyes, enough to dazzle the vision of the more romantic among those young gazers. Strangers are admitted into the gallery where Holbein's picture is placed, and also into the body of the Hall. The last are also allowed the further indulgence of walking to and fro between the tables as soon as the supper is commenced, on the close of the singing, reading, and prayers. After supper the organ again reverberates through the Hall, and the lovers of music find in the anthem which is now sung not the least interesting of the features of the evening. The singing boys now join their fellows, and the nurse of the first table leads the way, followed by the boys two and two, towards the Lord Mayor, where she curtsies, and they bow, trade boys and all with their baskets (there is a smile sometimes at their expense); then along the whole length of the room towards the door, where they disappear. And thus, till the whole eight hundred and odd boys have passed in review before the high civic dignitary, continues the long procession to glide on, the organ pealing again as grandly as ever.

We must make a brief visit to the kitchen beneath the Hall, which is of truly Cyclopean architecture, with its tall and massy granite pillars, if it be only to allude to the great ameliorations that have been made of late years both in the quality and quantity of the boys' food, and for the purpose of introducing an incident, having no remote connection with the subject, which is too honourable to all parties to be overlooked. Charles Lamb is the recorder. It appears that, in spite of the small amount

of food allowed, much of what was given could not be eaten, more particularly the fat of the fresh boiled beef, which was called *gag*. And, says Charles Lamb, "A gageater in our time was equivalent to a goule, and held in equal detestation." Notwithstanding this universality of feeling, it appears there was one memorable exception. This boy "was observed after dinner carefully to gather up the remnants left at his table (not many, nor very choice fragments, you may credit me), and, in an especial manner, these disreputable morsels, which he would convey away, and secretly stow in the settle that stood at his bedside. None saw when he ate them. It was rumoured that he privately devoured them in the night. He was watched, but no traces of such midnight practices were discoverable. Some reported that, on leave-days, he had been seen to carry out of the bounds a large blue check handkerchief, full of something. This, then, must be the accursed thing. Conjecture next was at work to imagine how he could dispose of it. Some said he sold it to the beggars. This belief generally prevailed. He went about moping. None spake to him. No one would play with him. He was excommunicated; put out of the pale of the school. He was too powerful a boy to be beaten, but he underwent every mode of that negative punishment which is more grievous than many stripes. Still he persevered. At length he was observed by two of his school-fellows, who were determined to get at the secret, and had traced him one leave-day for that purpose, to enter a large worn-out building such as there exist specimens of in Chancery Lane, which are let out to various scales of pauperism, with open door and a common staircase. After him they silently slunk in, and followed by stealth up four flights, and saw him tap at a poor wicket, which was opened by an aged woman, meanly clad. Suspicion was now ripened into certainty. The informers had secured their victim. They had him in their toils. Accusation was formally preferred, and retribution most signal was looked for. Mr. Hathaway, the then steward (for this happened a little after my time\*), with that patient sagacity which tempered all his conduct, determined to investigate the matter before he proceeded to sentence. The result was, that the supposed mendicants, the receivers or purchasers of the mysterious scraps, turned out to be the parents of — (the boy), an honest couple come to decay, whom this seasonable supply had, in all probability, saved from mendicancy; and, that this young stork, at the expense of his own good name, had all this while been only feeding the old birds! The governors on this occasion, much to their honour, voted a present relief to the family, and presented him with a silver medal."

The principal other old metropolitan schools were established in the following order:—the Mercers' own free-grammar school, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.; the Merchant Tailors' in 1567; St. Saviour's, 1562; St. Olave's, 1570; and Westminster, 1590. The Mercers' School originally formed a part of the Hospital of St. Thomas-of-Acon's, a religious establishment of such great wealth and rank that its master, at the time of the dissolution, was a mitred abbot, and the revenues truly princely. Henry VIII. sold the buildings and a part of its land to the Mercers' Company, stipulating for once that the school should be maintained. But the merit of this precaution seems to belong to Sir Thomas Gresham, who, Strype says, was instrumental in the making of the arrangement. From this period the school became a regular free-school. In 1804 the Company wisely departed from the strictly classical system previously pursued, by including the other branches of a sound general edu-

\* Mr. Matthias Hathaway was appointed steward in 1790.



tion; and in 1809 increased the numbers of its scholars from 25 to 35, and since then again to 70. There are no restrictions as to age or place of residence of scholars, but a certain amount of proficiency is deemed indispensable. The instruction is perfectly gratuitous; and there is attached to the school the farther advantage of two University exhibitions of £50 per annum each, for five years, to reward occasionally the most meritorious students. Of this school Colet was a member, also Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Lionel, afterwards Lord, Cranfield, and Bishop Wren. The masters are four in number. The school, like that of St. Paul's, is constantly full.

The school of the Merchant Tailors is an honourable instance of the application of surplus funds by a City company, assisting, as it does, to a considerable extent, in the education of no less than 250 pupils. It was founded in 1561 for children of all nations and countries indifferently, which in 1731 was interpreted to mean that Jews were to be excepted, or else the Company had grown in the interim less tolerant in its views. Attached to the school are thirty-seven fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas White for its scholars: in consequence, several of the best are yearly sent to the University. A long list of eminent names graces the pages of the school-records of Merchant Tailors: we read there Lancelot Andrews, Juxon, Charles I.'s spiritual companion on the scaffold, William Lowth the elder, Sandys, the traveller, Dr. Schomberg, Sir James and Bulstrode Whitelock, Robert, the first Lord Clive, with archbishops, bishops, &c., too numerous to mention. The education here is strictly classical and mathematical, and conducted by four masters.

The school of St. SAVIOUR deserves respectful mention, were it only for the admirable practical rules drawn up by its founders. According to one of these, the Master is to be a man of a wise, sociable, and loving disposition, not hasty or furious, nor of any ill example; he shall be wise and of good experience, *to discern the nature of every several child*; to work upon the disposition for the greatest advantage, benefit, and comfort of the child; to learn with the love of his book: unfortunately, it was necessary then as now to add, "if such a one may be got." The sports of the scholars, by the same rules, were directed to be shooting with the long-bow, chess, running, wrestling, and leaping. Scholars pay £1 entrance-money, and £2 per annum. This agrees but ill with one part of the intentions of the founders in 1526, that the school should be for children, as well of the poor as of the rich.

The founders of St. OLAVES, in 1570, seem to have had these words in view when they formed their establishment for "children and younglings as well of rich as poor," being inhabitants of the parish. Elizabeth consented, it seems, to become the patron, and it was, consequently, called her school; but her name and a legal status seem to have been all she gave to it. An excellent general education was provided, which was to be so truly free that not even books were to be paid for, and the masters were not to receive any fee or reward, directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatever. The age of admittance is six or seven, and the boys remain generally till fourteen, when those of humbler condition are apprenticed; others, who are studying for the learned professions, may remain an almost unlimited time. Two exhibitions of £80 each at the Universities are connected with the school. St. Olaves is now one of the most valuable of metropolitan schools. The funds have been so greatly increased in progress of time, that they amount at present to about £3000 a year. With the enlargement of the means the ends have been pursued, of late years at least, in a correspondingly liberal spirit. The old school-houses having been pulled down for the construction of the London and Greenwich Railway, a handsome new gothic building has been erected near the line of railway on the west. The school is exclusively for the parish, or rather the two parishes, into which the old St. Olaves has



been divided, and is only the more efficient from that very exclusiveness: since the number of children taught (limited only by the capacity of the buildings) is so large, nearly six hundred, that undue preferences, whether of persons or of classes, become alike unnecessary and impracticable to any important extent: the parish therefore is and must be done justice to. The establishment is divided into two schools—the classical, and the English. The tuition in the two schools merely differs in this, that whilst all the ordinary branches of English education, with the classics, are taught in the one, in the other the classics are omitted. This difference points to the practical difference that exists between the classes of society to which the children of the schools respectively belong, the classical school receiving generally those of the middle, the English those of the poorer inhabitants of the parish. The number of boys in the first is now about 320, in the second about 250; taught, in each case, by three masters.

The last, best known, and historically the most important, of all the old schools of London remains yet to be noticed. Who has not heard of the WESTMINSTER boys, of their plays and disputations, of their illustrious roll of great men who have been educated within the Old Abbey precincts, and of the Masters who have made the world ring again with the fame of their learning, almost as much as they have made the school walls reverberate with the sounds of the lash and the cries of the lashed? Personify all the awful visions that ever shook the nerves of the youthful dreamers of punishment yet to be received for hours of unlicensed absence, or tasks too late taken in hand, and whose but Dr. Busby's terrible shadow rises to the view? Perchance, whipping with him was a piece of honest enthusiasm, and not by any means a mere ebullition of impatience or ill temper. Pointing to a scholar, he said one day, "I see great talents in that sulky boy, and I shall endeavour to bring them out." Dr. South was the result of the discipline that followed. Of the masters prior to Busby, the most worthy of notice is Camden, who was made Under-Master in 1571, and whilst in that position composed his great work, the 'Britannia.' In 1592 he received the appointment of Head-Master. Ben Jonson was one of his scholars. To give any adequate idea of the number of the scholars who, by their subsequent career, have shed a glory over the school that educated them, is all but hopeless.

There are some curious points in the management of this school. The mode of election of boys upon the foundation is one of these. We must premise that the present school forms a constituent part of the establishment of the Cathedral, and dates therefore from the final settlement of the latter in 1560, when it was determined, as regards the school, that there should be two Masters, and forty King's or Queen's scholars. "Town boys" are therefore received as well as Queen's scholars, and from the first the second are elected. No one who has once witnessed the mode of election will ever forget it. At the commencement of Lent a certain number of boys, generally from twenty to thirty, announce themselves to the Master as candidates for college. An arduous training is passed through by each boy before the day of contest arrives, under the care of one who has already passed the ordeal, and a most interesting feature of the business is the zeal of these assistants for their "men," as they call them. Morning, noon, and eve they are constantly by their side, teaching them all the tactics of the intellectual *carte* and *tierce* for which they are preparing. The great event commences at last. The candidates are arranged according to their forms in the school, and their places in the forms. The "helps" are at hand to give all possible assistance. A lesson, some Greek epigrams, perhaps, is set, and the two lowest boys, figuratively speaking, enter the arena. The lowest of these is the challenger, and now calls upon his adversary to translate one of the epigrams, to parse any par-

— tular number of words in it, and to answer any grammatical questions connected with the subject. Demand after demand is made and correctly replied to. Baffled, but still determined, the challenger pursues, and at last some unlucky mistake is made; the head master, who sits as judge, triumphantly appealed to,—“It was a mistake” is the decision; the challenger and the challenged change places on the form, and then the latter, with a fierce eagerness, repeats the process by putting his questions. This continues till one of them is exhausted, feels he is beaten, and resigns the contest. The conqueror, flushed with victory, now turns to the boy above him, and supposing him to be one of those heroes who occasionally “flash amazement” on all around, will pass step by step upwards, taking ten, fifteen, aye, twenty places in succession, before he too is stopped and quails under a greater spirit. The result is, that from seven to ten of the boys are elected into the college, according to their precedence on the list of the most successful competitors, to take the places of those sent to the Universities. There are four studentships at Christ Church, Oxford, and three or four scholarships at Trinity, Cambridge. The selection of Queen’s scholars to fill the University vacancies is made yearly, after an examination by the heads of the two Colleges. The plays of Terence, annually performed in the large dormitory erected in the time of Atterbury’s deanship, from a design by the Earl of Burlington, are grand events in the histories of Westminster boys, and of their parents, who are regularly invited. The early scenery of the school, which was the gift of William Markham, Archbishop of York, was prepared under the direction of no less an authority than David Garrick. Another set of scenery was presented by Dr. Vincent. During performance, the pit is set apart for “old Westminsters,” who, as may be anticipated, contribute liberally to the “captain’s cap,” which is handed round at the end of the play. As much as £400 have been collected on some occasions, from which the expenses, generally heavy, having been deducted, the remainder is divided among the senior Queen’s scholars, who have that evening fretted their hour upon the stage.

This school, though partially supported from the cathedral revenues, is anything but a free-school. Both Town boys and Queen’s scholars pay for their education, and that pretty handsomely. The Queen’s scholars sleep in the dormitory before mentioned, and dine in the fine old hall, formerly the Abbot’s refectory: and there, in less degenerate times, they also breakfasted, on bread and cheese and beer, at six o’clock in the morning.

Of another great grammar school, THE CHARTER HOUSE, we have spoken in a previous number.

At the City of London School, founded under an old endowment, at an expense to the parents of about eight guineas yearly, instruction is given to 600 boys in the rudiments of an ordinary English education, with book-keeping, history and mathematics, the Latin, Greek, French and German languages.

#### MODERN EDUCATION.

HAVING thus noticed the principal educational establishments of a superior order, we may turn to those more extended institutions for general education which have grown up in our own day.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL is a stately building in the Borough Road. Meditating upon the importance of the influences with which it is connected, one cannot but feel a deep interest in tracing back to its origin, in the same locality, the powerful society whose operations, radiating from this spot, extend over a large portion of Eng-



land, we might almost say, of the world. Nothing could be humbler than that origin. A youth, the son of a soldier in the foot guards, residing here, moved by deep compassion for the ignorance and helplessness of the poor children around, obtains a room from his father to open a school, exerts all his energies to get it fitted up, and then throws wide the doors for general instruction. By his novel mode of tuition, and by the earnestness which can hardly fail with any mode, the school is speedily filled. The new teacher had ninety children under his care, long before he had himself reached the years of manhood. Such was the commencement of the career of Joseph Lancaster. Anxious to overcome the difficulty attending the expense of the education of the poor, he, for some years, endeavoured, with great ardour, to devise and perfect a system which should enable one master to teach several hundred children; and though it would be difficult to attribute any great excellence in the abstract to the monitorial system, which was the result of his labours, there can be no doubt that, comparatively, it has done great good. So benevolent and enlightened a man was not likely to remain long without supporters. The Duke of Bedford gave an early and cordial assistance, and in 1805 royalty itself deigned to smile on the labours of the schoolmaster: it was during Lancaster's interview with George the Third that the wish that every child in England might be able to read the Bible was expressed. In this age of self-seeking, it is gratifying to read of Lancaster's single-mindedness and devotion to principle. The most flattering overtures were made to him in connection with the proposition that he should join the established church; all which, as a dissenter, he respectfully but firmly declined. About this very time his affairs were so embarrassed, through the rapid extension of his plans of teaching, that in 1808 he placed them in the hands of trustees, and a voluntary society was formed to continue the good work he had begun. Hence the Society, which, in 1813, designated itself the "Institution for promoting the British [or Lancasterian] System for the Education of the labouring and manufacturing Classes of Society of every religious persuasion;" but now known simply as the "British and Foreign School Society." The institution in the Borough Road may be looked upon in a threefold aspect. It is, first, the Society's seat of government: secondly, here are held the model schools, one for each sex, in which the Society desires to have at all times examples for imitation by the branch schools; and in which, accordingly, improved modes of tuition are from time to time introduced. The mode of instruction is partly monitorial, partly simultaneous—that is, a large number are taught at once by a teacher, where the subject admits of such an arrangement. For this the children are disposed on ranges of seats, rising in succession one above another, and narrowing and receding as they rise, in the angle of the room, like the one side of a pyramid. The master's eye thus readily embraces the whole of the gallery. Thirdly, there are Normal Seminaries here, for the instruction of future masters and mistresses, who, whilst teaching in the model school classes, are students themselves in the art of tuition, the most important branch of their studies. Of these there were 51 in April, 1849, and 31 in April, 1850, with, at the last date, 38 female pupils. In London and the district within ten miles, the society have 210 schools, with 30,623 scholars.

About the same time that Lancaster brought his views prominently before the world, and thus, as we have seen, led the way to the establishment of one of our two great Educational Societies, Dr. Andrew Bell was similarly engaged, and his exertions ended in the formation of the other. Whilst superintendant of the Male Asylum at Madras, his attention was directed to the Hindu mode of writing in sand, and other peculiarities of their tuition, with which he was so pleased, that on his return to this



country he strongly recommended them as suitable for a system of general education. After a sharp controversy on the merits of the plans respectively proposed by the two educational reformers, and in which the supporters of education gradually became divided into two distinct parties, holding different views as to the mode and the extent to which religious instruction should be mixed with secular, the British and Foreign Society became the representative of that which desired to make the Bible the basis of religious instruction, but without doctrinal comments, and the NATIONAL of that which advocated the inculcation of the tenets of the Established Church. This is now the grand distinctive difference between the two Societies. Without for a moment questioning the purity of Dr. Bell's views, it is not uninteresting to mark his and his rival's very different fortunes. Lancaster, after passing from difficulty to difficulty, and being at one time insolvent, was solely indebted for the means of his existence in his latter days to a few old and faithful friends, who purchased an annuity for him, and in that position he died in 1838; on the other hand, Dr. Bell may be said to have stepped from honour to honour, with constantly increasing emoluments, and when he died in 1832, it was as a very rich man even in a country of rich men. Never, however, were rewards bestowed upon one who knew better how to exhibit his gratitude to the cause for which they had been given: 120,000*l.* was Dr. Bell's most magnificent bequest for the encouragement of literature and the advancement of education. 'The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales' was established in 1811, and from that period has, like its rival, exercised a beneficial effect within the sphere of its operations; but in both cases it is the impulse given within the last ten years, and which has been increasing in power up to the present moment,—it is this, and the prospects in consequence now open, that form their most truly gratifying features. The head-quarters of the National Society are in the Old Sanctuary, Westminster. This has also its Model or Central Schools, its Branch Schools all over the country, and its schools for teaching masters and mistresses, both adults and youths, the last on a scale of splendour at Stanley Grove, Chelsea, where the male pupils are trained. Of these last St. Mark's College, Chelsea, is a handsome building, where 60 students were educated in 1850, of whom 43 were boarded and lodged. At Battersea, where students are trained for masters in manufacturing districts, there were 67 in 1850. At Whitelands, which is for females, there were, in 1850, 75 pupils. The applications for teachers from among these pupils is far greater than can be supplied. In Middlesex there are 767 schools of various sorts, more or less intimately connected with this society, in which 80,977 children receive instruction.

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Of other institutions for the purposes of education the number is too large to admit of more than an enumeration, and even that will not include all, but only the most known.

The Church of England Sunday School Institute have in London and its suburbs 77 schools and 19,813 scholars.

The London Diocesan Board of Education have 347 schools and 5874 scholars.

The Wesleyans have 39 schools, in which 5362 children are taught, in addition to 245 Sunday schools, which have 3566 teachers, and are attended by 29,703 scholars.

The Home and Colonial School Society is for the extension generally of the infant school systems, for which object they train teachers. In the year ending April 1850 they had trained 263 teachers, and had 152 still on their books. In its schools

there are 130 scholars in the juvenile school, 160 in the infant school, and 260 in the practising school.

The Voluntary School Association have two normal schools for teachers, in which are eight male and four female pupils. This association is only in the second year of its existence; but they have within the last year granted considerable sums in aid of schools in the West Indies and at home.

The Sunday School Union have, according to their report of May 1850, 508 schools, with 10,207 teachers, and 100,075 scholars. They assist the establishment and maintenance of Sunday schools by grants of money and supplies of books and stationery, but do not interfere with the private management of the schools.

The Congregational Board of Education, in May 1850, had two normal schools, containing 18 male, and 18 female students; and they have 15 schools, with 1241 scholars, including both sexes.

The Ragged School Union, with which we shall conclude this branch of our subject, is a comparatively recent endeavour to extend the blessings of education, and of regular and orderly conduct, among a class hitherto almost entirely abandoned to ignorance, destitution, and consequently crime. For six years the Union have been active in planting schools in the very poorest and most wretched neighbourhoods; in teaching cleanliness, order, industry, and letters to the poor children there abounding in providing them employment as far as possible, and in some cases enabling them to emigrate. Their last report states, they have now 95 schools, 167 paid teachers, 1392 voluntary teachers; and that the attendance of children is on week days 5558, week evenings 5352, Sunday 10,439.

The Roman Catholics have several schools. Their 'Calendar for 1851' does not state the matter very clearly, but there seem to be about 1400 children in six schools.

The UNIVERSITY OF LONDON was created by charter of William IV., but owing to a defect in it a new one was granted by her present Majesty in 1837. It consists of a body of Fellows, including a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, who compose a Senate. The King is the Visitor, and to the Crown is reserved the power of from time to time appointing any number of Fellows; but in case the number should be at any time reduced below twenty-five, exclusive of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, the Members of the Senate may elect twelve or more persons to be Fellows, in order to complete the number of thirty-six Fellows, besides the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor is to be appointed by the Crown. The office of Vice-Chancellor is an annual one, and is filled by election by the Fellows from their own body.

In the Senate, six Fellows being a quorum, all questions are decided by the majority of the members present; the chairman has a second or casting vote. The Senate has the power of making regulations respecting the examination for degrees and the granting them, but such regulations require the approval of a Secretary of State. An examination for degrees must be held once a year at least. The candidates are to be examined in as many branches of general knowledge as the Senate shall consider most fitting. The Examiners are to be appointed by the Senate, either from their own body or otherwise. The Senate confers, after examination, the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, Doctor of Laws, Bachelor of Medicine, and Doctor of Medicine. At the conclusion of every examination, the examiners are to declare the name of every candidate whom they shall have deemed to be entitled to any of the degrees, and the departments of knowledge in which his



iciency shall have been evinced, and also his proficiency in relation to that of other candidates. The candidate is to receive a certificate under the seal of the University, and signed by the Chancellor, in which the particulars declared by the examiners are to be stated.

A candidate for degrees is entitled to examination on producing a certificate that he has completed the course of instruction required by the University. For degrees in Arts and Laws, the charter empowers University College, London, and King's College, London, to issue such certificates; and it provides that they be issued by such other institutions at any time established for the purposes of education as the Crown may authorise to issue them. As to degrees in Medicine, the Senate is required from time to time to report to one of the Secretaries of State what appear to them to be the medical institutions and schools in the United Kingdom, from which, either singly or jointly with other medical institutions and schools in this country or in foreign parts, it may be expedient to admit candidates for medical degrees. On the approval of such report by the Secretary of State, candidates for degrees are to be admitted to examination on presenting a certificate from any such institution or school. Any institution or school may from time to time be struck out of the report under which they obtain authority to issue certificates.

The Senate of the University, subject to the approbation of the Commissioners of the Treasury, are from time to time to give directions as to the fees which shall be charged for the degrees to be conferred.

Certificates to candidates for examination at this University are empowered to be granted by a number of scholastic establishments, chiefly of a collegiate form, and in various medical schools throughout the country. The two principal metropolitan colleges are KING'S COLLEGE and UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, the distinctive characteristics of which, like those of the two Educational Societies before described, are of a religious nature; King's College imparting religious instruction in accordance with the views of the Established Church; whilst the other, desiring to provide a neutral ground, where all may receive secular instruction without offence to any one's peculiar views, omits theology altogether from its regular academic courses. The same circumstance points to the peculiarities attending the origin of both. Next to the object proposed by the founders of University College when they promulgated their views in 1825, of providing a University education for the metropolis, was that of affording a similar opportunity to those who were shut out by religious tests from Oxford and Cambridge. The first stone of the building was laid in April, 1827, by the Duke of Sussex; and after a long struggle, chiefly with the Universities just mentioned, for a charter granting the power of conferring honours, an arrangement was finally concluded in 1836, by which that power was given to the University then constituted, and the College received a charter, recognising it as one of the schools entitled to send up candidates for examination. The number of students in 1850 was for Arts and Laws, 281; in Medicine, 254; in the junior school 235. The ordinary annual expenses of the College are about 3500*l.*, exclusive of the payments made from the students' fees to the professors and other masters. The College has been already endowed to a considerable extent by various benefactors. King's College, in the Strand, was founded in 1828, under the patronage of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries; and differs in no essential respects, apart from religious matters, from its rival. The number of its matriculated students, in 1850, was in general literature, theology, and sciences, 277; engineering, arts, manufactures, architecture, 98; and in the medical department, 159. There were also 83 provisional students in the various classes not medical, 37 in the medical, and 592



boys in the school connected with the College. It may be useful, as affording an idea of the expenses of a metropolitan university education (exclusive, of course, of such personal matters as board), to state that the fee on entering King's College, as a regular or matriculated student, is one guinea; and that, for example, the fee payable for the regular course of studies in the department of general literature and science is 21*l.*, if the student be nominated by a proprietor; 26*l.* 5*s.* if not so nominated. Both this and University College have medical hospitals attached, also museums, and libraries. The other colleges belonging to London are those of Homerton, Highbury, and Stepney. The hospitals and several medical schools in London are also recognised by the University.

The FOUNDLING HOSPITAL, though of a totally different character to any of the institutions already treated of, requires some notice. It is admirably situated, occupying a large space at the top of Lamb's Conduit Street, with a spacious fore-court, a large garden at the back, Mecklenburgh Square on the east, and Brunswick Square on the west. The hospital occupies three sides of a square, of which the centre forms the chapel—a neat building—while the wings are of plain brick, occupied by the children. The interior of the chapel is large, light, and generally elegant in its appearance: the windows have stained glass; the altar-piece is by West—'Christ blessing little Children'; the organ, though altered and improved, was the gift of Handel; and on this instrument, year after year, did he conduct the performance of the 'Messiah,' for the benefit of the hospital, adding, it is said, £10,000 to its funds; the hymns and choruses of the church service are sung by the children and a professional choir; and it is a popular place of resort on a Sunday. A governor stands at the entrance with a plate to receive the donations of visitors, and they are said to amount to £1000 a year beyond the expense of the professional assistance alluded to.

As we leave the chapel on the conclusion of the service, we perceive that the musical performances, though the chief, are by no means the only attraction of the visitors to the Foundling. Mingling with the throng which at the outer extremity of the hall passes through a door on the left along a passage, we find ourselves in the girls' dining-room, an apartment of great length, hung round with pictures of no ordinary merit. Here is Hogarth's well-known and capital portrait of Captain Coram, the founder of the institution, of whom we shall presently have to speak; Dr. Mead's by Ramsay, the Earl of Dartmouth's by Sir Joshua Reynolds, besides others by Hudson (Reynolds' master) and Shackleton. But the general attention is now withdrawn from the walls. The girls enter, and take their stand each in her proper place against the long row of tables that extends from end to end of the room, the crowd forming a lane on either side. A moment's pause, and a sweet voice is heard saying grace; the utterer is that modest-looking girl in the centre of the table, who from her superior height and appearance seems chosen as one of the oldest among her companions. Scarcely has she finished before another girl at the end of the table, dispenses, with the ease and rapidity of habit, from the large dishes of baked meat and vegetables before her, the dinners of the expectant children, plate following plate with marvellous rapidity till all are satisfied. This room occupies a great portion of the easternmost wing or side of the edifice; the boys' dining-room is in a similar situation, though more contracted in its dimensions, in the opposite wing; and the economy of their table differs little from that of the girls previously noticed. The public promenade through the Hospital is not yet exhausted. There are the long wards with their rows of clean and comfortable little beds, and baskets

the foot of each, and there is the pleasure-ground into which the windows of some of the chief apartments open.

The two most interesting apartments of the Hospital are those devoted respectively to the use of the secretary and to the meetings of the committee or executive of the institution, and which very properly are not shown on the sabbath. The object of the governors in throwing open the other portions of the edifice described is, we presume, to enable the public constantly to judge of the treatment and condition of the children; an excellent reason, but which, of course, does not apply to the apartments here mentioned. These are in the western wing. In the secretary's room are 'Elisha saving the Child,' an immense sea-piece by Brooking, painted within the walls, landscapes and portraits; but the gem of the place, and indeed of the entire collection, is Hogarth's 'March to Finchley.' The history of this work is curious. Among his other benefactions to the Hospital, Hogarth gave a number of unsold tickets connected with the disposal of the 'March to Finchley' by lottery; one of these tickets obtained the prize.

The committee-room, into which we next enter, was of course a chief point of attraction; and its walls show very strikingly the generous strife which had prevailed in its decoration. The beautiful stucco ceiling, the marble chimney-piece, the verd antique table, with its magnificently-carved support, and the glass above it, are respectively the gifts of different artists. Rysbrack gave the beautiful piece of sculpture over the mantel-piece; Hogarth, Hayman, Wills, and Highmore, contributed the four great pictures which occupy so large a portion of the walls; whilst Wilson, Ainsborough, and others of humbler name, filled the eight small round compartments interspersed between the more pretending works, representing different metropolitan hospitals. Of the four large pictures, Highmore's represents the 'Angel of the Lord and Ishmael;' Wills's, 'Christ showing a Child as the emblem of Heaven;' Hayman's, the 'Finding of Moses;' and Hogarth's, the 'Adoption of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter.' It will be seen from what we have stated that the Hospital may pride itself upon the possession of some fine works of art. To these have been recently added a most valuable acquisition—a Cartoon by Raphael.

In the room thus decorated by the hand of genius the committee sits every Wednesday that determines all applications for admission—a most delicate and important duty, and one that is so bound up with the peculiar history of the institution that we can have no better opportunity of relating its rise and progress than the present.

Addison, in one of his periodical essays in the 'Guardian' (No. 105), says, "I will mention a piece of charity which has not yet been exerted among us, and which deserves our attention the more because it is practised by most of the nations about us. I mean a provision for foundlings, or for those children who, through want of such a provision, are exposed to the barbarity of cruel and unnatural parents. One does not know how to speak on such a subject without horror; but what multitudes of infants have been made away with by those who brought them into the world, and were afterwards ashamed or unable to provide for them! There is scarce an assizes where some unhappy wretch is not executed for the murder of a child; and how many more of these monsters of inhumanity may we suppose to be wholly undiscovered, or cleared of want of legal evidence!" In consequence of this, and probably similar appeals, the matter at that time proceeded so far that various persons left by their wills sums for the support of the projected charity; but it was not until Captain Thomas Coram came upon the scene, about ten years later, that the scheme assumed a tangible shape. This gentleman, who had been bred to the sea, and was then the master of a vessel trading to the colonies, became, it is said, interested in the work to which he



was about to devote the greater part of his life and energies, from the circumstance that, in passing to and fro between Rotherhithe and London in pursuance of his avocations, he frequently saw infants exposed in the streets, deserted by their parents, and left to perish through the inclemency of the seasons. Coram accordingly took the matter in hand; and, unappalled by seventeen years of difficulties, held it firmly to the last, and until he saw the complete establishment of his darling institution. Every kind of appeal had he to urge, many personal humiliations to undergo, before arriving at this result. A charter was granted by George II., on October 17, 1739, which recited that "Thomas Coram, in behalf of great numbers of helpless infants daily exposed to destruction, had, by his petition, represented that many persons of quality and distinction, as well as others of both sexes, being sensible of the frequent murders committed on poor miserable infants by their parents to hide their shame, and the inhuman custom of exposing new-born children to perish in the streets, or training them up in idleness, beggary, and theft, had, by instruments in writing, declared their intentions to contribute liberally towards the erecting an Hospital, after the example of other Christian countries, and for supporting the same." The charter then appoints a body corporate of governors and guardians, including John, Duke of Bedford, and three hundred and fifty other persons, among whom were several peers, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justice and Chief Baron, the Speaker, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Coram—certainly a goodly assemblage to conduct the affairs of the infant charity. The preliminary measures having been taken, on the 26th of October, 1740, there appeared on the door of the house in Hatton Garden (distinguished by the shield above it, painted by Hogarth, and the first of his numerous gifts to the charity) the following notice:—"To-morrow, at eight o'clock in the evening, this house will be opened for the reception of twenty children, under the following regulations:—No child exceeding the age of two months will be taken in, nor such as have the evil, leprosy, or disease of the like nature, whereby the health of the other children may be endangered; for the discovery whereof every child is to be inspected as soon as it is brought, and the person who brings it is to come in at the outward door and ring a bell at the inward door, and not to go away until the child is returned or notice given of its reception; but no questions whatever will be asked of any person who brings a child, nor shall any servant of the house presume to endeavour to discover who such person is, on pain of being discharged. All persons who bring children are requested to fix on each child some particular writing, or other distinguishing mark or token, so that the children may be known if hereafter necessary." The twenty children accordingly were taken in, and a notice affixed over the door, "*The house is full.*" We may imagine the scene Hatton Garden presented at that moment, with probably five times as many mothers with their infants rejected as had been chosen, and gazing upon that notice with all the heartburnings and rage of the unsuccessful, in a competition where the choice seems necessarily to have lain among the strongest, or those who could best elbow their way through the clamorous and excited crowd. These melancholy and disgraceful scenes were subsequently got rid of by an ingenious balloting process; all the women being admitted into the court-room to draw balls from bags, those who drew black ones were summarily dismissed, those who drew white were entitled to an admission for their children if eligible, whilst those who drew red might remain to draw once more among themselves for any vacancies left open by the ineligibility of any of the former class.

In 1745 the western wing of the present Hospital was opened and the house at Hatton Garden given up; the other two portions of the edifice soon followed, and



1747 the chapel was begun. And here, full of years and honours, was buried Coram, in 1751, the first person interred in the place. His had been a busy as well as a benevolent nature. He did not confine his exertions to the foundation of this hospital, but embarked in various other useful and patriotic objects chiefly in connexion with the colonies; but he was truly disinterested, and at the age of *thity-two* he found himself destitute. This was of course not long left unremedied. Arrangements were made to raise an annuity by subscription, but, in order to be sure that they were not offending Coram by the scheme, Dr. Brockishby waited upon him, and put the question plainly to him. The old man's reply was truly dignified. "I have not wasted," said he, "the little wealth of which I as formerly possessed in self-indulgence or vain expenses, and am not ashamed to confess that in my old age I am poor." A deed, yet carefully preserved among the hospital records, shows the result of the subscription: it is dated March 30, 1749, and binds the parties whose names are subscribed to it to pay the different sums annexed, amounting in all to a hundred and sixty-one guineas yearly. Coram lived only two years to enjoy this evidence of the respect of his fellow-men. He died on the 29th of March, and in the evening of the 1st of April following was buried in the chapel. The body was met at the gate by the Governors and the children, who then preceded it two and two together towards its last earthly home. Immediately before the coffin the charter was borne by a person, on a crimson velvet cushion. The pall was supported by numerous distinguished persons. On entering the chapel, already filled to the uttermost corner by the assembled spectators, a part of the choir of St. Paul's raised the solemn and affecting strains of the burial service composed by Dr. Boyce, who himself officiated at the organ. The body was finally deposited under the communion-table.

During the period from the establishment of the Hospital to about five years after the death of Coram the applications for admission were so constantly beyond the number that the funds would admit, that the Governors ultimately determined to petition Parliament for assistance. It received the application favourably, and on the 6th of April, 1756, granted the sum of £10,000, on the condition that all children under a certain age (first two months, then six, and lastly, as at present, twelve) should be received. And now commenced a state of things that had well-nigh utterly destroyed the institution, and which for a time caused it to be looked on, and not unjustly, as the greatest curse in the shape of a blessing that well-meant charity had ever inflicted. To make the act of application as agreeable as possible, a basket was hung at the gate, and all the trouble imposed on parents was the ringing of a bell, as they deposited their little burdens, to inform the officers of the act. Prostitution was never before, in England at least, made so easy. The new system began on the 2nd of June, 1756, on which day 117 children were received, and before the close of the year the vast number of 1783 were adopted by the institution. Far from being frightened at this army of infants so suddenly put under their care, the Governors appear to have been apprehensive of being neglectful of the uses and capacities of the institution; for in the following June appeared advertisements in the chief public papers, and notices at the end of every street, informing all who were concerned how very widely open were the Hospital gates. Such attention was not ill bestowed; 3727 children were admitted that year, and in all, during the three years and ten months this precious system lasted, nearly 15,000 infants were received into the Foundling Hospital! And now for some of the consequences. "There is set on in our corporation (writes a correspondent from a town three hundred miles distant, in one of the chronicles of the day) a new and uncommon trade, namely, the

conveying children to the Foundling Hospital. The person employed in this trade is a woman of a notoriously bad character. She undertakes the carrying of these children at so much per head. She has, I am told, made one trip already, and is now set upon her journey with two of her daughters, each with a child on her back.\* From another quarter† we learn that the charge for bringing up children from Yorkshire, four in two panniers slung across a horse's back, was for some time eight guineas a trip, but competition had in that, as in other pursuits, lowered the price. It was perhaps to make up for the reduction in the profits that certain carriers, before leaving the children, actually stripped the little creatures naked for the sake of the value of their clothing, and thus left them in the basket! The same authority also states that out of eight babes brought up from the country for the Foundling Hospital at one time in a waggon, seven died before it reached London.

Of 14,934 children received under the new system, only 4400 lived to be apprenticed! On the 8th of February, 1760, a resolution was passed in Parliament, declaring "That the indiscriminate admission of all children under a certain age into the Hospital had been attended with many evil consequences, and that it be discontinued." From 1756 to 1771, the years of the Parliamentary connection, the national funds contributed, it appears, no less a sum than 549,796*l.* 16*s.* to the expenses of this ill-judged experiment. Yet it was not till 1801 that the most objectionable practice of taking children without inquiry, on a payment of £100, was formally abolished. We now proceed to explain the present system of the charity.

The children are admitted on the application of the mother, who must in other respects have borne a good character, and must depose to the abandonment by the father, and its non-recognition by the parish authorities. On admission the child is re-baptised in a new name, and sent to the country to be nursed till it is five years old. It is then brought back to the Hospital, where it receives a very moderate education; the boys are apprenticed out, and the girls are either apprenticed or fitted for service. The results, however, have not been unsatisfactory. Of 103 girls it is stated that 77 at the expiration of their apprenticeship received gratuities varying from two to five guineas for their good conduct, (gratuities only awarded on the presentation of a certificate by their employers,) 4 died, 3 became insane or imbecile or invalid, 7 forfeited the gratuity for obstinacy without vice, 3 committed offences during their apprenticeship, but reformed afterwards and became respectable characters, 4 never applied for the gratuity, and of the whole number 3 only turned out bad characters. The remaining 2 were discovered by their mothers during their apprenticeship, and quietly taken away. The number of children now provided for is about 400. It is true that, in a literal sense, the exact object of Coram has not been obtained or found practicable—the taking care of "exposed and deserted" infants; but it would be difficult to say the Hospital has not done what Coram must have much desired, that is, prevented such infants from being so exposed or deserted; and certainly, in the present management and influences of the Hospital, there is nothing that would make him less proud of his title as its Founder.

\* Transcribed from 'Hans Sloane; a Tale illustrating the History of the Foundling Hospital in London; by John Brownlow:' a little work by one of the officers of the hospital, containing many interesting facts relative to the latter.

† 'The Tendencies of the Foundling Hospital in its present extent considered: 1760.'





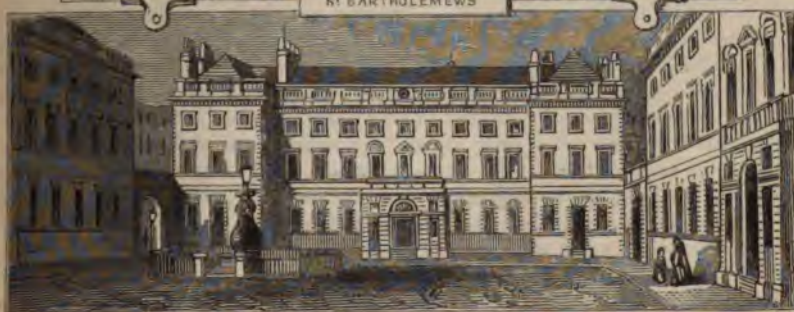
BETHLEM HOSPITAL,  
AND GUY'S SOUTHWARK



ST. GEORGE  
AND ST. THOMAS



ST. BARTHOLEMES



KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XV. HOSPITALS AND LUNATIC ASYLUMS.





## MEDICAL AND SURGICAL HOSPITALS, AND LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

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There is scarcely a district of London which is without its hospital of one kind or other; but we shall first notice the three great endowed hospitals, of which two of ancient foundation, and are historically interesting. The most ancient of these is **BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL**. Rahere, the minstrel of King Henry I., not content with founding the priory of St. Bartholomew, annexed to it an hospital, about the year 1122, for the relief of poor and sick persons. The character of Rahere was a remarkable one. Among the manuscripts of the British Museum is one entirely devoted to the life, character, and doings of Rahere, written evidently shortly after his death by a monk of the establishment, and which, for the details it also gives of the circumstances attending the establishment of a great religious house in the thirteenth century, its glimpses into the manners and customs, the modes of thought and feeling of the time—and, above all, for its marked superiority of style to the writings then generally issued from the cloister—forms perhaps one of the most extraordinary, as it certainly is one of the most interesting, of monastical documents. In consideration of all these circumstances, we shall make no scruple to transcribe freely from the good old monk's papers; valuing them all the more for the important but characteristic marvels they detail in matters of faith, as being an additional testimony to their authentic character with regard to matters of fact.

Here, it appears, was a "man sprung and born from low *kynage* : when he attained the power of youth he began to haunt the households of noblemen and the palaces of kings; where, under every elbow of them, he spread their cushions, with japes and jests delectably anointing their eyes, by this manner to draw to him their friendship.

And still he was not content with this, but often haunted the king's palace, among the noiseful press of that tumultuous court informed himself with politeness and cardinal suavity, by the which he might draw to him the hearts of many a one.

In spectacles, in meetings, in plays, and other courtly mockeries and trifles indeed, he led forth the business of all the day. This wise to the king and great to the people, gentle and courteous known, familiar and fellowly he was." The king here referred to is Henry I. Stow says Rahere was "a pleasant-witted gentleman; and therefore his time called the *king's minstrel*." To continue: "This manner of living began in his beginning, and in this excused his youth. But the inward *Seer* and faithful God of all, the which out of Mary Magdalen cast out seven fiends, the which

Fisher gave the Keys of Heaven, mercifully converted this man from the error of his way, and added to him so many gifts of virtue." Foremost in repentance as he was in sin, Rahere now "decreed in himself to go to the court of Rome, coveting great labour to do the works of penance. There, at the shrine of the blessed

Sts Peter and Paul, he, weeping his deeds, prayed to our Lord for remission of his sins.

Those two clear lights of Heaven, two men of mercy, Peter and Paul, he desired mediators. And while he tarried there, in that mean while, he began to be

afflicted with grievous sickness; and his dolours little and little taking their increase, he drew to the extreme of life: the which dreading within himself that he had not time for his sins satisfied to God, therefore he supposed that God took vengeance of

him for his sins, amongst outlandish people, and deemed the last hour of his death drew him nigh. This remembering inwardly, he shed out as water his heart in the sight of God, and all brake out in tears; that he avowed that if health God would him grant, that he might return to his country, he would make an hospital in recreation of poor men, and to them so there gathered, necessities minister after his power. And not long after the benign and merciful Lord beheld this weeping man, gave him his health, approved his vow.

"When he would perfect his way that he had begun, in a certain night he saw a vision full of dread and sweetness," which pointed out Smithfield as the site selected by "the common favour of the celestial court and council" as the site for his building.

Rahere had no easy task before him. "For truly the place before his cleansing pretended no hope of goodness. Right unclean it was; and as a marsh, dunge and fenny, with water almost every time abounding; and that that was eminent above the water, dry, was deputed and ordained to be the gallows of thieves, and to the torment of other, that were condemned by judicial authority." What follows is very extraordinary:—"Truly, when Rahere had applied his study to the purgation of this place, and decreed to put his hand to that holy building, he was not ignorant of Satan's wiles, for he made and feigned himself unwise, and outwardly pretended the cheer of an idiot, and began a little while to hide the secretness of his soul. And the more secretly he wrought the more wisely he did his work. Truly, in playing unwise he drew to him the fellowship of children and servants, assembling himself as one of them; and with their use and help, stones and other things profitable to the building lightly he gathered together." Rahere's object in this conduct was, we presume, to avail himself of a kind of superstitious reverence that appears to have been not unfrequently felt for persons of the class to which he made it appear that he belonged. With all his enthusiasm, this must have been a painful time. "He played with them, and from day to day made himself more vile in his own eyes, in so mickle that he pleased the apostle; through whose grace and help he raised up a great frame. And now he was proved not unwise as he we have trowed, but very wise." Rahere, it seems, sought assistance for the accomplishment of his great work by every means in his power, and more particularly by instructing with "cunning of truth," saying "the word of God faithfully in divine churches," and constantly exhorting "the multitude both of clerks and of the laity to follow and fulfil those things that were of charity and alms-deed. And in this wise he compassed his sermon:—that now he stirred his audience to gladness, that all the people applauded him; and incontinent anon he proffered sadness, and so now of their sins, that all the people were compelled unto sighing and weeping. But he truly ever more expressed wholesome doctrine, and after God and faithful sermon preached." A man like this could not but succeed in whatever he essayed; and accordingly the work "prosperously succeeded, and after the Apostle's word all necessities flowed unto the hand. The church he made of comely stone-work, tablewise. And an hospital-house, a little longer off from the church by himself he began to edify. The church was founded (as we have taken of our elders) in the month of March, 1113. President in the Church of England, William Archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard Bishop of London;" who "of due law and right" hallowed a part of the adjoining field as a cemetery. "Clerks to live under regular institution" were brought together, and Rahere, of course, was appointed Prior, who ministered unto his fellows "necessaries, not of certain rents, but plenteously of oblations of faithful people." The completion of the work, under such circumstances, evidently excited a large amount of wonder



and admiration, not unmixed with a kind of superstitious awe. People "were greatly astonished both of the novelty of the raised frame, and of the founder. Who would row this place with so sudden a cleansing to be purged, and there to be set up the token of the Cross? And God there to be worshipped, where sometime stood the horrible hanging of thieves? Who should not be astonished there to see construct and build the honourable building of piety? That should be a sanctuary to them that fled thereto, where sometime was a common offering of condemned people? *Who would not marvel it to be haunted?*" The writer then finely asks, "Whose heart mightily should take or admit such a man, *not* product of gentle blood—not greatly endowed with literature, or of divine kynage?"

When the Priory began to flourish and its fame spread, Rahere joined to him a certain old man, Alfun, who, among other charitable works, built the church of St. Giles-without-Cripplegate, and was the first "hospitaller." He used daily to beg for the relief of the poor under his care at the adjoining market and shambles of Smithfield. Four centuries after the foundation of the hospital, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of London prayed the King (Henry VIII.) to commit the order and governance of both this hospital and St. Thomas's to their hands. The hospital, however, was not transferred to the city until 1546, eight years later, during which period the Crown continued to enjoy its revenues, which at the dissolution of the monasteries were of the gross annual value of £371, of which sum £292 was from rents in London and the suburbs.

In 1544 the hospital was newly incorporated, but its revenues were not regranted; and it does not appear that the new constitution ever came into operation. At length, two years afterwards, in 1546, the King consented to re-found the hospital, for the exception of one hundred poor and sick persons, and to endow it with five hundred marks from its former possessions, on condition that the citizens raised yearly other five hundred marks for its support. This they agreed to do; but Stow says, that the houses which formed the bulk of the property granted by the King were either in such a decayed state, or leased out at such low rents, that great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the required income, and various expedients were adopted to raise this sum. In 1548 there were three surgeons, with salaries of £18 each, appointed to be in daily attendance on the sick; and in 1552 the expenditure, including the payment to the ministers of Christ's Church and St. Bartholomew's, and the diet of the one hundred poor at 2*d.* per day each, amounted to about £856 per annum. In 1557 this hospital, with St. Thomas's, Christ's, Bridewell, and Bethlehem, were united for purposes of administration, and their affairs were managed by one general board until 1782, when an act was passed under which, with the exception of Bridewell and Bethlehem, each of them was placed on its present footing and under separate government.

The income of the hospital at present exceeds £30,000 a year. The bulk of the real estate is in London, and the London rents amount to upwards of £17,000 a year; landed estates in different parts of the country produce above £6000; dividends on stock in the funds, rent-charges, and annuities, about £5500; besides the annual product of the benefactions, which in ten years averaged nearly £450 a year. The pecuniary donations and bequests to the hospital, received up to 1836, when an official return was made, amounted to £236,019, including £40,978 appropriated to building the four wings between 1729 and 1748.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital is situated on the south-east side of Smithfield Market. The principal entrance is through a large arch, ornamented with a statue of Henry VIII., and two figures representing Lameness and Sickness. The main buildings

consist of four separate elevations of three stories in height, faced with stone, standing detached on the four sides of a quadrangle. They were completed from the produce of voluntary subscriptions raised between 1729 and 1760. On the first floor of the north wing there is a very handsome hall, 90 feet by 35, and 30 feet high, which is appropriated to general court meetings and the annual dinners of the governors. The grand staircase was painted gratuitously by Hogarth. The four several stories of the south wing contain fifteen wards, and the west wing contains fourteen wards. The wards in the east and west wings are 52 feet by  $21\frac{1}{2}$ ; and their height varies from 10 to 15 feet. In the south wing the wards are 60 feet in length, and the heights are the same on each floor as in the east and west wings. To every ward an apartment for the sister in attendance is annexed. In the roof of each wing is a tank for water, containing from 1800 to 2000 gallons, supplied by a steam-engine; and a continual supply from the New River Company is carried all through the hospital by force-pumps. Besides the quadrangle, the area of the hospital comprises buildings, almost as extensive, for the residences of the different officers, &c. There is also the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, rebuilt about sixteen years ago, at a cost of £6035, out of the hospital funds. At the back of the western wing is a range of buildings containing the Lecture Room for *Materia Medica*, the Medical Theatre, Pathological Theatre, Chemical Theatre, the Anatomical Museum, Dissecting Rooms, rooms for lecturers, professors, and curators, pupils' room and library, laboratory, apothecary's shop, surgeon's and physician's rooms. The treasurer's house and garden, the burial-ground of the church, and the vicarage-house, occupy the space north-east of the western wing; and between it and the south-western gateway are houses for the steward, the matron, and the apothecary.

St. Thomas's Hospital was originally a religious establishment, founded by Richard, prior of Bermondsey, in 1213. In 1538 its possessions were valued at £266; and in the following year they were surrendered to the King. Before the middle of the century the suppressed hospital was purchased by the City of London; and a charter from the crown having been obtained in 1551, and the building repaired and adapted for the reception of poor, lame, and diseased people, it was opened for their admission in November, 1552. For some time the funds of the hospital were insufficient; and in 1562 the lands late belonging to the Savoy Hospital, and some other property, which had been granted to the three hospitals united, were granted for the sole use of St. Thomas's, with a view, perhaps, of equalising the revenues of the several hospitals. Notwithstanding this assistance, in 1564 the treasurer was obliged to advance £100, and in 1569 a sum of £50 was obtained by pawning a lease; but it soon afterwards emerged from its difficulties. The rents of property in London and the suburbs realize about £14,000 a year; the rental of estates in the country about £10,000; and the dividends on stock nearly £1000. From 1693 to 1836 the pecuniary gifts to the hospital amounted to £184,378. The gross annual income applicable to the general purposes of the institution is about £26,000.

St. Thomas's Hospital is situated in the borough of Southwark, not far from the foot of London Bridge. It consists of several courts or squares, in two of which are statues; one, in brass, of Edward VI. by Scheemakers, and the other one, of stone, of Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor in 1680. A large part of the hospital buildings was rebuilt in 1693, and additions were made to them in 1732. A new north wing was completed in 1836, at a cost of £18,000; the south wing in 1842; and it is intended to rebuild the centre on an adopted plan, when the whole building will present a very imposing appearance. The site of the new north wing and a portion of ground north of the old north wing were purchased of the City for £40,850, which



at the rate of £54,865 per acre! The Museum, Anatomical Theatre, Demonstrating Theatre, Lecturing Theatre, Dissecting Room, and other appropriate offices attached, cost £8443, and are built on a site formerly covered by slaughter-houses, stables, and miserable tenements. The Museum and Dissecting Room are 45 feet 25; the Lecturing Theatre is circular, and 30 feet in diameter. The Museum contains about 6000 preparations. The parish church of St. Thomas stands within the area of the hospital, besides which there is a chapel. The whole parish is the property of the hospital. There are nineteen wards, three of which are 107 feet by 28, and vary in height from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet to  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet. They are well ventilated, kept at a uniform and agreeable temperature by fires, and in cold weather by hot-water apparatus, and are generally quite free from offensive smells.

The founder of GUY'S HOSPITAL was neither minstrel nor priest, and though claimed by booksellers as one of their body, his property was acquired by stock-jobbing rather than by literature. At any rate he was a man of great benevolence, and had long been a munificent supporter of St. Thomas's Hospital when he determined himself to be the founder of a new hospital. At the age of seventy-six he commenced the erection of the present building, on which during his life-time he spent nearly 9,000. He died on the 27th of December, 1724, and on the 24th of January following sixty patients were received into the hospital. In 1732 the sum of 20,134 *2s.*  $7\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* was carried to the account of his executors, as the residue of Mr. Guy's estate. This magnificent bequest has been laid out at different times in the purchase of real estates in the counties of Essex, Hereford, and Lincoln. The hospital has also been benefited by the enormous bequest of Mr. Hunt, who in 1829 left a sum amounting to £186,675, besides other property which made the total amount 96,115, on condition of enlarging the hospital and providing one hundred additional beds. This legacy has also been invested in estates. The other benefactions received from the foundation of the hospital to the present time amount to more than 6,000. The gross income is above £30,000 a year, and about £21,000 a year is directly applicable to the purposes of the charity. The rental of the hospital estates about £25,000 a year, and the dividends from funded property average about 600 a year.

The entrance to Guy's Hospital is in St. Thomas's Street, by an iron gate opening into a square, in the centre of which is a statue, in brass, of Mr. Guy, by Scheemakers, the pedestal on which it stands bearing on one side an inscription recording Mr. Guy's benevolence, and on the other sides are reliefs of Mr. Guy's arms, Christ healing the Impotent, and the Good Samaritan. The main building consists of a centre and two wings, containing residences for the Treasurer, Chaplain, Steward, Apothecary, Butler, Porter, and the "Dressers;" a chapel, in which there is a statue, of Bacon, of Mr. Guy; the "taking-in" and examination rooms, surgery, and waiting-rooms for out-patients, apothecary's shop, medical store-room, laboratories, medical and operating theatres, the electrical room (containing apparatus necessary for electrical and galvanic operations), a room for *post mortem* examinations, and several wards for patients. Behind this is the Lunatic House, which is peculiar to this hospital. The number of lunatics is twenty-four, the number provided for by Mr. Guy having been twenty. They have a tolerably spacious airing-ground in the rear of the building appropriated to their use, and a garden for their recreation adjoins it. The north side of the hospital ground comprises a mass of buildings, some of which are sick wards; and here are also the museum, theatre, and dissecting-room, and the museum of comparative anatomy, the residences of servants of the hospital, and various offices and store-rooms. The anatomical theatre and the larger theatre in the



main building afford accommodation for about 300 persons. The operating theatre is of smaller size. At the eastern extremity of the area, bounded on the north by St. Thomas's Street, is the Botanic Garden, which is occasionally used by the students, but its chief value consists in the improved ventilation which it secures to the whole establishment. The wards are all spacious and airy, and are warmed by means of stoves.

The constitution of the London Hospitals is not uniform, though in all of them the ruling body consists of the governors; but the powers of the various officers to whom the immediate management and superintendence of the hospital is entrusted are exercised under less control in some cases than in others. Since 1792 there have been two classes of governors at St. Bartholomew's, the chartered or corporation governors and the donation governors.

At St. Thomas's there are three kinds of governors. The corporation of London is represented by the lord mayor and aldermen and twelve common councilmen, as at St. Bartholomew's; and they do not derive their authority from the other governors, but from the charter of the hospital and the act of 1782. The special governors consist almost entirely of retired officers, and the executors of benefactors are occasionally appointed. This class of governors is not required to contribute towards the funds of the hospital, and it is this only which distinguishes them from donation governors. It has invariably been the practice to admit as donation governors any person willing to pay £50 who can procure governors to propose and second them.

The government of Guy's Hospital was settled by the founder. The number of governors must be at least fifty and not exceed sixty, with a committee of twenty-one, to whom the immediate management of its affairs is entrusted, and of this number one-third retire annually. The governors are chosen from a list presented at a general court by the president and treasurer, and no division has ever taken place on their admission: no donation is required, and the appointment is for life.

The next important department of the hospitals consists of the medical and surgical establishment, including the "sisters" and nurses. At St. Bartholomew's there are three principal physicians and three assistant physicians, three principal surgeons and three assistant surgeons, who are appointed by the general court: they do not reside in the hospital, but there are in addition three house-surgeons and an apothecary, for whom apartments are provided. One or other of the physicians and surgeons visits the hospital every day in the week, and one physician and surgeon attends the almoners in rotation on the weekly admission-days for the purpose of examining patients. The physicians receive a salary of £105, but their principal emolument is derived from the fees paid by the pupils attending the medical practice of the hospital, which are fifteen guineas for eighteen months and thirty guineas for the perpetual right. These pupils, two or three of whom are in constant attendance on each principal physician, prescribe simple remedies in his absence. The physicians have also the opportunity of becoming lecturers to the students attending the hospital school. The salary of the assistant physicians is £100 per annum, but they are not allowed to take pupils, though they may become lecturers to the medical classes. The stipend of the principal surgeons is £40, besides a gratuity of £30 each voted to them by the general court, and the fees paid by the hospital pupils are divided equally among them. Each of the principal surgeons has the privilege of nominating six dressers, who, in addition to the ordinary fee of twenty-five guineas for attending the surgical practice, pay a further fee of twenty-five guineas each. Out of

These one is named as his house-surgeon for the year, for which a further fee of fifty guineas is paid. In going through the wards the principal surgeon of the day is attended by the pupils, frequently from sixty to eighty in number, or even a hundred. The assistant-surgeons only act for their respective principals, and have neither salary nor any participation in the fund arising from the pupils' fees; but they usually succeed to the office of principal surgeons. The house-surgeons superintend and direct the dressers in the absence of the surgeons, perform minor surgical operations, and receive a salary from the hospital of £25 a year. The services of the eighteen "dressers" are highly useful in extending the advantages of the hospital. They attend to casual injuries of minor importance in cases where there is no necessity for the patient either being received into one of the wards or admitted as an out-patient, and they contribute to the comforts of the in-patients by watching the symptoms of their disease. On a patient being admitted into one of the wards, the dresser writes on the paper hung up at the head of each bed the name and age of the patient, the name of the complaint, the date of admission, and his own name, with a minute of the diet, medicines, and local applications ordered by the surgeon. They are required to collect a history of each new case, to report the progress of old cases, and to take down a full history of such cases as may be pointed out to them. They dress fractures, wounds, ulcers, and all cases that require local applications. The "sisters" of the wards are twenty-nine in number, one superintending each ward and one attending upon the casualty patients. They have usually been persons who have received some education and have lived in a respectable rank of life. Recently they have been at times selected from some of the most active and trustworthy among the nurses. The majority of the sisters receive from 14s. to 20s. a week, the four seniors from 22s. to 31s. 6d., and on Sundays a dinner is provided for them at the cost of the hospital. The duties of a sister consist in a general superintendence of the ward to which she is attached, in carrying into effect the directions of the medical officers, taking charge of and administering the medicines, reporting to the cook the daily diet required for the patients, and giving information to the medical officers of any change of symptoms in the patients. The nurses, seventy-five in number, act under the sisters, two of them being attached to a single and three to a double ward. They perform the usual duties of servants, in waiting on and cleaning the patients, the beds, furniture, wards, and stairs; and are paid 7s. a week, and partly dieted at the expense of the hospital.

The majority of persons received as patients into the London hospitals are mechanics, labourers, reduced tradesmen, or servants. There are, however, admissions of individuals of both sexes, and particularly females, of the very lowest class of society and of the worst character: this is unavoidable, and care is taken to repress and as far as possible to punish improper conduct, but if possible it would be a great advantage if such characters, when ascertained, could be segregated from the other patients. In all ordinary cases it is necessary that an applicant for admission should obtain the recommendation of a governor by his signature to a printed petition, of which forms are procured at the hospital. Many are admitted without any other recommendation than the urgency of their case. Cases of accident are admitted on all days, at any hour whatever; but at every hospital one day in the week is set apart as the regular day of admission, when the applicants attend in the patients' waiting-room one hour before the meeting of the board. Small-pox is the only disease against which the doors of the hospital are absolutely closed. The admissions average between fifty and sixty on the regular days, which is also the average



number of the accident admissions and others which take place on other days. The out-patients consist of such as, being in want of medical aid, either do not apply for, or from the nature of the case or the want of room cannot obtain, admission into the hospital; or of convalescents, who, when partially cured in the hospital, are removed to make room for others. The casualty patients include all who apply on any day in the week between ten and twelve for surgical assistance. They are seen by the dresser in attendance, and the case is treated and a record of it entered under the direction of the house-surgeon. The number of beds at St. Bartholemew's is 533, and the number of in-patients is between 5000 and 6000 a year, of out-patients between 8000 and 9000, and of casualty patients upwards of 20,000. The deaths amongst in-patients are about one in eighteen, or about 360 a year.

At St. Thomas's and Guy's the general medical economy, arrangement, and regulations are of much the same nature as at St. Bartholemew's, and it is unnecessary to enter into a minute detail of them. At St. Thomas's there are nineteen wards, each of which is superintended by one of the sisters, who were formerly selected from the nurses, but are so no longer. There is always one candidate for the office in training. The nurses are divided into day-nurses and night-watchers, the latter of whom enter upon their duties at eight in the evening and remain until ten the next morning. It is found very difficult to get persons fitted for either of these offices, as the duties are onerous and disagreeable, and the stipend small. The number of beds is 487. The total number of in- and out-patients to whom relief was administered in 1849 was 60,846; of which 4737 were in-patients, and 56,109 out-patients: of these 301 died within the year; and 417 in-patients, and 3831 out-patients, were remaining under cure on December 31. When a patient dies, the body is laid out, and, after remaining in the bed about four hours, is taken to the dead-house; the bed and bedding are thoroughly washed and cleansed; the bed is entered as a "dead bed," and remains unoccupied about a week.

At Guy's the number of beds which can be made up on an emergency is 600. The average number of applications for admission on the regular day is 100, of whom on an average 43 are admitted and 57 rejected. The deaths are about 6 per week. On the death of a patient, a screen is placed round the bed; but it is rarely possible to conceal the circumstance from the others in the ward, and within three or four hours the body is removed to the undertaker's room. The out-patients of this hospital amount, perhaps, to 40,000 a year. About 60 surgical tickets are issued per week; 80 surgical casualties per day; 30 eye-cases per week; 90 physician's tickets per week; 6 cases per day relieved at the apothecary's shop; 20 obstetric cases per week, and 30 ordinary lying-in cases; or, taking three weeks as the average of attendance of each class of cases, there is an average of above 100 persons in the daily receipt of medicine or attendance, independently of slight casualties relieved.

The importance of the great London hospitals as schools of medicine is well known. Nearly every medical and surgical practitioner has "walked the hospitals," as the phrase goes; and though the recognition of provincial medical schools renders it no longer absolutely necessary that a medical student should have attended a London hospital, yet the number who "come up" for this purpose is but little diminished. The vicinities of the hospitals swarm with these incipient Galens; and they are so thick on the ground in some quarters, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Borough hospitals, as to give the district a distinctive character. Certainly the "medical students" are entitled as a class to figure amongst the social lights and shadows of this great metropolis.



There are fourteen schools of medicine in London, but the most important are those connected with the great hospitals, though it is chiefly within the last twenty years that they have attained their pre-eminence over the private schools of medicine. The lectures of John Hunter, in Windmill Street, about 1768, were the first complete course ever delivered in the metropolis; and in 1749 all the dissections carried on in London were confined to one school, that over which John Hunter's brother presided. But even at St. Bartholomew's Hospital the introduction of lectures is of very recent date. Mr. Percival Pott, a distinguished surgeon of this hospital nearly eighty years ago, was in the habit of delivering occasional instruction in this manner; but the late Mr. Abernethy, little more than twenty-five years ago, may be said to have been the father of the system as it at present exists. The institution of a medical school in connection with an hospital adds to the emoluments of the medical officer; furnishes, through the medium of the pupils, additional and gratuitous attendance on the hospital patients; and, lastly, imparts a medical education to the pupils themselves by lectures, illustrated during their personal attendance on the patients, by observation of the progress and symptoms of disease, the mode of treatment adopted, and the results. The governors of St. Bartholomew's have expended above £6000 in buildings intended to facilitate the acquisition and communication of medical science. The museum was built so recently as 1835.

From 1760 to 1825 the schools of surgery of St. Thomas's and Guy's Hospitals were united, and the fees paid by the surgical pupils of both hospitals were put into one common fund, and divided equally amongst the surgeons and apothecaries of the two establishments. Medical lectures only were delivered at Guy's Hospital, while surgery, together with anatomy, was taught at St. Thomas's. For many years the late Sir Astley Cooper, who was surgeon at Guy's, filled the office of anatomical lecturer at St. Thomas's. This union was dissolved in 1825, in consequence of the governors of the two institutions differing respecting the appointment of a lecturer on anatomy; though we believe there are still some traces of the old connection to be found in existing regulations. In 1825 it was resolved that the means of surgical education should be provided within the precincts of Guy's Hospital. Accordingly, the building, which contains the anatomical schools, museum, &c., was erected at a cost of about £8000. Sir Astley Cooper was appointed principal lecturer in surgery, his nephew succeeding him as surgeon. On this occasion Sir Astley was desirous of presenting to Guy's Hospital his anatomical models and preparations, when the governors of St. Thomas's refused to surrender them, but ultimately gave him £1000 for his interest in them. Some years ago, in consequence of some offence given by them, the privileges of the students of Guy's, in being admitted to see the practice of St. Thomas's, was restricted to some extent by the authorities of the latter establishment, when a most serious riot took place. The refractory students were indicted for the offence, and a slight punishment was awarded by the court. The fees paid by pupils entering the medical and surgical practice of this hospital are about £3000 a year, which is divided amongst the principal physicians, principal surgeons, and apothecary. The pupils admitted yearly to the house practice vary from 100 to 130, and an attendance of three years is required by the Apothecaries' Society.

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We must treat more succinctly of the other hospitals.

The WESTMINSTER HOSPITAL, opposite the Abbey, was established in 1719, and was the first institution of the kind supported by voluntary contributions.

The present building, a handsome edifice, in the Tudor style, stands on the site of the Old Broad Sanctuary, and was erected in 1834. It is a spacious building; indeed too large at present for the funds of the institution, as three wards, with space for fifty beds, are unfurnished and unoccupied. The expenditure for the year 1849 was £5200. There are now 174 beds; and in 1849 there were received 1746 in-patients, and 14,009 out-patients, of whom 919 in-patients, and 9642 out-patients were cases of accident, to which class of cases every attention is paid at all hours of the day or night. There is also a special fund for the maintenance of incurable patients, of whom there were eight on December 31, 1849.

CHARING CROSS HOSPITAL is a handsome building, situated at West Strand. The present hospital was opened in 1834; but the charity had existed from 1818 as a dispensary. Patients are admitted partly on their own application, and partly by the recommendation of subscribers. In 1850, the number of in-patients amounted to 1210, of whom 643 were from accidents of so dangerous a character as to claim immediate admission, and of the whole number 70 died, and 114 were remaining in the house. The out-patients numbered 17,895, of whom 57 died. The total number of accident cases in the year was 2766. The cost for the year was £2430.

ST. GEORGE'S HOSPITAL was established in 1733, by a dissentient party in the management of the Westminster Hospital, and Lanesborough House was at first engaged for the purpose. The principal front of the present building is 180 feet long, faces the Green Park, and is of rather imposing design. It contains a theatre for the delivery of lectures and an anatomical museum; the number of beds is 315. On January 1849 there were 305 in-patients in the house, and during the year 2229 were admitted, of whom 972 were on account of accidents; of these 264 died, 1681 were cured, and of the rest some were relieved, some made out-patients, and others discharged themselves, and on Dec. 31, 285 were remaining in the house. Of out-patients there were 797 on the books on Jan. 1, 1849, and 7382 were admitted during the year, of whom 1955 were for accidents: 5661 were discharged cured, others received benefit, and 803 were then on the books. The gross expenditure for the year was £13,989.

THE LONDON HOSPITAL was established in 1740, and in 1759 was removed to its present situation in Whitechapel Road. The patients are chiefly watermen, and labourers employed in the docks and on the quays in the east parts of London. The hospital is a plain, but spacious and convenient brick building, forming a centre and two wings, of which the eastern has been recently extended. Though in a crowded neighbourhood, it has secured a considerable area to itself, and the ground being somewhat elevated, the situation is healthy. The income for 1849 was close upon £15,000, and the expenditure slightly exceeded that sum, for, in consequence of the recent extension, the means of accommodating patients are in advance of the means of supporting them; so that, although there were 4090 patients (each for an average of 29 days) received into the hospital, 210 applications were necessarily rejected. Of these 4090 cases, 2352 were accidents, and of the whole, together with 312 remaining in the house on Jan. 1, 298 died, 3783 were discharged, and 321 remained on Jan. 5, 1850. Including accidents, 16,816 patients were entered on the books as out-patients during the year.

In the east of London we have also the SEAMEN'S HOSPITAL, which is held on board the Dreadnought, a line-of-battle ship of 104 guns, dismasted, raised with false bulwarks, and fitted up in a most convenient manner for the reception of seamen in the Port of London, having occasion for medical or surgical assistance. It is moored



off Greenwich, and is open for the reception of sick seamen of every nation, without any nomination or trouble of application, immediately on being presented alongside. Its cosmopolitan character is indicated by the names of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Belgium as vice patrons, of "his Excellency Keying, Imperial High Commissioner to the Emperor of China" as a vice-president, nor can we refrain from a smile at seeing David Jones named as the chaplain. It is truly stated in the Committee's account of the establishment, that "the situation of seamen is in many respects most helpless, as compared with landmen: in common with them, they labour hard for small rewards; but with this difference, that they have to face many dangers, and to endure hardships unknown to people on shore; and what little money they earn, is, in many instances, disposed of before it is due, either for the relief of aged parents, or for the maintenance of some tender branch of their family, whom their generous hearts will not allow to want, while they have the means of assisting them;"—and "that a sailor, rather than repair to an hospital on shore, will strip almost the last rag from his back, for the means of obtaining a cure; and it is well known to every person acquainted with the habits of these extraordinary beings, that they will at any time prefer remaining on board their ship, even on approaching death, to being taken to an hospital on shore, although with a prospect of returning health:—This prejudice may appear unaccountable, but is nevertheless general and powerful." Hence has arisen the necessity for modifying many regulations adopted in other hospitals. To one we have alluded, namely, the immediate admission. It often happens that a vessel arrives from abroad with a sickly crew, who are at once conveyed aboard the Dreadnought; and it is stated that their recovery usually proceeds with astonishing rapidity. In other hospitals there is generally a definite period for which patients are retained, after which they must be removed, whether better or worse: this in the case of seamen would frequently be no less than a sentence of death; strangers, probably even in a strange land, full of prejudices against landmen, too proud to beg, no class of men could be so utterly helpless. They are, therefore, considerably allowed to remain until quite able to resume their accustomed employment; and assistance is commonly afforded them in procuring such employment, certificates being also given of good conduct where deserved, and, as great efforts are made during their residence on board to instruct their minds, it is to be hoped they are not unfrequently rendered better members of society by a short residence on board the Dreadnought.

The governors are incorporated by an act obtained in 1832, which empowers them, if they think fit, to establish their hospital on land; but they have wisely, we think, determined on keeping it afloat, and during the last year the Dreadnought has been thoroughly repaired, the patients having been transferred to the Devonshire for the time. The three decks are opened flush throughout, and form large well-ventilated wards, and the upper deck is covered in for an additional ward, offices, &c. Over all is a promenade. The number of patients received on board from Feb. 1, 1849 to Jan. 31, 1850, was 2239, and 181 were on board at the first-named period; 414 of the cases were of accidents on the river. Of the total number 241 died, 1475 were discharged cured, and 230 convalescent; 162 were discharged to their ships convalescent or relieved; 40 were sent to ships provided for them by the society; 179 remained under care at the last-named period. The rest were expelled, sent home, &c. There were also 2099 persons admitted as out-patients, and 84 persons were completely clothed after having been cured. The expenditure for the year, on the purposes of the hospital, was £5215. Since the establishment of the charity in



1821, on board the *Grampus*, whence it was transferred to the *Dreadnought* in 1831. 61,250 persons have been admitted; it is deserving of notice to see how the list is composed.

Englishmen . . . . .	36014	Brought forward . . . . .	57,307
Scotchmen . . . . .	7479	West Indians . . . . .	1055
Irishmen . . . . .	5637	British Americans . . . . .	804
Frenchmen . . . . .	226	United States . . . . .	1123
Germans . . . . .	820	South Americans . . . . .	126
Russians . . . . .	762	Africans . . . . .	368
Prussians . . . . .	1191	Turks . . . . .	16
Dutchmen . . . . .	195	Greeks . . . . .	49
Danes . . . . .	834	New Zealanders . . . . .	29
Swedes and Norwegians . . . . .	1934	New South Wales . . . . .	29
Italians . . . . .	554	South Sea Islanders . . . . .	179
Portuguese . . . . .	469	Chinese . . . . .	37
Spaniards . . . . .	268	Born at Sea . . . . .	128
East Indians . . . . .	1024		
Carried forward . . . . .	57,307	Total . . . . .	61,250

On the north side of London is MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL, first established in 1745, in Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, and removed thence in 1755 to its present site, then called Marylebone Fields. It was built from a design by James Paine, and consists of a centre and two wings, to which great additions and improvements have been made within the last two years. The hospital now makes up 285 beds, and some of the wards are specially fitted up for patients suffering from cancer, who in this hospital only are provided with abode. This branch of the charity owes its establishment to Samuel Whitbread, who died in 1796, who had sometime previous settled anonymously the sum of £4000, 3 per cent. consols, on the hospital; and since his death, the fund has been considerably increased by other bequests. Diseases of the eye and of the teeth are also treated here, and midwifery cases are attended at the houses of the patients, to the average number of 500 yearly. The number of in-patients admitted in 1849 was 2176, of whom 492 were in consequence of accidents. The out-patients numbered 9903, of whom 1521 were for dental maladies, 408 ophthalmic, and 988 childbed disorders. The expenditure for the year was £8800.

The ROYAL FREE HOSPITAL was first founded on a very small scale in Greville Street, Hatton Garden, in 1828, whence it was removed in 1839 to premises in Gray's Inn Lane, which had been erected as barracks for the City Light Horse Volunteers. A distinguishing principle of this hospital has always been, that its aid has been given to all requiring it on their own application; and consequently, where immediate assistance was indispensable to be effective, as during the visitation of cholera, large numbers of such patients have been received. In 1832, while in Greville Street, they admitted 700 cholera patients, and in 1849 more than 3000; two of their wards being occupied by the pauper children of the Holborn Union, removed from Tooting during the dreadful attack of that disease. One hundred and fifty-four children were removed, of whom only four died. In 1849 there were 28,190 patients; of these 851 were in-patients, of whom 70 died, and 761 were discharged cured. Of the 27,339 out-door cases, 15,406 were cases of malignant and contagious disease. The expenditure for the year was £3596, exclusive of £1925 of debt paid off.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE HOSPITAL was founded in 1834, and is a handsome but plain building, situated opposite the college in Gower Street. This Hospital and King's College Hospital have been in a great measure established as medical schools to the

leges, and are largely contributed to by the supporters of those establishments. University College Hospital has accommodation for 200 patients, but for want of means the number of in-patients is only 120. In the year 1849 the total number of persons entered on the books was 20,683; of whom 1364 were in-patients, 4033 were out-patients, 675 women in child-birth were attended at their own habitations, 501 were ophthalmic cases, and 14,010 were casualties; the number of deaths of in-patients was 164. There were 114 in the house on November 1, 1848, and 100 on November 1, 1849. The disbursements were about £7489.

**KING'S COLLEGE HOSPITAL** is a building in Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, adapted to its purpose, but it is in contemplation to erect a new hospital, for which purpose a fund is being collected. It was founded in 1839. In 1849 there were 1261 patients received, of whom 153 were for cases of cholera, and of these 50 died; the total number of deaths in the house was 158. The total number of persons entered the books was 21,048, of whom 424 were child-birth cases, attended at the houses of the patients. The expenditure for the year was £6102.

**ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL** is a large handsome building in the Tudor style, recently erected in the large and populous districts of Paddington and Marylebone, near the terminus of the Great Western Railway. A portion only of the plan is yet completed, which will contain beds for 170 patients, and the whole will give accommodation to 400. It has not yet been opened, but the subscribers and governors are now about electing the medical staff, which will consist of three physicians, three assistant physicians, three surgeons, three assistant surgeons, a physician-accoucheur, a surgeon-accoucheur, an ophthalmic surgeon, and an auricular surgeon. It will also be made available as a medical school.

The **SMALL POX HOSPITAL** was originally established in Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road; whence, in 1767, it was removed to King's Cross, Somers Town. On a spot being required for the terminus of the Great Northern Railway, ground was purchased, and a handsome new building erected, on the rise of Highgate Hill. At this institution cases of small-pox are received, and formerly inoculation was performed gratis, but this has been discontinued, and vaccination is substituted.

The **LONDON FEVER HOSPITAL** was established in 1802 at King's Cross, adjoining the Small Pox Hospital. It was removed, for the same cause as its neighbour, to a handsome building erected especially for its purposes, in the Liverpool Road, Islington. The front extends 230 feet, and is divided into three masses of building, quite detached in their upper part, but connected together on the ground-floor, which is continued between them, but set a few feet backward. The centre and extreme divisions wings are alike as to width (40 feet), and have three windows on a floor: but the centre, distinguished by being somewhat loftier, has an upper mezzanine floor, and is crowned by a pediment. The new building was completed in 1849. All sorts of fever cases are received here, and it contains accommodation for 200 patients.

There is yet one institution of this kind that claims a passing notice. It is the **HOSPITAL FOR CONSUMPTION AND DISEASES OF THE CHEST**. It was certainly desirable that disease, unfortunately so prevalent in England, which attacks in preference the youthful, on whom the hopes, not only of families but of the nation, depend, and of which the victims, though not refused admittance into other hospitals, find in them peculiar adaptations for their disorder, should have its own separate establishment, where medical skill, aided by mechanical contrivances, might be exerted in averting or alleviating the ravages of this terrible malady. The Hospital is situated in therompton Road, and is a red brick and stone building in a plain Tudor style; but



little more than half of the plan was at first (in 1849) completed, the east wing and a considerable part of the central building remaining untouched. The wing has not yet been commenced; but a fund is in progress of contribution for the purpose, and in consequence of the liberal devotion of the large sum of £1556, the produce of a benefit, having been given to the charity by Jenny Lind, the renowned singer and the kind-hearted amiable woman, this wing, it is said, is to be named the Jenny Lind Wing. The chapel is behind or on the north side of the Hospital, standing parallel to it; and the connecting range of building, or corridor, is in a line with what will be the central entrance hall when the Hospital shall have been finished. It is the gift of the Rev. Henry Foulis, Bart., erected at his sole expense. For its purpose the chapel is large, being 80 feet in length. It is cruciform in plan, and the ends of the transeptal portion show externally five sides of an octagon, the middle one of which contains a window of three lights with a traceried head of exceedingly handsome form; the other windows on the north and south sides are of similar character, although they consist of only two lights, and the patterns of their tracery is varied. The north and south windows of the chancel, however, being narrower than the others, consist each of only a single light, with tracery above it. The large east and west windows are both excellent, though different compositions, and their being placed immediately between buttresses contributes not a little to enhance their effect externally. Most of the windows have been filled with stained glass, the contributions of various individuals. The walls are of Kentish rag; the dressings and various architectural members of Caen stone; and all the details are as carefully executed as they are ably designed. What contributes not a little to give comparative size to this chapel at Brompton, and otherwise enhance architectural effect, and produce an unusually picturesque composition, is the long range of lower building which connects the Hospital with the Chapel, forming internally a corridor of communication between them, besides comprising some rooms for the accommodation of attendants. The chapel was consecrated on June 27, 1850. In the year ending May 30, 1850, there were 360 in-patients received, of whom 62 died, 81 were then remaining in the house, and 217 had been discharged more or less benefited. The number of out-patients entered on the books during the same period was 3176, many of whom continued under treatment for several months; and it is painful to add that the report states that there were at one time the cases of 80 males and 86 females proper objects for admission into the house, but for whom it was impossible to provide. The total expenditure for the year ending March 31, 1850, was £5739; the receipts, exclusive of contributions to the building fund, were nearly £400 short of the expenditure.

There are in addition several LYING-IN HOSPITALS. The chief are—that established in 1749 in Brownlow Street, Holborn, considerably the oldest, and which has been recently removed to a new building in the Tudor style, near its old site, but with its front to Endell Street; that in the New Road, near Paddington, established under the patronage of Queen Charlotte, the wife of George the Third; and that in York Road, Lambeth, which is a very large one. By these hospitals patients are received, but the greater number of persons are attended at their own houses, to whom assistance is given by the loan of childbed linen, and nurses are provided.

There is also an hospital in Bloomsbury Square, conducted on Homœopathic principles. It was established in April, 1850, and we are not aware that any report has been yet issued of its proceedings.



Dispensaries, for supplying the poor with medicine and advice gratis, are also found in every part of London. Some of them have been in existence about eighty years; but they originated at the close of the last century, and led to those medical squabbles which formed the subject of Garth's poem. These institutions are often made use of by persons of a very different class from those whom they are more particularly intended to benefit.

We subjoin an extract from the 'Medical Gazette,' which possesses much interest, as showing the relative use made of hospitals in London and Paris. We must premise, however, that in the London returns the Free Hospital has been omitted, because in that hospital, cases not merely of disease or accident are admitted, but cases of destitution also.

"Taking an average of four years, from 1846 to 1849 inclusive, the returns for many hospitals not being yet made for 1850, the admissions and deaths were as follows:—

	In-patients per annum.	Deaths per annum.	Deaths per cent.
St. Bartholomew's . . . . .	5781	430	7·6
Guy's . . . . .	3853	390	10·
London . . . . .	4131	279	6·7
St. Thomas's . . . . .	4019	279	6·6
St. George's . . . . .	3588	266	7·4
Middlesex . . . . .	2090	196	9·4
Westminster . . . . .	1758	145	8·2
University College . . . . .	1446	163	11·2
King's College . . . . .	1262	127	10·
Charing Cross . . . . .	1119	83	7·7
Total annual admissions . . . . .	29,047	Deaths 2458	

The quarterly admissions into the Parisian hospitals, excluding the *hospices*, average according to the following table:—

*Deaths in the Hospitals of Paris, exclusive of Infirmeries (Hospices), during the Second Quarter of 1850.*

Months.	In-Patients on the 1st of the Month.	Patients admit- ted during the Month.	Total In-pa- tients.	Patients dis- charged during the Month.	Deaths.
April . . . . .	6034	7328	13362	6752	596
May . . . . .	6014	7129	12143	6483	651
June . . . . .	6309	7174	13183	6800	559
Totals during the Quarter . . . . .	18057	21631	39688	20035	1806

"It may appear rather surprising, in contrasting the populations of London and Paris, the latter being only about one-half that of the former, that the annual hospital admissions in Paris, compared with those of London, should be very nearly in the proportions of 8 to 3. At first view the number of local dispensaries and sick clubs

in this metropolis might appear to account for the difference, but these do not more than counterbalance the admissions into the Parisian *hospices*. It might be further supposed that the cases admitted into the hospitals of Paris were not of so grave a character as those admitted into the London hospitals; but the mortality column shows that this is not the true explanation. The general mortality of the Parisian hospitals on 19,653 admissions in the quarter, has been shown to be as high as 10.8 per cent.; while, on 29,047 admissions into the London hospitals, there were 2456 deaths, giving an average mortality of only 8.4 per cent. There is no doubt that in the two cities the same patients are re-admitted twice, or more frequently, in the year, and are thus in some instances reckoned as new admissions; but this will not account for the difference in the rate of mortality. Hence we are reduced to the necessity of considering that there is not only a greater amount of *morbidity* in the population of Paris, but that the diseases are of a more fatal character than those of London."

The Lunatic Hospitals and Asylums, though widely differing in most respects from the medical and surgical hospitals, are still institutions of the same class. Above 3200 lunatics and idiots are in confinement within the limits of the metropolitan Lunacy Commissioners, above half of whom are confined in 34 licensed houses, about 300 at Bethlem, above 200 at St. Luke's, 24 at Guy's, nearly 1000 in the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, and in the Surrey Lunatic Asylum at Garratt Lane, Wandsworth.

BETHLEM HOSPITAL, or the House of Bethlem, as it was originally called, was founded as a convent by Simon Fitz-Mary, a citizen of London, in 1247. The founder directed, that in token of subjection and reverence, one mark sterling should be paid yearly at Easter to the Bishop of Bethlem or his nuncio. The date of this house being converted into an hospital is not known, but in 1330, less than a century after its foundation, it had acquired this designation. In 1346 the brethren of the house were dispersed abroad collecting alms, and an application on their behalf was made to the mayor and aldermen to be received into their protection. The earliest notice which can be found of lunatics having been received at Bethlem is 1403. There were then in the house six men deprived of reason, and three sick persons, as appears by an inquisition taken at the above date. The purchase of Bethlem by the City took place in 1546. In 1555-6 it was for a short time, along with the other hospitals, under the same government as Christ's Hospital; but in 1557 it was placed under the control of the governors of Bridewell, one treasurer being appointed for both houses. This union still subsists, and was confirmed by the act of 1782, for regulating the royal hospitals. The affairs of the two hospitals are transacted at the same courts, and the proceedings are recorded in the same books, as if the two houses were one foundation; but the accounts are kept in separate ledgers.

In 1555, it appears, by an account rendered to the governors of Christ's Hospital, that the "yerely issues and proffittes" of Bethlem Hospital were £43 8s. 4d., arising almost entirely from houses. A valuation of the real estates was made in 1632, and it appears that, if then out of lease, they would have produced about £470 per annum. For many years the funds were inadequate to the maintenance of the hospital; and in 1642 the preachers who were to preach at Easter at the Spittall were desired to make an appeal to the people in its behalf. In 1644, it appears there were 44 lunatics constantly maintained in Bethlem, and the revenues only defrayed two-



thirds of the charges. The endowments of the hospital are now very ample, and the greater part of the property is applicable to the general purposes of the institution; but one portion (under the will of Mr. Barkham) has been given exclusively for incurable patients, and consists of 3736 acres of land in Lincolnshire, which, with the tithes, produce £5790 a year, of which only one-fourth is realized, applicable to the purposes mentioned in the will. The total income of the real and personal estate of the hospital for the year ending Christmas, 1836, was £15,864, of which above £12,000 was derived from houses and land, and £3600 from stock invested in the public funds. The gross income of the hospital from all sources (the profits made by the reception of criminal lunatics excepted) averaged £16,263 for the ten years ending in 1836. The governors do not make annual returns of their income and expenditure; at least they are not published.

Stow says that the church and chapel of Fitz-Mary's Hospital were taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and houses built instead by the governors of Christ's Hospital. The Charity Commissioners give an extract, made in the muniment book in 1632, which is the earliest description of the hospital they could find. The old house contained "below stairs a parlour, a kitchen, two larders, a long entry throughout the house, and twenty-one rooms wherein the poor distracted people lie, and above the stairs eight rooms more for servants and the poor to lie in, and a long waste room now being contrived and in work, to make eight rooms more for poor people to lodge where there lacked room before." Besides this, there was "one messuage newly builded of brick, containing a cellar, a kitchen, a hall, four chambers and a garret, being newly added unto the old rooms." Ten years later the question of enlarging the hospital came under consideration, and a committee of view being appointed, it was reported that the ground on which two old ruinous tenements stood would allow of space for a new building to contain twelve rooms on the ground floor, and eight over them for lunatics, and garrets for servants, and another yard for lunatics. This addition to the hospital was effected, but it appears that altogether not more than fifty or sixty patients could be accommodated.

After the Fire of London the governors resolved to build the house on a larger scale, and the City granted them a lease of some ground, 740 feet long by 80 deep, adjacent to London Wall, for the site of their new building, which it was intended should be capable of accommodating 120 lunatics. The lease was granted for 999 years, subject to a rent of 1s. if demanded, with a provision that the lease should be void in case the building was devoted to any other purpose. The new hospital (as it was recorded on an inscription over the entrance) was commenced in April, 1675, and completed in July, 1676. This was the centre of Old Bethlem Hospital, and it was similar in design to the Tuileries. Its length was 540 feet, and breadth 40 feet, besides the wall which enclosed the gardens before it, "which were neatly ornamented with walks of freestone round about, and a grass-plot in the middle, beside which garden there was another at each end for the lunatic people, when they were a little well of their distemper, to walk in for refreshment." Two wings were added to the hospital in 1733, for the reception of incurable patients under the provisions of Mr. Barkham's will. In an edition of Stow, published in 1754, the hospital is described as consisting "chiefly of two galleries one over the other, 193 yards long, 13 feet high, and 16 feet broad, not including the cells for the patients, which were 12 feet deep. These galleries were divided in the middle by two iron gates, so that all the men were placed in one end of the house, and all the women at the other, each having their proper conveniences, as likewise a stone room where, in the winter, they had a



fire to warm them, and at each end of the lower gallery a larger grass-plot to air and refresh themselves in the summer, and in each gallery servants lay to be ready at hand on all occasions; besides, below stairs there was made of late a bathing-place for the patients, so contrived as to be a hot or cold bath as occasion required." Towards the close of the last century the hospital had become insufficient for the number of patients requiring an asylum; and in 1793 the City granted a lease for an adjoining piece of ground which would have enabled the governors to enlarge the hospital; but the bad state of the old buildings seems to have prevented any use being made of the space thus acquired. In the Report of a committee, dated April, 1799, it is stated that the whole building was dreary, low, and melancholy, and that the interior arrangements were ill-contrived, and did not afford sufficient accommodation, and the close and confined situation precluded the advantages of air and exercise. In consequence of this Report it was resolved not only to rebuild the hospital, but to transfer it to a new site. Great and unexpected difficulties occurred to delay the erection of a new hospital, and as the eastern wing had been rather too hastily pulled down, a reduction in the number of patients became unavoidable. The discovery of the true bearing of the old lease (by which the lease granted by the City became void, if the site were not used for a lunatic asylum) again protracted the negotiations. Four different sites were fixed upon at Islington; the end of St. John's Street was thought of; and at one period it was in contemplation to improve the site of the Old Hospital and the approach through Old Bethlem to Moorfields. Finally the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres on which the old hospital stood were exchanged for the present site, containing about 11 acres, the condition of the lease requiring that the new hospital should be capable of accommodating 200 patients, and that not less than eight acres of the land should be appropriated to their use, while the governors were to be at liberty to employ the rest for the general purposes of the hospital and in augmentation of its revenues. The act for effecting the settlement of this affair was passed in 1810.

A site being thus provided, premiums were offered for designs for the intended building, and thirty-six plans were sent in. The surveyor of the hospital and two architects selected three from this number, and on the basis of these, but with such alterations as he might consider necessary, Mr. Lewis was directed to form a plan for a building to contain accommodation for 200 patients, but with offices on a scale sufficient for twice that number. Further steps were taken to obtain the necessary funds, for the governors had commenced, in 1804, to reserve a portion of their revenues for building purposes. Grants of public money were also obtained to the amount of £72,819; the benefactions of public bodies amounted to £5405, including £3000 from the corporation; £500 from the Bank of England; and various sums from several of the city companies; the amount contributed by private individuals was £5709; £23,766 were contributed from the funds of the hospital; and a sum of £14,873 accumulated as interest during the progress of the work. The first stone of the new building was laid in April, 1812, and in August, 1815, it was completed and ready for the reception of patients. The total cost was £122,572. It consists of a centre and two wings; the centre is surmounted by a dome, and the entrance is by an Ionic portico of six columns, supporting the royal arms. In the hall are the two figures of Raving and Melancholy Madness, executed by Cibber for the old hospital, and repaired in 1820 by Bacon. The wings, for which the government advanced £25,144, are appropriated to criminal lunatics, who are supported at the public expense at a cost of £38 6s. 8d. each. In 1837 the male criminal wing was enlarged, and there have been considerable additions made to the hospital since that time. The

first stone of some additional new buildings was laid July 20, 1838, on which occasion a public breakfast was given, at a cost of £464 to the hospital; and a narrative of the proceedings was drawn up and printed with several documents. The length of the building as it now stands is 569 feet. There are galleries, 219 feet 8 inches long, for male and female patients, both in the basement, on the ground-floor, and on the first and second floors. There is a fifth gallery, on the third floor of the central building, which is appropriated to incurable patients, and differs considerably from the other galleries. The sleeping-rooms are partitions divided from each other, and from a passage in front, by bulk-heads about seven feet high, which do not reach to the ceiling. The passage faces the south, and is more lively and cheerful than any of the others. The patients are divided into three classes: the furious and mischievous, and those who have no regard to cleanliness, being placed in the basement; ordinary patients, on their admission, and those who are promoted from the basement, are on the first floor; and the second floor is appropriated to patients who are most advanced towards recovery: and there are two other galleries for the incurable patients.

Under the act of 1782 the united establishments of Bridewell and Bethlem are governed by a president and treasurer elected by the general courts; the court of alderman and twelve councilmen; and an unlimited number of nomination governors. The number of governors at present is 343. Bethlem is exempt from the visitations of the Commissioners of Lunacy, a privilege which has not been of much advantage to it, for it has the demerit of having carried into operation, to a period of less than thirty years ago, the unenlightened and brutal system of treatment which distinguished the fifteenth century. In the inquisition of 1403 the iron chains with locks and keys, and the manacles and stocks there spoken of as belonging to Bethlem Hospital, indicate but too plainly the system of that day. There are several passages in *Shakspeare* which show that bonds, darkness, and flagellation were the remedies adopted for the recovery of the lost reason! A passage in *'Lear'* alludes to the custom of allowing lunatics whose malady was found to be unattended with danger to leave the hospital with an iron ring soldered about their left arm, and a permission to beg. In 1598 a committee appointed to view Bethlem reported that the place was so loathsome that it was not fit for any man to enter. It contained only twenty inmates, who were termed prisoners, and of these six only were maintained at the expense of the charity. Coming down to a later period, we find that the hospital used to derive an income of "at least £400 a year from the indiscriminate admission of visitants, whom very often an idle and wanton curiosity drew to these regions of distress." Ned Ward's *'London Spy'* shows, indeed, that the lunatics were visited just in the same way as the lions at the Tower. In 1770 the practice was put a stop to. In 1740 it appears that strangers, as well as the friends of the lunatics, paid 1*d.* on admission. The exposure of the wretched system pursued at Bethlem, which took place in 1814, in consequence of the investigation of a parliamentary committee, is probably still fresh in the recollection of most readers. The visitors thus describe one of the women's galleries:—"One of the side-rooms contained about ten patients, each chained by one arm or leg to the wall, the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall or to sit down again. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket-gown only. The blanket-gown is a blanket formed something like a dressing-gown, with nothing to fasten it in front: this constitutes the whole covering. The feet even were naked." One female in this room was found, who in lucid intervals talked most reasonably, and on being treated like a human



being became an entirely different creature. Many women were locked up in cells naked and chained, on straw, with only one blanket for a covering, and the windows being unglazed, the light in winter was shut out for the sake of warmth. In the men's rooms, "their nakedness and their mode of confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel." The patients not being classified, some were objects of resentment to the others. The shocking case of William Norris, a lunatic confined here, excited a deep sensation, and by its exposure led eventually to improvement. At this period, for months together, the committee made no inspection of the inmates! The house surgeon was often in an insane state himself, and still oftener drunk; and one of the keepers who was frequently in the latter state remained undischarged. Just at this time also the governors spent £600 in opposing a bill for regulating madhouses.

The improvements in the system of management at Bethlem began about 1816. Patients of both sexes are now set to do such little offices as they are capable of. They assist in household occupations; some employ themselves in knitting, tailoring, and mending the clothes of the other patients.

Females find occupation in the laundry, and in making up linen; all the ordinary needlework of the house being performed by them; and some are engaged in embroidery. In the airing grounds many of the men play at ball, trap-ball, leap-frog, cricket, and other games; and the women are encouraged to dance in the evenings. Every case of restraint is now noted down, and must be at once reported to the medical officers, and brought under the notice of the committee.

In Jan., 1849, the number of curable patients remaining in the hospital was 213; the number of curable patients admitted during the year was 316—124 males, and 192 females; the number discharged cured was 172, 66 of whom were males, and 106 females; discharged uncured 89, 60 of whom were females, and 29 males; and 24 died, 3 of whom were incurable, 2 criminal, and 19 curable. The number of patients incurable was 76; none were admitted during the year, and 3 died: at the end of the year there remained 38 males and 35 females. There were 28 criminal patients admitted, 26 males and 2 females; 3 died; 4, having been cured, were discharged by the secretary of state, and 20 were removed by his order to other institutions. At the close of the year, of this class there remained 93 men and 19 women. The Report states that the system of furnishing amusements and occupations continues to be practised with success, that the general health of the patients has been remarkably good, and that the degree of restraint found necessary continues to be very small. Many of the patients attend divine service. A school, as it is termed, has been established, better attended by pupils than in any former year, and lectures were delivered in the summer season, on the nature, the causes, and the treatment of insanity.

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL for lunatics, in Old Street, was opened in 1751, and was intended for the reception of those who could not obtain admission into Old Bethlem Hospital. It has always been favourably distinguished for its management. The hospital is a very substantial brick edifice, but it is to be regretted that it is not situated at least in the suburbs. The income (above £8000 a year) is derived from legacies and donations amounting to £159,956 invested in the funds, and receipts on account of uncured patients.

The great LUNATIC ASYLUM for the county of Middlesex, situated at HANWELL, is



short distance to the left of the Great Western Railway, and about seven miles from London, is one of the most remarkable establishments in the country; and though it is somewhat out of our limits, we cannot pass it by without a brief general notice\*. The asylum is intended for one thousand inmates, and accommodation will probably be eventually provided for thirteen hundred. The present number of servants and officers exceeds one hundred. The grounds contain fifty-three acres, twenty of which are cultivated as a farm, four as a garden, two as an orchard, and nearly four are shrubberies. The airing-grounds and courts occupy a space of eighteen acres, and the asylum buildings cover above three and a half acres. The ancient bodily restraints, on which entire reliance was formerly placed, have been disused, and even severity of tone has almost ceased to be employed. We can here only say of the system, that it is in every respect precisely opposite to that which, until within a comparatively short period, was acted upon at Bethlem.

The new Lunatic Asylum for the county of Surrey has been erected in Garratt Lane, Wandsworth, in the Tudor style, and is a handsome building, but is said to be not unexceptionable in its architectural arrangements. Some of the faults at Hanwell have been repeated here, such as making the patients' sleeping rooms face each other, and lighting the galleries from above, by which the ventilation is rendered very imperfect. The same system of treatment has been adopted as is practised at Hanwell.

There is considerable diversity in the internal regulations of different public asylums as to the power and position of the medical and non-medical officers. In some there is a resident physician, who holds the supreme authority, and is also steward and general manager; in others the physician only presides in his own department; and in others the chief officer is not medical, and the physician is non-resident.

In all asylums the position of the matron is one which requires to be settled in some uniform manner: owing to the matron having been in many cases the wife of the superintendent, an undue importance has been given to her position; the appointment of the female attendants, and even the classification of the female patients, has sometimes been left in her hands. In the French asylums there is no matron: a few of the most experienced female attendants act as heads of departments, and receive the orders of the medical officers; and this arrangement, which is found to work exceedingly well at the Salpêtrière, where there are 1500 female patients, seems on the whole to be the best. The effect of placing the matron in a higher position is almost certain to bring about interference on her part with the duties of the medical officers, which cannot fail to be injurious to the welfare of the patients.

In the appointment of a chaplain, steward, secretary, accountant, and any other officers, the most important point is to confine their duties within certain proper limits, and to prevent their interference with the patients without the concurrence of the medical officers.

There should be in each asylum one resident medical officer, responsible for the entire conduct of the asylum. At Glasgow the whole authority has for some years been in the hands of the resident physician, with the most satisfactory results; and an approximation is made to this plan in the Irish district asylums, where the non-resident physician is the principal officer.

\* We take the opportunity (as we have not space for details) to recommend to all who are interested in the subject the admirable Reports of Dr. Conolly, the physician at Hanwell, and also the Reports of the Visiting Justices, by whom his enlightened efforts have been supported in a most excellent spirit.

By the acts lately passed, the power which the justices who had the control of different asylums possessed, of passing rules at any meeting which entirely changed the system of management, or of summarily dismissing any officer, is done away with.

A great improvement has been made of late years in the class of persons appointed as attendants, or, according to the old phraseology, *keepers*. The proportion of attendants to patients in the different English asylums varies, from one to ten to one to twenty. No ward, however small, should have less than two attendants, in order that it should never be left; this is enforced by the rules of several asylums. A large number of attendants renders a vigilant superintendence by night practicable, which is no less important than by day, although it is entirely omitted in some institutions.

Every part of the treatment of the insane has of late years been much modified by the introduction of a much milder mode of management. The total abolition of personal coercion, known as the *non-restraint system*, was first introduced at the Lincoln Asylum in 1837, and its complete success there led to its adoption at Hanwell in 1839, and shortly afterwards at Northampton, Gloucester, Lancaster, Stafford, and Glasgow. This system has since been adopted at Haslar Hospital, and also at Armagh, Londonderry, and Maryborough; and very little restraint is used at the other Irish district asylums. The asylums which do not agree to the disuse of restraint as a principle have effected it in practice, with very few exceptions. Since the year 1792, when Pinel struck off the chains of the patients at the Bicêtre, a gradual improvement has been going on in the treatment of these the most unfortunate of human beings; but the declaration, that mechanical restraints were 'never necessary, never justifiable, and always injurious,' made by Mr. Hill of Lincoln, has caused this march of improvement to proceed much more rapidly. The reports of the asylums in which the new system has been introduced, especially those of Hanwell, give all particulars as to the mode of management substituted for coercion.

However opinions may differ as to the abolition of restraint in those asylums which have not tried the experiment, many thousand patients have been treated entirely without it; in no asylum where the new system has been introduced has it been found necessary to abandon it; the reports of all these asylums state their general condition to be improved; the cures have not decreased; and, which we consider of equal importance, the comfort of the incurables is much increased: and we may therefore be justified in considering that within a few years the instruments of restraint now remaining in use will disappear like those much more severe ones which preceded them.





KNIGHT'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XVI. LEARNED SOCIETIES.





## XVI. LEARNED SOCIETIES.

### COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

The practice of surgery in England, during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, was almost entirely in the hands of the clerical profession, and by them the barbers were employed to assist in the baths, to apply ointments, to bleed, and in various other surgical operations. When, in 1163, the clergy were prohibited from undertaking any operation involving bloodshed, the art fell still more into the hands of the barbers. In the reign of Edward IV., Thomas Morestede, who had been surgeon to Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., succeeded in obtaining a charter by which the Company of Barbers, practising surgery in London, were incorporated in the names of St. Cosmo, St. Damianus, brethren, physicians, and martyrs; and then, or shortly afterwards, they established their hall in Monkwell Street. The surgeons soon endeavoured to separate themselves from their associates, and they formed themselves into an independent body, called the Surgeons of London. By an Act, 3 Henry VIII., surgeons and physicians were obliged to have a licence to practise from the bishop of London or the dean of St. Paul's; but in the 14th and 15th Hen. VIII. cap. 8, another Act passed in favour of men and women who understood the "nature of herbs, roots, and waters," who, it was enacted, were not to be interfered with; and as the disunion of the barber-surgeons' and the surgeons' companies appears to have been found inconvenient or mischievous after all, so, during the same reign, they were re-united by the Act 32 Henry VIII., under the name of masters or governors of the mystery or commonalty of barbers and surgeons of London, and were to enjoy all the privileges previously belonging to the single company. This was in 1541. It was at this time that Henry VIII. presented them with their charter, which forms the subject of an excellent painting by Holbein, still adorning the old hall in Monkwell Street. In 1555, however, the union was finally dissolved; and in the following reign, by the Act 1 Geo. III., the surgeons were still further advanced by being incorporated into a Royal College, as they remain to this day. On leaving Monkwell Street they built, by subscription, a new hall for themselves, which stood partly on the site of the most northern of the buildings now constituting the Central Criminal Court, and partly on the site of the adjoining dwelling-houses. Some noticeable recollections attach to this place. Through a door in the basement, in the centre of the building, the bodies of murderers, executed at Newgate adjoining, were carried for dissection, according to the Act of 1752, and which has not been very long repealed. In the latter part of the present century the College removed to the present building in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Square of Lincoln's Inn Fields, with its gardens, its fine old mansions, and its historical recollections, is a place pleasant to walk through, and suggestive of interesting and elevated thoughts. Here, for instance, perished Babington, and his youthful accomplished companions, who, in their sympathy for the captive Queen of Scotland, put aside their own allegiance to Elizabeth, and endeavoured to dethrone, if they could, in favour of Mary,—whose own fate they thus precipitated. Here, too, Lord William Russell led to the scaffold; the last of those distinguished men, during the eventful period comprised between the commencements of the reigns

of Charles I. and William III., sealed their political faith in the need and possibility of good government with their blood. And here, to refer to memories of another kind, was D'Avenant's theatre, on the stage of which Betterton performed; a man whose portrait Pope painted (the poet, it will be remembered, occasionally dabbled with the palette and brush); whom Addison and Steele rivalled each other in praising; and of whom Cibber says, "He was an actor as Shakspeare was an author; both without competitors," &c. These are interesting recollections, and no doubt often turn the eyes of the student in history or dramatic literature towards Lincoln's Inn Fields. But a much more widely spread as well as deeper interest centres here. Scarcely a town or large village in the remotest parts of England but has its young aspirants for the honours and emoluments of a profession, the entrance to which lies through Lincoln's Inn Fields. And only those who have passed, or endeavoured to pass, through it, can fully appreciate the anxieties and difficulties of the undertaking, or understand the peculiar interest with which the minds of a very large class of persons throughout England view the Royal College of Surgeons.

We are now standing before the building in question, admiring Mr. Barry's chaste and impressive design. Till the almost entire rebuilding of the structure under this gentleman's superintendence in 1835-6, the aspect of the College was, with the exception of the portico, as mean as it is now dignified, as discordant as it is now harmonious. And that portico owes much of its present noble proportions and graceful beauty to the gentleman we have named: a new column, for instance, was added, and the whole fluted; whilst the bold entablature along the entire top of the edifice, with its enriched cornice, and the sunken letters of the inscription in the frieze, the elegant appearance of the stacks of chimneys at each end, and the general lightness of the structure from the great number of windows, are all new, and betoken the masterly hand that has here been at work, and which has given to London not one of the least considerable of recent architectural productions. It is afternoon, and many persons are passing beneath the portico into the Hall. Let us follow them. Some pass through the glazed open doors in front into the inner vestibule, with its low roof and open pillars, towards the Theatre; others into the Secretary's room on the left: these last are, almost without exception, young, and generally gentlemanly-looking men; and their business is to take the first step in a much-dreaded business, the registering their names for examination. It is astonishing how hard the most indolent or lazy student can work now—that is, a week or two before his examination;—and, tired as he has been of the eternal lectures, he is even chivalrous enough to hear one more, the one just about to be given in the Theatre—to the Students' gallery of which accordingly he ascends. Leaving the Secretary's room, we enter the inner hall or vestibule before mentioned, which is ornamented, and its roof supported by rows or screens of Doric columns; and in the far corner, on the left, we find the staircase ascending to the Council Room and Library, and the doorway to the Theatre. Entering the latter, we find ourselves in the members' gallery, which runs round three sides of the lofty but somewhat contracted-looking place, with crimson seats, wainscoted walls, and a square-panelled roof, in the centre of which is a lantern or skylight. Above us is the Students' gallery, in front the wall of one entire side of the Theatre, and below a sunken floor, with a table for the lecturer, and seats rising upward from it towards us and on each side. The table is covered with preparations, some in glass vessels, intended no doubt to be used for the illustration of the subject of the lecture; and across the wall above, on a level with our own eyes, that long board has been evidently raised for a similar purpose, for it is almost hidden with drawings, chiefly coloured. One single bust ornaments the place, the bust of John Hunter, placed on a pediment over the board.



The seats immediately in front and by the sides of the lecture-table below us are, we are told, for the Council of the College. Through a little door in the wall beside the table enters the beadle of the College with the gilt mace, which he lays on the table; members of the Council follow, and lastly enters the lecturer, in a black silk robe with crimson edging; and, as if impatient of the parade, however necessary, at once commences his lecture.

From this glimpse of the Theatre during one of the lectures of the Professor of Comparative Anatomy, let us pass to an occasion of more general interest—the Hunterian oration, which takes place annually. The Theatre is now brilliantly lighted with chandeliers; for it is late in the day, and the occupants are of a more diversified character. The board is gone, and everything speaks that it is a show rather than a work day of the College. Warriors and statesmen, poets and artists, may now be found among the audience. The President is the orator. Referring to the fitness of the day for the subject—the 14th of February, and the birth-day of John Hunter—he proceeds, in a notice of the life of that remarkable man, to show what the College, and, through it, the profession, and the world generally, owe to him.

John Hunter was born in 1728, at Long Calderwood, near Glasgow. His father was a small farmer, and having nine other children, but little attention was paid to the child's education. His father's early death made matters still worse, and, up to the age of seventeen, John Hunter was distinguished for nothing more important than his enjoyment of country sports. Finding this mode of life attended by pecuniary as well as other inconveniences, he addressed himself to a better, and went and laboured zealously in the workshop of his brother-in-law at Glasgow, a cabinet-maker. The manual dexterity which subsequently formed a noticeable feature of Hunter's personal character, and which he found so valuable in his scientific studies, is ascribed to the three years thus spent. The fame of William Hunter, the brother of John, as an anatomical and scientific lecturer, now roused more ambitious thoughts, or at least prepared the way for their accomplishment. He wrote to offer his services: they were accepted; and behold John Hunter at London. His first essays gave so much satisfaction, that his brother at once prophesied he would become a good anatomist. This was in 1748. The year following he became the pupil of the celebrated surgeon Cheselden, and attended with him the Hospital of Chelsea for two years, and at the expiration of that time engaged himself to Pott in connection with the practice of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Passing over various other stages of his career, we find him, in 1754, a partner with William in the school, and sharing in the delivery of the annual course of lectures. The severity of his studies now became too great for him; serious illness ensued, and, but for the judicious course he adopted, the world might have now known nothing of John Hunter. He sought and obtained the appointment of staff-surgeon to a regiment ordered to a milder climate, and for two years followed its migrations, when he returned to England completely restored. Hunter would now have risen rapidly in his profession but for two deficiencies, amenity of manner, so valuable, we might say indispensable, to a medical man, and education; as it was, he suffered much inconvenience and anxiety, not on account of his own personal wants, but for his beloved museum, the foundation of which he began to lay from an early period. He lectured, but could get only few pupils, and was frequently obliged to borrow the money for some new purchase that had tempted him, and which he could not resist. All this while his reputation was steadily on the advance, and the fact came home to him in two very satisfactory incidents, in the years 1767-8: in the first of which he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society; and in the second, surgeon to St. George's Hospital. This was everything to John Hunter: patients

and pupils alike flowed in, and the Museum went on at a glorious rate. More laboriously now than ever did he devote himself to the investigation of the great subjects that Museum was formed to illustrate: it was no hobby nor plaything, but the grand storehouse of facts in which he proposed to study, more deeply than perhaps man had ever studied before him, the great branches of knowledge into which the general subject of man—"the ills that flesh is heir to" and their cure—divides itself, as natural history, comparative anatomy, physiology, and pathology.

In 1773 he was affected by a disease of the heart, which subsequently carried him off. The immediate cause of his death involves painful remembrances. In 1792 a dispute occurred between him and his colleagues at St. George's Hospital, in consequence of the election of Mr. Keate to a vacancy which then happened, in opposition to the man of Mr. Hunter's choice, Sir Everard Home, his brother-in-law. This led to recriminatory acts (or what were looked on in that light) on both sides, among which was an order on the part of the hospital governors that no person should be admitted as a student without bringing certificates that he had been educated for the profession. Hunter, who was in the habit of receiving pupils from Scotland of the class prohibited, took this as aimed against himself; but two young men having come up who were prohibited by the rule from entering the Hospital, Hunter undertook to press for their admission before the Board. On the proper day, the 16th of October, Hunter went to fulfil his promise, having previously remarked to a friend that if any unpleasant dispute occurred it would prove fatal. It is melancholy to have to relate how true were his forebodings. In making his statement, one of his colleagues gave a flat denial to some observation, and the irrevocable blow was struck. Hunter stopped, retired to an adjoining room to conceal or repress his emotions, and there fell lifeless into the arms of Dr. Robertson. Every attempt was made to recover him, but in vain. We may imagine the feelings of all parties as they gazed upon each other and acknowledged that John Hunter was dead, and that such had been the occasion.

Leaving the Theatre, we ascend the handsome staircase with its roof of delicately-tinged green hue, and its entablature, having a richly-sculptured frieze, to the landing at the top; where are busts of Cheselden and Sir W. Banks, who was an honorary member of and benefactor to the College, and an intimate friend of Hunter. On the right a door opens into the Library, on the left to the Council-Room. The Library fills one with surprise from its great height and dimensions. It has two ranges of windows, one above the other, some of the lower opening into the upper part of the portico, between the capitals of which the waving and gleaming foliage of the gardens beyond appear with a charming effect. The collection of books is worthy of the place, although, of course, they consist chiefly of works useful to the medical student. At a considerable elevation along the walls pictures meet the eye—portraits of Sir Cesar Hawkins by Hogarth, Serjeant-Surgeon Wiseman, an eminent surgeon of Charles II.'s time, &c. But the great treasure of the College is the Cartoon of Holbein's picture of the grant of the charter to the Barber-Surgeons, of which we have already spoken in connection with the original in the hall of the Barber-Surgeons' Company. At the west end of the Library is a smaller room, called the Museum Library, the two rooms occupying the entire front of the College.

Crossing the landing of the staircase to the other extremity, we find ourselves at the door of the Council-Room, the place where sits the awful conclave of Examiners. It is a rich-looking and comfortable apartment, with imitation bronze doors and porphyry architraves, whilst the walls present the appearance of compartments inlaid with scagliola. Among the more noticeable ornaments of the room are the pictures and busts: the former comprising Reynolds's admirable and well-known portrait of John



Hunter; and the latter, busts of the same eminent man, and of Cline, Sir W. Blizard, Sir E. Home, Abernethy, and George III. and George IV., by Chantrey. There is also a bust of Pott by Hollins. There is one feature of the room which at a glance reveals its uses—a chair surrounded on three sides; and although, very properly, no persons are admitted during examination but the parties concerned, it needs no great exertion of the fancy to see the nervous, excited, quivering, and shivering young *examinees*, sitting in his solitary but most undesired stall, and the line of grave faces extending along his front and on each side of him. There is an ante-chamber attached to the Council Room, whither candidates pass after examination, and receive refreshment, which in their exhaustion is generally most grateful. And a curious scene in connection with this room may be occasionally witnessed. Whilst the young man is being examined in the Council Room, a crowd of friends are walking to and fro on the pavement in front of the College, and looking from time to time upon the windows of that ante-chamber; some of them, perhaps, relatives or friends, no less anxious than the principal himself, knowing what sacrifices have been made to bear up against pecuniary difficulties till the Examination-day; and, to make the trial still more momentous, an appointment perhaps is waiting to be taken at once or be lost for ever. But there he is—the pale countenance flushed up with success. In homely but succinct and expressive words ascends the low-toned query, "All right?" "All right" is the joyous answer,—and the load haply is taken off some poor widow's heart.

Descending to the entrance-hall, we now turn in an opposite direction (or to the right as you enter the College) in order to reach the Museum. This is a magnificent place in form, proportions, size, and general appearance. It measures about 91 feet in length, 39 in breadth, and 35 in height. It is lighted, not by windows in the side walls, or by lanterns from above, but by a series of windows set in a deep cove extending all round the building between the top of the wall and the ceiling, and the effect is as delightful to the eye as it is useful for the exhibition of the contents of the Museum. The walls exhibit three stories: first of glass cases, each set between half-pillars of the Doric style; second, of a gallery above, with a balcony before it, and occupied by open shelves with preparations in glass vessels; and third, of another gallery, which does not project so far forward as the second, and which is used for similar purposes. Two ranges of broad, solid, glazed cases, breast high, extend also down the floor of the room from one end to the other. Such, in brief, is the shell of the Museum; but how shall we describe its multifarious and almost invaluable contents? The shortest way were, perhaps, to remark, and we should be scarcely guilty of exaggeration in so doing, that it possesses almost everything the imagination of man can conceive of that can be useful or necessary for the study of physical life—that the whole world has been ransacked to enrich its stores. But however comprehensive the idea thus given, we fear it would not be very clear or suggestive; so we must describe it somewhat more in detail. First, then, to look at the Museum as a whole, and in the state Hunter left it at his death, when his Museum consisted of above 10,000 preparations, obtained, it is said, at a cost of about £70,000, and which was purchased from his widow by the government for £15,000, who presented it to the College.

In walking through the Museum, now, in its principal department—physiology—the richest collection of the kind in existence, one is apt to be bewildered by the multiplicity of the objects which present themselves to our attention. Every one of all those numerous cases, divided by pillars which extend round the four sides of the noble room, might well detain us—as far as its abstract interest is concerned—for as



long a period as the general visitor can spare to see the whole. Here, in wonderful profusion, the eye passes along an almost interminable series of skeletons, beautifully prepared and exhibited, first of quadrupeds, as llamas, zebras, rams, antelopes, deer, armadillos, squirrels, seals, lions, cats, wolves, bears, monkeys, kangaroos; then of birds, from the tiny creeper to the giant ostrich; and lastly of fishes and reptiles; whilst one portion is set apart for an extensive collection of skulls of all the different varieties of the family of man. These are the contents of the glass cases of the ground story around the wall. Immediately above, adorning the open railing of the balcony which projects in front of the first gallery, we see its entire sweep round the Museum filled with the frontal honours of all the horned animals we have ever heard or read of. There is one gigantic pair of horns immediately over the entrance into the Museum, of a size that would be truly incredible if the eye had not its own unerring evidence. We tried to span it by extending our arms at full stretch, but it was amusing to see how much too short was even such an instrument of measurement: they are the horns of the extinct Irish Elk, or stag. We may here observe, that the Museum contains a beautiful series of preparations showing the gradual growth of the horn in deer, from the first putting forth of the as yet tender sprout, with its blood-vessels, and its soft velvet-like covering, to the magnificent weapon with which the animal goes forth, the knight-errant of the woods, in the cause of love. The chief features of the Museum are the isolated skeletons, &c., on pedestals placed at the ends and in the centre of the room, and, as might be expected, the interest attached to them is in proportion to the prominence of their position. Standing at the door of the Museum, just as we enter, on our right, is a cast of one of those stupendous remains of the extinct animals of an early world, the bones of the hinder portion of the skeleton of the Megatherium, the originals of which are preserved in the College. Until the latter part of the last century this enormous quadruped was unknown in Europe. In 1789 the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres sent the Museum of Madrid a considerable portion of a skeleton, and subsequently portions of two other skeletons reached the same country. It was not, however, till the arrival of the remains collected by Sir Woodbine Parish, and presented to the College of Surgeons, that the general characteristics of the animal could be determined. These remains were found in the river Salado, which runs through the Pampas, or flat alluvial plains to the south of the city of Buenos Ayres. The immediate cause of this discovery was the unusual succession of three dry seasons, which caused the water to sink very low, and exposed the bone of the pelvis to view as it stood upright in the river. The cast in the Museum here is, as we have before stated, only of the hinder parts of the animal, which, in their startling magnitude, provoke a very natural desire for a glimpse of the entire creature to which they belonged. Its general dimensions are about fourteen feet in length and about eight in height, so that the upper part of its tail must have measured at least two feet across, its thigh-bone is twice the size of that of the largest known elephant, its heel-bone actually weighs more than the entire foot of the great elephant whose skeleton is in the Museum (and which we shall presently have to mention), and its fore-foot must have exceeded a yard in length.

Immediately opposite the Megatherium, on our left, is the complete, and solid, heavy-looking skeleton of the Hippopotamus, or River Horse, the supposed Behemoth of the Book of Job. Here also are the skeletons of the gigantic Glyptodon and Mylodon. Passing down the centre of the room, between the two ranges of glass cases which extend along the floor, and which are filled with a thousand small interesting objects—teeth of various animals, in various stages of growth (the series belonging to the

hant, showing the process of his shedding his teeth, which he does at least five times, is very interesting), dried preparations of the different vascular organs of the body, sponges, fossils, shells, &c.—we find in the middle of the room, on our left, a fine cast of the figure of a male negro, and on the right the amazingly complete skeleton of a man, which we can hardly persuade ourselves can have really belonged to a human being; but there is no room for doubt. It is the skeleton of Charles Byrne, better known, however, as O'Brien, the Irish giant; who, according to the 'Annual Register,' died in June, 1783, in Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, from excessive drinking. It appears he measured eight feet four inches as he lay dead, and was then only twenty-two years old: his skeleton is just eight feet. In strange contrast with this noble and graceful-looking edifice of man, for such it seems to us, of a very eminent degree, stands, we cannot say by its side, but by its leg, the skeleton of Madlle. Crachani, a Sicilian girl of ten years of age. This is just twenty inches high, and does not reach, by an inch or two, the giant's knee. She was born near Palermo, in 1814, and was the daughter of an Italian woman, who, whilst dwelling some months before her confinement in the baggage-train of the Duke of Wellington's army on the Continent, was frightened into fits by an accident with a key. The child was reared with difficulty, and, being taken to Ireland, became consumptive. She was then brought to London, and publicly exhibited in Bond Street in 1824. She died in the same year. On the same pedestal is a very minute beautifully-constructed ivory skeleton of the human form.

As we approach the end of the room, the colossal structure of the largest living animal, the Indian elephant, makes us gaze in astonishment at the wonders that live and breathe among us. The skeleton measures from the pedestal to its highest part *twelve feet four inches*. Inquiring as to the personal history of this enormous creature, how were we surprised to hear that it was Chuny, whose destruction at Exeter Change excited so much sympathy.

The skeleton of poor Chuny is flanked on either side by remarkable companions—Goraffe and a Bactrian camel. From this end of the room a door on the left opens into another Museum, of the same height, but comparatively small in its other dimensions. In front of the lofty gallery pictures hang at intervals, portraits and illustrations of surgical marvels: the room itself is chiefly devoted to preparations of extraordinary surgical cases of disease, &c., monstrosities (here is a cast of the band of the conjoined twins, for instance), and a variety of miscellaneous objects, among which the most striking are the row of mummies standing upright in open wooden boxes along the end facing you as you enter. One of them is the embalmed wife of the once famous Martin van Butchell, with a parrot or some similar bird in the case with which this was prepared at his request by Mr. William Hunter and Mr. Cruickshank, in 1795. But the most interesting mummy is that of an Egyptian in its inner case, opened, brought to England in 1820, and we know not how many thousand years

It is in a perfect state of preservation, and affords an excellent example of the art of embalming practised in ancient Egypt. The external case, generally of wood, has been removed: the internal case, which more immediately envelopes the body, and partakes of its form, is composed of many layers of cloth cemented together, and faced or externally covered with a white composition, affording a smooth uniform surface, upon which an endless variety of hieroglyphical figures and scenes are drawn in vivid, and, to this day, comparatively well-preserved colours. A strange contrast with this artificially-preserved human being is that painful-looking figure raised upon a high pedestal, seated on its haunches, the knees against the chest, and the hands pressing against the sunken cheeks. There is every reason to



consider the history of this figure as extraordinary as its appearance. The governor of the district of Oaxamarca, in Peru, became much interested in a tradition preserved among the natives of the place, that a certain guaca, or sepulchre, was the site of the voluntary sacrifice of the life of a Curaca, one of the order of nobles next in rank to the members of the royal family. He determined accordingly to have it opened, which was done in 1821; and at the depth of about ten or twelve feet three bodies were found—a female, which crumbled to dust on exposure to the air; a child, which is now in the museum of Buenos Ayres; and a man, the figure we are now gazing on. In all probability the three stood in the relation of husband, wife, and child. This dreadful instance of the lengths to which man's wild imagination will carry him is supposed to have taken place some little time before the arrival of Pizarro, or between the years of 1630 and 1640. The preservation of the bodies was owing to the peculiar character of the soil.

As we wander to and fro, lingering among the many objects that call upon our attention, but which our space will not permit us to mention, we perceive in front of the pedestal on which stands the giant elephant, a bust, the only one, as in the case of the Theatre, which decorates the place. Need we add it is the idol of the shrine, the creator of all we see around—JOHN HUNTER.

Visitors are admitted to the Museum in company of a fellow or member of the College, or by an order containing the name of the visitor, from 12 to 4 on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. During the month of September the Museum is closed.

#### THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

If the skill of our ancient physicians bore any proportion to the lofty pretensions of their studies, great indeed must have been their success. We are apt to fancy that no inconsiderable number of the members of the profession in modern times are distinguished for learning; but what are their attainments to those of Chaucer's "Doctor of Physic" in the fourteenth century? Are they, like him, "grounded in astronomy" (or astrology—the words were at that time almost synonymous)? Can they, as he is represented to have done, during

"——— all maladies,  
Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms  
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,  
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,  
Intestine stone, and ulcer, colic pangs,"—

can they, we ask, keep the patient "in houres" by their "magic natural;" or, in other words, so regulate the crisis of the disease that it shall only happen when the favourable house is in the "ascendant?" We verily believe that not one of them would ever know the decisive aspect of the heavens when it had arrived. Perhaps, to use Wallenstein's astrological phraseology,

"Jupiter,  
That lustrous god, was setting at their birth—  
Their visual power subdues no mysteries."

Certainly they have no faith in these lofty matters. They will not even credit Roger Bacon when he says "astronomy is the better part of medicine;" and were John of



Watson (the first English court physician) himself to revive, we make no doubt they could laugh to scorn his skill in physiognomy; his projected treatise on chiromancy, or fortune-telling; his sovereign remedies of the blood of a weasel, and dove's dung; and his precaution (observed with the son of Edward I. or II. during the small-pox) of wrapping the patient in scarlet, and decorating the room throughout with the like colour (the whole being done in a very solemn and imposing manner), which safe prescription recovered him so that no mark was left on his face. And yet it was something, in the hours of anguish, to look on the "blessed luminaries" above, and connect their movements with the ebbings and flowings of health in our own veins: the very elevation and serenity of thought and feeling thus produced not unfrequently perhaps working a cure,—that might otherwise, we fear, have been vainly sought for from the heavenly conjunctions. But one inconvenience appears to have attended the belief in the medicinal efficacy of these mysterious agencies—astrology, necromancy, sorcery, &c. As it was tolerably evident that no amount of learning could fathom their unfathomable depths, the unlearned made no scruple to plunge into them; and the consequence was, that the people placed the attainments of both classes on a common level; in which they were quite right as far as the supernatural was concerned, but quite wrong, unfortunately, when it led them to overlook the difference between the supernatural with medical knowledge and experience, and the supernatural without it. It was to remedy this state of things that the first operative Act of Parliament concerning physicians was framed—the Act of the 3rd of Henry VIII., 511. The preamble gives us a valuable idea of the state of medicine at that period. It says—"the science and cunning of physic and surgery" was daily exercised by "a great multitude of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no insight in the same, nor in other kind of learning (some also can read no letters on the book); so far forth, that common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women, boldly and accustomedly took upon them great cures, and things of great difficulty, in which they partly used sorceries and witchcraft, and partly applied such medicines unto the diseased as are very noisome and nothing meet therefore; to the high displeasure of God, &c., and destruction of many of the King's liege people." It was then in consequence provided "that no person within the city of London, nor within seven miles of the same, take upon him to exercise or occupy as a physician, except he be first examined, approved, and admitted by the Bishop of London, or by the Dean of St. Paul's." The other bishops in their several dioceses throughout the country had a similar power conferred on them; a custom, we may observe by the way, that existed down to at least the middle of the eighteenth century. Monks, at that time, formed the greater portion of the body of physicians. What sort of persons were appointed under the provisions of this Act, we may judge from a perusal of the minutes of the College of Physicians respecting its proceedings against empirics, where we find half the illiterate quacks and impostors with whom it had to deal, supported by the great ones of the land, from the sovereign downwards. No wonder, then, that enlightened minds perceived the necessity of a better system. Foremost among these was Henry's physician, Thomas Linacre, who had also previously held the same office in the court of Henry VII., and continued to hold it afterwards through the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. He was born at Canterbury, about 1460. He studied at Oxford, at Bologna, at Florence (where Lorenzo de' Medici allowed him the privilege of attending the same professors with his own sons), and at Rome. He is said to have been the first Englishman who made himself master of Aristotle and Galen in their original tongue. He translated parts of both writers into Latin, and in a style remarkable for its purity and elegance. Erasmus, sending a copy of one of the translations to a

friend, says, "I present you with the works of Galen, now, by the help of Linacre, speaking better Latin than they even before spoke Greek." On his return to Oxford he received the degree of M.D. He there read temporary lectures in medicine, and taught the Greek language. His reputation soon attracted the attention of Henry VII., who called him to court, and confided to his care both the health and education of his son, Prince Arthur.

But a still more important claim to the gratitude of his countrymen was to signalise the latter years of Linacre than any we have yet mentioned. Circumstances, of a terrible nature at the time, forwarded the development of the great physician's plan. The sweating sickness raged with fearful violence in London prior to the year 1518. The infected died within three hours after the first appearance of the disease; half the population in many places were swept away; the administration of justice was suspended; the Court itself shifted about from one part to another, in undisguised alarm. Linacre now appears to have opened to Cardinal Wolsey his scheme of a College of Physicians, to exercise a superintendence over the education and general fitness of all medical practitioners. The great Cardinal was favourable, and recommended it to his royal master; and on the 23rd of September, 1518, letters patent were granted, incorporating Linacre and others in a "perpetual Commonalty, or Fellowship, of the Faculty of Physic." The first meeting of the new Society took place at Linacre's house, No. 5, Knight Rider Street, a building known as the Stonehouse, which he gave to the College, and which still belongs to it. In about 1522, the King's charter was confirmed by Parliament, and the power of licensing practitioners transferred from the Church to the College. Various acts have been subsequently passed, regulating its constitution and rights, which we pass over as being interesting rather to the medical than to the general reader. At present the College consists of two orders—Fellows and Licentiates; the latter consisting of all those persons who have received the College *licence* to practise, and the former chosen, from the Licentiates, to form the governing body of the Society. From the latter of course are elected the President, the Censors, and other officers of the College. In the 'Regulations,' issued December 22, 1838, it is stated that "Every candidate for a diploma in medicine, upon presenting himself for examination, shall produce satisfactory evidence—1. Of unimpeached moral character; 2. Of having completed the twenty-sixth year of his age; and, 3. Of having devoted himself for five years at least to the study of medicine," both in theory and practice, and in all its branches. A "competent knowledge of Greek" is desired, but not indispensable; the College "cannot, however, on any account dispense with a familiar knowledge of the Latin language, as constituting an essential part of a liberal education." The examinations, conducted at certain periods before the board of Censors, are equally open to foreigners and natives; and the College is prepared to regard in the same light, and address by the same appellation, all who have obtained its diploma, whether they have graduated elsewhere or not.

About the period of the accession of Charles I., the College removed from Knight Rider Street to the bottom of Amen Corner, where they took a house from the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, of which they purchased the leasehold. Here the most illustrious of English medical discoverers, Harvey, erected an elegantly-furnished convocation-room, and a museum in the garden, filled with choice books from his own library, and furnished with surgical instruments. In this very convocation-room were most probably delivered the Lumleian lectures; in one of which, about 1615, he is supposed to have first promulgated the great theory of the circulation of the blood, which completely revolutionised the art of medicine, but which he did not fully de-



monstrate till 1628. To their honour be it spoken, the members of the College appear to have supported Harvey throughout all the trials which this new heresy in physic brought upon its author. His practice fell off considerably; the popular feeling was greatly excited against him; and altogether he suffered so much, that he determined in the bitterness of his spirit to publish no more; and it was only by great persuasion that one of his friends, Sir, George Ent, obtained the manuscript of his 'Exercitations on the Generation of Animals' for publication, after it had lain for many years useless. No wonder, therefore, that the illustrious physician was gratified when the College placed his statue in their hall during his lifetime. The 2nd of February, 1652, was also a proud day to Harvey, for it exhibited the depth of his gratitude. On that day he invited all the members to a splendid entertainment; and then placed before them a deed of gift of the entire premises he had built and furnished—convocation-room, museum, and library. He subsequently (in 1656, or the year before his death) increased these donations by the assignment of a farm, of the then value of 56*l.* per annum, his paternal estate, to defray the expenses of an anniversary feast, and for the establishment of an annual Latin oration. During the long period that Harvey was connected with the College, he appears to have taken an active part in their proceedings, some of which, in connection with the examination of "empericks," present a very curious insight into the delusions practised upon the people. The proceedings against these and earlier empirics were collected by Dr. Goodall in 1684, and added to his work entitled 'The Royal College of Physicians.' It commences soon after the foundation of the Society, and continues till some few years after Harvey's death. A great number of persons were examined during this period; the examination generally ending in a fine, and in an order to practise no more. Contumacious individuals were not unfrequently imprisoned.

The 'Reasons humbly offered by the Company exercising the trade and mystery of Upholder (or Undertaker), against part of the Bill for the better viewing, searching, and examining Drugs and Medicines' (in 1724), humorously ridicules the opposition made to the passing of the Act in question. We have only space for the following extract:—"As the Company have an undisputed right in, and upon, the bodies of all and every the subjects of this kingdom, we conceive the passing of this bill, though not absolutely depriving them of their said right, might keep them out of possession by unreasonable delay, to the great detriment of that Company and their numerous families. We hope it will be considered, that there are multitudes of necessitous heirs and penurious parents, persons in pinching circumstances with numerous families of children, wives that have lived long, many robust aged women with great jointures, elder brothers with bad understandings, single heirs of great estates, whereby the collateral line is for ever excluded, reversionary patents and reversionary promises of preferment, leases upon single lives, and play debts upon joint lives; and that the persons so aggrieved have no hope of being speedily relieved any other way than by the dispensing of drugs and medicines in the manner they now are; burying alive being judged repugnant to the known laws of the kingdom." There is also one interesting feature of these squabbles which may be noticed without breaking the rule we have set down for our guidance; we refer to the dispute between the College and the Apothecaries' Company. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the apothecaries of London began generally to prescribe as well as dispense medicines. The College resisted this inroad on their domain; and established, by way of retaliation it is said, a Dispensary at their hall for the sale of medicines to the poor at prime cost. An animated literary war now broke out; and amongst the other productions of the occasion was Garth's satirical poem of 'The Dispensary.' We cannot better commence



our description of the edifice in Warwick Lane than with a brief extract from the witty physician's verses :—

" Not far from that most celebrated place  
Where angry Justice shows her awful face,  
Where little villains must submit to fate,  
That great ones may enjoy the world in state,  
There stands a dome, majestic to the sight,  
And sumptuous arches bear its awful height;  
A golden globe, placed high with artful skill,  
Seems to the distant sight a gilded pill."

The removal of the College from Amen Corner was owing to the fire of London, which entirely destroyed the buildings, including those erected by Harvey, the statue of the latter, and the library, with the exception of about 120 folio volumes. For the next few years the members met at the house of the President. In 1669 a piece of ground was purchased in Warwick Lane, and in 1670 the edifice was begun, from a design by Sir Christopher Wren. It was opened in 1674, under the presidency of Sir George Ent. We need not describe the front of this building; Garth's verses may serve to convey a sufficient idea. The general style of the architecture, we may observe, can scarcely be said to be worthy of the genius that produced St. Paul's. It was, however, a sumptuously-decorated building in the interior, as, fortunately, we may yet see; though our local historians generally pass it without particular notice. Since the last removal of the Society, this their once favourite and splendid hall has been sadly desecrated. The octangular porch of entrance, forty feet in diameter, no longer exhibits on its floor "the dust brushed off from learned feet;"—no longer now, as of old, does the costermonger of the neighbouring market peep into that mysterious place, and wonder whether its owners, who worked such miracles upon everybody else, ever allowed themselves to die. Butchers and meat fill the outer porch, butchers and meat fill the quadrangle within, now so divided off and covered over for their purposes, that it is some time before one can distinguish the outline of the court, or the principal buildings of the College which still surround it. The interior of the octangular pile above the porch formed the lecture-room, which is light and very lofty, being open upwards to the top of the edifice. The general shape and character of this building are preserved throughout: the porch is octangular; there are eight exterior faces to the part above, with eight windows, and the same with the lantern over the dome. Crossing the corner of the market or court to the left, we find the way to the more important part of the old College, now used in the business\* of the gentlemen to whom the entire premises belong. We are now in the entrance hall of the building. As we look around and above at the great size and noble proportions of this place, we begin first to have a consciousness of the presence of its illustrious architect. The hall is probably sixty feet high from floor to ceiling, and perhaps about twenty-four feet by twenty square. A truly magnificent staircase runs upwards through it, the balusters most elaborately carved. The ceiling is elegantly decorated in panels. Right up the centre of the place extends a round shaft containing a geometrical staircase within, erected by the present proprietors, as the mode of communication to the rooms at the top of the building. From the staircase we pass into the dining-room, about sixty feet long by twenty-four wide, which has a ceiling that must at once excite the admiration of every visitor. It is divided into three parts; a great circle in the centre and a large oval on each side, the whole formed by very deep and elaborate stucco ornaments of

\* Braziers and brass founders.

age, flowers, &c., on a beautiful light blue ground. Each of the figures is set in a border, filling up all the remaining space of the ceiling. A very broad cornice of similar character extends round the room. The oak carvings also deserve minute attention. They consist of the framework in which the rich marble of the chimney-pieces is set, the bold ornamental wreaths, &c., above, and of a gallery fixed against the wall near the ceiling, which stood formerly in the library beneath, now lost in alterations of the College. The body of the gallery is supported by brackets fixed all over, and of a very handsome massive character; and the upper rail by figures of children (instead of balusters), their lower parts merged into pedestals. The hall is lighted by five arched windows. Beyond this room is a smaller one as to height, but decorated in the same rich style. So completely is the view of the principal buildings of the college shut out from the court below by the roof with its numerous skylights thrown over the court, that but for the courtesy of the proprietors we should be unable to notice either that or the two statues of Charles II. and Sir John Cutler still existing there. Passing through a window of the counting-house, however, we get on to the roof of which we have spoken, and there, walking out among the skylights projecting upwards breast high, look around us at our leisure. On the north and south are the buildings, which enclose two sides of the quadrangle, formerly used as places of residence by the college officers. On the west is the principal front of the College, consisting of two chief stories, the lower decorated with Ionic pillars, the capitals of which just appear above our feet, the higher by Corinthian columns and by a pediment in the centre at the top. Immediately beneath the pediment is the statue of Charles II., with a Latin inscription. Some of the stones of which it is inscribed have been removed for the formation of a window; they are preserved, however, with that care which has evidently characterised all the alterations of the proprietors, who certainly have injured the original building and its decorations as little as possible. On the east is the octangular pile, and its somewhat mean-looking dome; with the gilt ball or "pill" above, and the statue of Sir John Cutler below, which was here placed in consequence of a fraud practised by him, as he advanced money professedly as a gift, but which he entered in his books as a debt, and which was consequently claimed by his executors, who, however, accepted 2000*l.* in lieu of the 7000*l.* which he had advanced.

In this building the Fellows of the College continued to hold their meetings till 1755, when, as Dr. Macmichael observes in his interesting little volume, 'The Golden Cane,'—"the change of fashion having overcome the *Genius loci*," they retired to their present building at the corner of Pall Mall East and Trafalgar Square. We then let us follow them.

This elegant building, erected by Sir R. Smirke, was opened on June 25, 1825, with a Latin oration delivered by the President, Sir Henry Halliday. The style is the Grecian Ionic; the portico, though not remarkable for originality, is beautiful. The interior happily confirms the promise of the exterior. An air of sumptuous elegance pervades throughout, made only the more impressive by the sense of repose and dignity conveyed by the general solitude of the apartments, and by their airy and noble proportions. A door on the left of the entrance-hall leads into the dining-room, lighted by a range of six windows overlooking Trafalgar Square, and having a chaste and beautiful ceiling. Pillars of green and white marble (imitation) decorate the northern end of the room. Over the fireplace is a fine portrait of a fine face, that of Dr. Keene, the eminent physician of the period of the Commonwealth. Here also are portraits of Sir Edmund King, and Dr. Freind, the well-known historian of medicine.



Returning to the entrance hall, and ascending the stairs which turn off to the right and to the left towards the gallery or landing on the top, we cannot but pause a moment to admire the exceedingly beautiful character and proportion of this part of the building. Here are a pair of folding doors in front leading into the library, and a single door on the right opening upon the Censor's room. This apartment, with its rich oak panelling and pillared walls, is rich in pictures and busts, and in the almost interminable series of memories which invest these works of art with a higher interest than art alone can bestow. Sydenham is here, with his fine massive face and his long and flowing silvery hair. During the civil wars he commanded a troop of horse under the King. Sydenham has the great merit of being the first of his profession to discard mere theory, and apply with diligence to the study of nature and facts. His practice and writings accordingly make an era in medical history. For the same reason he obtained the names of the English Hippocrates and the Father of English medicine. Here, too, is Linacre, with his small ruddy features, hollow cheeks, thoughtful eye, and particularly expressive mouth—a delightfully quaint-looking face in all its seriousness. Over this picture are the College arms in oak, with the shield richly emblazoned. Sir Thomas Browne is here, with his interesting and poetical face richly set off by the dark shadow of his hair and of the back ground of the picture. His chin and upper lip are partially covered with moustaches of a brownish hue, and his beard is peaked. The pleasant, good-humoured face of Sir Samuel Garth enlivens the Censor's room. One wonders where the original of such a picture could have found a sufficient stock of ill nature to commence satirist. As the friend of Pope and Swift had certainly a great deal of wit, perhaps it was from a deficiency of ill nature that 'The Dispensary' is not a great poem! Sufficient then for its author be the fact that he was a good man. Who will not revere the memory of Garth, when they consider that to him Dryden was indebted for a suitable interment, when a personage of high rank forgot the duty he had sought? Among the other portraits of the room are those of Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII. (which Malcolm thinks is either by or from Holbein), and Andreas Vesalius, the famous Italian anatomist. Four marble busts in addition adorn the Censor's room: those of Sir Henry Hallford, Sydenham, Mead, and Baillie. With an anecdote of the latter we quit this interesting apartment. Baillie was occasionally very irritable, and indisposed to attend to the details of an uninteresting story. After listening with torture to a prosing account from a lady who ailed so little that she was going to an opera that evening, he had happily escaped from the room, when he was urgently requested to step up-stairs again; it was to ask him whether on her return from the opera she might eat some oysters: "Yes, ma'am," said Baillie, "shells and all."

The library is a truly splendid room. It is very long, broad, and high, lighted by three beautiful lanterns in the ceiling, which is of the most elegant character. The walls consist of two stories, marked at intervals by flat oaken pillars below, and clusters of flat and round imitation marble pillars above. A gallery extends along the second story all round the room, and the wall is there fitted up with book cases hidden by crimson curtains, containing preparations; amongst others are some of the nerves and blood vessels constructed by Harvey, and most probably used by him in the very lectures before referred to. The books, chiefly the gift of the Marquis of Dorchester, who left his library to the College, are ranged round the walls of the lower story. From the gallery a narrow staircase leads up into a small theatre, or lecture-room, where are some interesting busts and pictures,—among the latter a fine portrait of Hunter. The most interesting works of art in the library are the portraits which adorn the two compartments of the wall near the ends of the room. One is



adcliffe, painted by Kneller; the other is of Harvey, by Cornelius Jansen! If ever portrait spoke the history of its subject, it is this. Beneath that wide expanse of brow, how forlorn a face appears! A few white hairs straggle over the temples which had so often quivered at some new and more piercing instance of the folly and ingratitude. That outstretched hand there were few to grasp beneath his own immediate friends and connections; yet hand, heart, and soul lived and suffered but for the good of mankind. Harvey, however, was a man of the same attitude as well as in every other respect; and the very studies which first distressed him, brought him afterwards peace. He loved his profession, and had high regard for it. To have seen the change that has characterised the last fifty years, in which the rate of mortality has decreased nearly a third, and mainly by the efforts of the members of that profession, would have amply repaid him for all his labours. Perhaps he did foresee some such change. Perhaps he saw, in the dim distant future, glimpses of a happier state of things than we have yet any conception of. Much is true that cannot be demonstrated. The order from a Fellow, and most physicians in London are Fellows, gives admission to visitors to inspect the College.

#### THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

If the character of the present era shall be judged by that calmest and most august of tribunals—posterity, there can be little doubt that one especial glory has been assigned to it, enhancing all its other merits, and doing much toward extenuating all its faults; it will be said that then, for the first time in this country, was it fully acknowledged that science, art and literature were no mere appanages of the great, but the common birthright of all; that their mission was not to solace a monarch's lonely hours, or to sharpen the dulled edge of a rich or a great man's satiety, but, in a word, to make life universally wiser, happier, nobler, more worthy of Him in whose image we are made, and for which lofty object alone religion, philosophy, and science, alike teach us such mighty agencies must have been bestowed. The nineteenth century will probably have much to answer for, but if some such epitaph may be inscribed upon its tomb, all else will be ultimately forgiven and forgotten. To mark the progress of the mighty revolution thus accomplished were a task of the highest interest, and one for which there were no need to depart from the path marked out by our present subject. We see, for instance, at first the streams of knowledge flowing calmly along to one common receptacle—the ROYAL SOCIETY, which, up to the latter half of the last century, may be said to have been confined within the circle of its own little but distinguished knot of members a monopoly of the cultivation of learning in England; the only noticeable exceptions being the study of antiquities, which was left to the Society of Antiquaries, and the study of medicine, anatomy, and surgery, which naturally belonged to the College of Physicians, but which was at the same time included among the multifarious and various researches of the Royal Society. Then as those streams grow wider and deeper, we see them shaping out new channels and reservoirs; one forming to itself a Society of Arts, another a Royal Academy, a third a Linnæan Society. And thus they remain up to the close of the century. But within the next forty years the current progresses with a vastly accelerated pace, and mighty are the changes suddenly exhibited. The waters of knowledge, increased and increasing from all sources, overflow and roll along in directions scarcely less numerous. The Royal

Society may now confine itself to matters of science alone, but not the less is it from necessity to let every department of science have its own independent band of disciples: hence the societies—Astronomical, Geographical, and Geological; Zoological, Ornithological, and Entomological; Botanical, Horticultural, and Agricultural; Engineering, Mathematical, and Statistical; Legal and Philological. Next surge we perceive, must have its College as well as physic; and when that is obtained, the departments of the healing heart demand in addition their Harveian, and Hunterian, their Medical, and Medico-Botanical, and Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies. The Society of Arts finds a helpmate in the Royal Institution. The Royal Academy branches off into various artistical bodies, whilst architecture establishes its independence in the Architectural Society and in the Royal Institute. Then again we may look upon the Antiquarian Society as the oldest literary body, we may compliment it upon an extensive list of successors, of varying degrees of power and usefulness, from the Royal Society of Literature down to the Parker Society for printing the works of the early fathers of the Church; from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge down to the bodies which rejoice in the prenomens of Percy, the Camden, the Granger, or the Shakspeare. Lastly, clustering round the bodies, and drawing nourishment from them, we find a whole host of societies whose business it is rather to diffuse acquired than to seek new information: such are the London and Russell Institutions for the higher and middling classes of society, and the Mechanics' Institutes for the middling and lower; of which last species, since the establishment of the chief one by the excellent Dr. Birkbeck, the growth has been rapid, that scarcely a metropolitan parish or district of any size is now without a "literary and scientific" institution.

We cannot give a separate history of these bodies, and therefore select the oldest of the earliest—the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries. Boyle, in a letter of the date of 1646, speaks of the Invisible or Philosophical Society, and there can be little doubt but he refers to the meetings from which the Royal Society sprang; and which, being held in all sorts of places, now at the lodgings of one of the members, now at the Gresham College, and now somewhere in the neighbourhood of the latter, were practically *invisible* enough to all but the initiates. Among these members were Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, the author of a 'Discovery of a New World' in the Moon, and of suggestions as to the best way of getting to it; Dr. Wallis, the eminent mathematician; and Dr. Goddard, a physician in Wood Street; all of whom during the Commonwealth obtained appointments at Oxford, and there formed a similar Society. In 1659 most of the members of the two societies found themselves met together once more in London, and then, joining with the two Gresham professors of astronomy and geometry, Christopher Wren and Rooke, who were at that time delivering lectures in the college, and with several persons of distinction, the whole met after the lectures in an adjoining room for philosophical conversation. And so matters went on very pleasantly till the resignation of the Protectorship by Richard Cromwell, when the apartments occupied for scientific purposes were converted into quarters for soldiers, and the members of the Society for a time dispersed. On the Restoration, however, they met again, and began to form themselves into a regular Society. An address was presented to the king, who gave it a very flattering and promising reception; and, a few years later, something better still, namely, a charter of incorporation under the name of the Royal Society, also granting the usual privileges of holding lands and tenements, suing and defending in courts of law, having a coat of arms and a common seal. The noble spirit in which the Society commenced operations is attested by



resolutions drawn up at the time, in which it was "agreed that records should be made of all the works of nature and art of which any account could be obtained; so that the present age and posterity might be able to mark the errors which have been strengthened by long prescription, to restore truths which have been long neglected, and to extend the uses of those already known; thus making the way easier to those which were yet unknown. It was also resolved to admit men of different religions, professions, and nations, in order that the knowledge of nature might be freed from the prejudices of sects, and from a bias in favour of any particular branch of learning, and that all mankind might as much as possible be engaged in the pursuit of philosophy, which it was proposed to reform not by laws and ceremonies, but by practice and example. It was further resolved that the Society should not be a school where some might teach and others be taught, but rather a sort of laboratory where all persons might operate independently of one another." \* We have already seen what an immense amount of good, direct and indirect, has flowed from the Royal Society; we may now see in this brief outline of its original views that such admirable results have been but the natural consequences of admirable principles. The combined objects and effects of all the learned societies of the present day could hardly be more accurately described than they are in this important document dated nearly two centuries back. And it was no mere flourish of the pen, but a genuine preparation for downright hard labour. The world of knowledge was before the members to choose what paths they would, and with characteristic ardour they chose all, or something very like all; but that was in consequence of the universality of their minds, not through conceit, or presumption; and they went to work with a full consciousness of what would be demanded from them. They divided themselves into committees. In March, 1644, we find no less than eight of these in operation; one to consider and improve all mechanical inventions, a second to study astronomy and optics, a third to study anatomy, a fourth chemistry, a fifth geology, a sixth the histories of trade, a seventh to collect all the phenomena of nature hitherto observed, and all experiments made and recorded; an eighth to manage the correspondence; whilst later in the year we find a ninth constituted, it having been "suggested that there were several persons of the Society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes;" which can hardly be questioned when we know that among the members of the Society were such men as John Dryden and Edmund Waller, both of whom, with Evelyn and Spratt, were included in the committee then voted. Among the other members of the Society at the same time were Dr. Ent, the friend and defender of Harvey; Boyle, the great cultivator of experimental science; Sir Kenelm Digby; the poets Denham and Cowley; Ashmole, Aubrey, Isaac Barrow, Hooke, the distinguished chemist and mechanician, who professed to have anticipated Newton, a somewhat later member of the Society, in his grandest discoveries; Spratt, another poet in his way, afterwards Bishop of Rochester; and many others of scarcely less distinction. At the same time one must acknowledge that some of the occupations of this august assembly must excite a smile. Boyle was at one time requested to examine the truth of the notion, that a fish suspended by a thread would turn towards the wind. At another the members of the Society tested by direct experiment the truth of the opinion that a spider could not get out of a sphere enclosed within a circle formed of a powdered unicorn's horn! Let us step in here beneath Sir William Chambers's sumptuous archway at Somerset House, and passing through a door on the left, ascend the circular

\* 'Penny Cyclopædia,' article Royal Society.



staircase to the apartments of which it enjoys the use through the liberality of the crown. We must not expect to find the vigour that characterised its youth. It was no doubt a consciousness of some little fallings-off that first prompted Davy, when he became its president, to propose his magnificent scheme of making the Royal Society "an efficient establishment for all the great purposes of science, similar to the college contemplated by Lord Bacon, and sketched in his 'New Atlantis';" having subordinate to it the Royal Observatory at Greenwich for astronomy, the British Museum for natural history in its most extensive acceptation, and a laboratory founded for chemical investigation, amply provided with all the means requisite for original inquiry, and extending the boundaries and the resources of this most important national science." But government was lukewarm, and before Davy could collect funds from the fellows to carry out the scheme in part at least among themselves, he died. Well, if there be, as we have observed, less of the original activity of the Society exhibited now than of yore, we have at all events got rid of the fish-weathercocks and the circle-charmed spiders.

At the yearly anniversary, gold medals are conferred upon the authors of the best papers on experimental philosophy, written in the preceding twelve months, and who are often personally present to receive them from the hands of the President, with some suitable remarks on the occasion made in the course of his general address. One honourable feature characterises the grant of these medals—they are conferred indifferently on foreigners and Englishmen. Besides the general advantages attending the right of witnessing and sharing in all the proceedings of the body, Fellows receive a direct return for some portion of their subscription in the current yearly volume of the great publication of the Society, the 'Philosophical Transactions,' of which above 130 volumes have now been issued, and which, in Sir Humphry Davy's words, "remain monuments of all the country has possessed of profound in experimental research, or ingenious in discovery, or sublime in speculative science, from the time of Hooke and Newton to that of Maskelyne and Cavendish."

Of the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, which holds its meetings in apartments adjoining those of the Royal Society, and on the same evenings, but at an earlier hour, we need say very little. It was in existence as early as the reign of Elizabeth, when a few distinguished scholars, headed by Archbishop Parker and Sir Robert Cotton, formed themselves into a body for the preservation of our national antiquities. From thence to 1617 various attempts were made to obtain a charter of incorporation, but ineffectually, and the Society then died away. In 1707 a new body was constituted, comprising Peter le Neve, Madox the Exchequer antiquary, and others, who met first at the Bear in the Strand, then at the 'Young Devil' in Fleet Street (a rival, we presume, of the famous 'Old Devil' of poetical memory), and then at the Fountain over against Chancery Lane. Here Stukeley, Samuel and Roger Gale, and Browne Willis joined them, and a little later George Vertue, the illustrious engraver, became a zealous member. Many other removals took place; but at last, in 1750, a charter was obtained, and since then of course all has gone on very smoothly. Numerous publications have appeared, some of great value, more particularly the 'Archæologia,' which is to the Antiquarian Society what the 'Philosophical Transactions' are to the Royal, a place of deposit for all the more important communications submitted to its notice. Its members are nearly as numerous as those of the Royal Society which in all its arrangements for admission, government, &c., it closely resembles.

Of the other Societies we can give no more than the following Alphabetical List for the year 1851.

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,**

26, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East.

*Pres.*—(vacant).

*Hon. Secs.*—Charles Tucker, Albert Way.

*Sec.*—George Vulliamy.

**ARTS UNION OF LONDON,**

444, West Strand.

*Hon. Secs.*—G. Godwin and L. Pocock.

*Assist. Sec.*—T. S. Watson.

**BOTANICAL SOCIETY,**

20, Bedford Street, Covent Garden.

*Pres.*—J. E. Gray.

*Sec.*—G. E. Dennes.

**BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.**

*Pres.*—J. Heywood, M.P.

*Secs.*—R. J. Planche and C. Bailey.

**BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.**

*Pres.*—Sir D. Brewster.

*Vice-Presidents*—Earl of Cathcart, Earl of Rosebery, Right Hon. D. Boyle Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, W. Johnstone, Sir Thomas Brisbane, Bart., Rev. Dr. Lee, Professor James Forbes, and Professor W. P. Alison.

The meeting of 1851 is to be held at Ipswich, under the presidency of G. Airy, Astron. Royal.

*Vice-Presidents*—Lord Rendleham, Bishop of Norwich, Professor Henslow, Professor Sedgwick, Sir J. Boileau, Bart., Sir W. Middleton, Bart., J. G. Cobbold, Esq., M.P., and T. Western, Esq.

*Gen. For. Secs.*—Lieut.-Col. Sabine and Professor Royle.

*Assist. Gen. Sec.*—Professor J. Phillips, York.

**BRITISH INSTITUTION,**

52, Pall Mall.

*Patroness*—The Queen.

*Pres.*—Duke of Sutherland.

*Sec. and Keeper*—Geo. Nicol.

**BRITISH MUSEUM,**

Great Russell Street.

There are 48 *Trustees*, of whom 23 are *Trustees ex officio*, 9 representatives of the families of Sloane, Cotton, Harley, &c.,

one appointed by the Queen, and 15 are elected.

*Prin. Librarian*—Sir Henry Ellis.

*Secretary*—Rev. Josiah Forshall.

**CAMDEN SOCIETY,**

25, Parliament Street.

*Pres.*—Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke.

*Sec.*—W. J. Thoma.

**CAVENDISH SOCIETY,**

19, Montague Street, Russell Square.

*Pres.*—Professor Graham.

*Sec.*—Theophilus Redwood.

**CHEMICAL SOCIETY,**

142, Strand.

*Pres.*—R. Phillips.

*Secs.*—R. Warrington and B. C. Brodie.

**CITY OF LONDON LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION,**

165, Alderagate Street.

*Pres.*—George Grote.

*Sec.*—George Stacy.

**ECLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY,**

Clarence Chambers, 12, Haymarket.

*Patrons*—Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Dublin, and their Lordships the Bishops.

*Clerk*—Adolphus Good.

**ENTOMOLOGICAL SOCIETY,**

17, Old Bond Street.

*Pres.*—G. R. Waterhouse;

*Secs.*—J. W. Douglas, H. T. Stainton.

*Treas.*—W. Yarrell.

**EPIDEMIOLOGICAL SOCIETY,**

53, Berners Street.

*Pres.*—Dr. Babington.

**ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY,**

17, Savile Row.

*Pres.*—Vice-Admiral Sir C. Malcolm.

*Hon. Sec.*—R. King, M.D.

**GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,**

Somerset House.

*Pres.*—Sir C. Lyell.

*Secs.*—W. J. Hamilton, and J. C. Moore.

*For. Sec.*—C. J. F. Bunbury.

**HAKLUYT SOCIETY.**

*Pres.*—Sir R. I. Murchison.

*Hon. Sec.*—R. H. Major.

## HARVEIAN SOCIETY.

*Pres.*—Dr. Chowne and H. B. Norman.  
*Treas.*—Dr. Wm. Stroud.  
*Hon. Sec.*—Dr. R. H. Powell, 21, Edwards Street, Portman Square.

HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY,  
21, Regent Street.

*Pres.*—Duke of Devonshire.  
*Treas.*—J. R. Gower.  
*Sec.*—Henry Daniel. M.D.  
*Vice-Sec.*—John Lindley, Ph. D.

## HUNTERIAN SOCIETY,

4, Bloomfield Street, Finsbury.  
*Pres.*—H. Marshall Hughes, M.D.  
*Secs.*—W. F. Cleveland and S. O. Habershon.

INCORPORATED LAW SOCIETY,  
Chancery Lane,

*Pres.*—Richard Harrison.  
*Vice-Pres.*—John Innes Pocock.  
*Sec.*—Robert Maugham.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE  
ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING  
OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS,  
7, Whitehall.

*Pres.*—Archbishop of Canterbury.  
*Sec.*—Rev. T. Bowdler.

ISLINGTON LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY,  
Wellington Street, High Street.

*Pres.*—Charles Woodward.  
*Hon. Secs.*—J. Wilkinson and J. G. Allan.  
*Librarian*—Joseph Simpson.

## INSTITUTION OF CIVIL ENGINEERS,

25, Great George Street, Westminster.  
*Pres.*—Wm. Cubitt.  
*Sec.*—C. Manby.

LINNEAN SOCIETY,  
32, Soho Square.

*Pres.*—Robert Brown.  
*Sec.*—J. J. Bennett.  
*Under Sec.*—Richard Taylor.

LONDON INSTITUTION,  
Finsbury Circus.

*Pres.*—Thomas Baring, M.P.  
*Hon. Sec.*—W. Tite.  
*Librarians*—E. W. Brayley, jun., and R. Thomson.

## LONDON LIBRARY.

St. James's Square.  
*Sec. and Lib.*—J. G. Cochrane.

LONDON MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,  
29, Southampton Buildings.

*Pres.*—Wm. Lloyd Birkbeck.  
*Sec.*—Andrew Macfarlane.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY,  
8, Blomfield Street, Finsbury.

*Treas.*—Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart.  
*For. Sec.*—Rev. A. Tidman.  
*Home Sec.*—Rev. J. J. Freeman.

MARYLEBONE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC  
INSTITUTION,

17, Edwards Street, Portman Square.  
*Patron*—Lord Brougham.  
*Treas.*—John Lee Benham.  
*Secretary*—Robert Weir.

## MEDICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,

83, George Street, Hanover Square.  
*Pres.*—R. Bennett, M.D.  
*Hon. Secs.*—C. H. F. Routh, M.D., and Cogswell, M.D.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE  
EDUCATION OF THE POOR,  
Sanctuary, Westminster.

*Pres.*—Archbishop of Canterbury.  
*Sec.*—Rev. J. G. Lonsdale.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION  
OF BRITISH INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL,  
South Sea House, City,

*Pres.*—Duke of Richmond.  
*Sec.*—Dr. Beke.  
*Assist. Sec.*—Henry Byron.

## NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,

41, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden.  
*Pres.*—Edward Hawkins.  
*Hon. Secs.*—J. Cove Jones and C. R. Smith.  
*For. Sec.*—J. Y. Akerman.

## PALÆONTOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

*Pres.*—Sir H. T. De la Beche.  
*Sec.*—J. S. Bowerbank.

## PARKER SOCIETY,

33, Southampton Street, Strand.  
*Pres.*—Lord Ashley, M.P.  
*Sec.*—Wm. Thomas.

PATHOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
21, Regent Street.

*Pres.*—(vacant).  
*Secs.*—E. Bentley, M.D., and N. Ward.



PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
the Bishop of St. David's  
in Guest.

PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTION,  
Shaftesbury Square, Mile End.  
1. Francis.  
—Wm. Passmore.

POPULAR INSTITUTION,  
High Street, Poplar.  
1. J. Bowring.  
2. Bowkett.

RAY SOCIETY.  
22, Old Burlington Street.  
Professor Thomas Bell.  
Johnston, M.D., E. Lankester, M.D.

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John Prescott Knight.  
George Jones.

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The Queen's Theatre, Strand.  
The Queen.  
*Committee of Management*—  
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Clarke.

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—R. Marnock.

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*Sec.*—J. S. Russell.

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*Assist. Secs.*—Rev. H. J. Vernon and Rev. W. T. Bullock.

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*Sec.*—G. A. Fripp.

*Treas.*—F. Mackenzie.

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53, Pall Mall.

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*Vice-Pres.*—L. Haghe.

*Treas. and Sec.*—James Fahey.

SOUTHWARK LITERARY INSTITUTION,  
Borough Road.

*Treas.*—George Pilcher.

*Sec. and Librarian*—B. W. Wheatland.

STATISTICAL SOCIETY,  
12, St. James's Square.

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*Hon. Secs.*—Joseph Fletcher, W. A. M.D., and W. D. Oswald.

*Assist. Sec.*—T. I. Brown.

SYDENHAM SOCIETY,  
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*Sec.*—J. R. Bennett, M.D.

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*Sec.*—J. King.

ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
11, Hanover Square.

*Pres.*—Earl of Derby.

*Sec.*—D. W. Mitchell.



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CHAPEL ST. MARY'S PLACE



ST MARTIN'S CHURCH.



PORCH OF ST ALFRAGE.



ST HELENS

# KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XVII. CHURCHES.





1

2

3

## XVII. CHURCHES: I.

one who repairs on a clear day to Waterloo Bridge, and turns his eyes towards it, will be struck with the close juxtaposition into which the church spires are led together in that direction. If, after taking this view, he turn his steps to east, and begin to thread the narrow and tortuous thoroughfares within the circle which the walls of London once stood, he will be reminded that the existing churches are only a portion of those which existed before the Great Fire. The various little grave-yards, with their couples of trees, feeble attempts at greenery, and a few old dusky monuments which meet him at every corner, are "roses in a wilderness" of trafficking London, "left on their stalks to mark where once churches have been."

The City is now a place of mercantile business. The heads that conduct, the fingers that write, the brawny backs and arms that guide waggons, work cranes, and perform oilsome tasks of portorage, seem to have it all to themselves. The genius of commerce reigns paramount, and occupies the whole minds of men so long as they are in the walls. In former days wealthy merchants and shopkeepers, to say nothing of those they employed, had their dwellings in the City: but now the very Bankers have their residences in the suburbs; the waggoners and porters inhabit the precincts of the Tower, and the monotonous level of close-packed small houses between the Minories and the East India Docks, through which the line of the Black-Frailway has been excavated, giving rich men an opportunity (which they rarely find of seeing how poor men live. Human beings still toil in the City, but they rarely have the appearance of living in the City. There is nothing there but shops and counting-houses. The airy courts and stately structures of City magnates of the reign of Queen Anne are inhabited, not by men, but by firms—"Goosequill, Ledger, &c." That unsubstantial abstraction "Co." possesses it entirely. At night the enormous vacuum would tenant the City alone, but for the watchmen who patrol the streets; and during the day his human serfs who repair to the tenements he occupies inspired by him alone—their thoughts are exclusively of pounds, shillings, pence, goods, bonds, debentures, and stocks.

One is thus almost tempted to ask the frequent churches what they do there. They are said to be opened on Sundays and sometimes during the week, yet there is a thickening of dust upon them which almost appears to belie the report. They are scarcely more life-like than the vacant grave-yards, which, to the mind's eye, are filled with the ghosts of old churches.

Notwithstanding the show made by the churches within the City wall be at present, it is nevertheless evident that their numbers have fallen off from what they once were. The Great Fire thinned their ranks: many a stately spire toppled down in the midst of never to be rebuilt. And more than a century before that event the Reformers had wrought sad havoc in their ranks. If we were called upon to fix the time when the churches most did flourish in the City—when the greatest number of contemporary churches were to be found within its wall—the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century is the period we should select.

About the close of the fourteenth century (at least in England) the Romish Church

was in the full flush of its power and usefulness. It had, aided by co-operating influences to which it is not at present necessary to advert, raised and improved men from what they had been, but not so far as to enable them to dispense with its services. It was incorporated with the domestic as well as with the public life of society; its influence was seen and felt everywhere. Its bodily presence was seen in church, chapel, and altarage, abbey, convent, and hospital: its spiritual presence was felt in the numerous links of guilds and confessorships, which bound every individual to his church and its ministers, making the national religion a part of his daily occupations. The market was held before the church-door, and the public fountains were placed near the church, that the water might be blessed. St. Giles Cripplegate had its "boss of clere water:" and St. Michael le Querne, at the west end of Cheapside, its conduit. Chaucer has put into the mouth of his Wife of Bath a playful picture of the omnipresence of the Church: it may have been meant as a sarcasm (for Chaucer lies under the suspicion of Lollardism), yet is it conceived in no harsh spirit, and is exactly the ludicrous manner in which a bold, spirited person would express her sense of a power which she could not help reverencing, though she did not feel herself much bettered by it:—

"In old days of the King Artour,  
Of which that Britons spoken great honour,  
All was this land full filled of faerie:  
The Elf-queen, with her jolly company,  
Danced full oft in many a green mead.  
This was the old opinion as I read;  
I speak of many hundred years ago;  
But now can no man see none elves mo,  
For now the great charity and prayers  
Of limitours and other holy freres,  
That searchen every land and every stream,  
As thick as mottés in the sunny beam,  
Blessing halls, chambers, kitchens, and bowers,  
Cities and boroughs, castles high and towers,  
Thorps and barns, sheepeotes and dairies,  
This maketh that there be no faeries."

Fitz-Stephen, in his remarkable description of London in the twelfth century, says, "There are in London and in the suburbs thirteen churches belonging to convents, besides 126 lesser parish churches. Eleven of the thirteen "belonging to convents" may be traced with precision. We find on examination that there were in existence in Fitz-Stephen's time, Trinity Priory, Aldgate, founded in 1108 by good Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I., for Regular Canons of the rule of St. Augustine; St. Bartholomew's, which we shall fully notice in a succeeding paper; Bermondsey; St. James's Priory, Clerkenwell, founded for Black Nuns about 1100, near the famous well from which it derived its name; the Priory of St. John the Baptist, near another well of still higher repute—Holywell, Shoreditch; St. Katharine's Hospital, founded by Matilda, Stephen's queen; St. Thomas Acon, founded in honour of Beckett, by the ambitious churchman's sister and her husband, on the site of their father's house, in which Beckett himself was born; St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, the house of the Hospitallers; and the Temple, the house of their rivals; St. Mary Overies, which we shall also particularly notice; and, lastly, St. Martin's-le-Grand, which, both from its antiquity and its magnificence, was appropriately named.

If the great fire of London was calculated to beget in the minds of contemporaries



most awe and astonishment at the amount of the mischief consummated within a space, those feelings were not likely to be lessened by the peculiar severity of the punishment as it regarded the churches of London. In the following list is shown in alphabetical order the churches as they stood in the beginning of the seventeenth century when the central portion of London must have appeared one forest of steeples. The reader, after glancing over this list, will then mark how many of them have been prefixed, he will see those which remained. Surely no other single feature of the conflagration furnishes us with so startling a notion of its effects as this :—

## CHURCHES OF LONDON AND THE SUBURBS BEFORE THE FIRE.

Wood Street, <i>W.</i>	Edmund, Lombard St., <i>W.</i>	Mary, Abchurch, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, Barking.	*Ethelburgh.	Mary, Aldermanbury, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, Bread Street, <i>W.</i>	Faith.	Mary, Aldermar, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, the Great, <i>W.</i>	*Fulham.	Mary le Bow, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, Honey Lane.	Gabriel, Fenchurch.	Mary Bothaw.
St. Andrew's, the Less.	George, Southwark.	Mary Colechurch.
St. Andrew's, Lombard St., <i>W.</i>	George, Botolph Lane, <i>W.</i>	*Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey.
St. Andrew's, Staining.	*Giles, Cripplegate.	Mary Magdalen, Milk Street.
St. Andrew's, London Wall.	Giles in the Fields.	Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, <i>W.</i>
	*Greenwich.	Mary at Hill, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, Holborn, <i>W.</i>	Gregory, by St. Paul.	Mary Mounthaw.
St. Andrew's, Hubbard.	Hackney.	Mary Somerset, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, Undershaft.	*Helen, Bishopsgate.	Mary Staining.
St. Andrew's, Wardrobe, <i>W.</i>	*Islington.	*Mary, Whitechapel.
St. Andrew's, Aldersgate, <i>W.</i>	*James, Clerkenwell.	Mary Woolchurch.
St. Andrew's, Blackfriars.	*James, Duke's Place.	Mary Woolnoth, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, <i>W.</i>	James, Garlick Hill, <i>W.</i>	Matthew, Friday Street, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, the Great.	John, Baptist.	Michael, Basinghall St., <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, the Less.	John, Evangelist.	Michael, Cornhill, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	John, Zachary.	Michael, Crooked Lane, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Katherine Coleman.	Michael, Queenhithe, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Katherine Cree.	Michael le Querne.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Katherine, Tower.	Michael Royal, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Kensington.	Michael, Wood Street, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Lambeth.	Mildred, Bread Street, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Lawrence Jewry, <i>W.</i>	Mildred, Poultry, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Lawrence, Poultry.	*Newington.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Leonard, East Cheap.	Nicholas Acon.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Leonard, Foster Lane.	Nicholas Cole-Abbey, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Leonard, Shoreditch.	Nicholas, Olave.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Magnus, <i>W.</i>	*Olave, Hart Street.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Margaret, Lothbury, <i>W.</i>	Olave, Jewry, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Margaret Moses.	Olave, Silver Street.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Margaret, New Fish Street.	*Olave, Southwark.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Margaret Pattens, <i>W.</i>	Pancras, Soper Lane.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Martin in the Fields.	Peter, Cheap.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Martin, Ironmonger Lane.	Peter, Cornhill, <i>W.</i>
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Martin, Ludgate, <i>W.</i>	Peter, Paul's Wharf.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Martin Orgar.	*Peter le Poor.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	*Martin Outwich.	*Putney.
St. Andrew's, St. Dunstons, Exchange, <i>W.</i>	Martin, Vintry.	

*Rotherhithe.	*Stepney.	*Trinity, Minories.
*Saviour, Southwark.	*Stratford, Bow, & Bromley.	Vedast, Foster Lane, W.
*Savoy.	Swithin, W.	*Wandsworth.
Sepulchre, W.	Thomas Apostle.	*Westminster, St. Margaret.
Stephen, Coleman Street, W.	*Thomas, Southwark.	*Westminster, St. Peter.
Stephen, Walbrook, W.	Trinity Church.	

The *W* affixed to many of the above names show the churches rebuilt by Wren; consequently those without either that mark or the asterisk are the buildings that have been entirely lost to us. Many of them were, no doubt, exquisite specimens of their respective architectural styles. In their origin, names, customs—in the monuments and inscriptions they contained—in their wealth and decorative splendour, one might find materials for a pleasant and instructive volume. Stow, the fine old historian of London, has abundant materials for such a collection.

Passing with this brief mention the extinct churches (we have already noticed those rebuilt by Wren), let us now once more glance over the list on the preceding page. Of those marked with the asterisk, an interesting question suggests itself—are any of those which fortunately escaped the fire, or were altogether beyond its range, still preserved to us in their architectural integrity? in other words, do any of the churches of London before the fire still exist essentially as they were? It is pleasant to find that, though few in number, there are such existing; churches that not only have been spared the fire, but the worse fate of architectural degradation that has befallen those which have grown too old for any merely repairing processes. The church of Allhallows Barking, where the headless bodies of the poet Surrey, Bishops Fisher (More's friend) and Laud, were temporarily deposited after their respective executions on the neighbouring Hill, is still preserved to us; so is Allhallows Staining, where Elizabeth, on leaving the Tower, by Mary's permission, for a less severe imprisonment in Woodstock, full of thankfulness, hastened to offer up her grateful acknowledgments to God: St. Andrew Undershaft, where rest the honoured ashes of him whose heart was as open to all the freshness and loveliness of the present, as his mind was earnest and sagacious in inquiring into the past—a church we could as ill have spared for Stow's sake as for its own; St. Katherine Cree, where Laud displayed those superstitious tendencies which subsequently formed one of the chief charges against him; the curious little church of St. Ethelburgh, in Bishopsgate Street, so diminutive that the pettiest houses and shops seem, in very contempt of its insignificance, to have half smothered it up, pressing it on each side, and creeping across its front till the door below and the tip of its fine window above, with the surmounting turret, are all that can be seen; St. Helen's, close by, in every way the most perfect and interesting of the whole; St. Giles, Cripplegate, rich in many recollections, were they not almost rendered as nothing in contrast with the one—Milton's burial within its walls; St. Olave, Hart Street, with its elegant architecture, and remains of antique decoration on the roof of its aisles; Lambeth; St. Margaret's, Westminster; and still more distant, Chelsea, where Sir Thomas More, when Chancellor, sang with the boys in the choir, and now lies in that last sleep which, with such a spirit, could not but be sweet; Fulham, Putney, &c. If to these are added St. Mary Overies (or St. Saviour's), Bartholomew the Great (the Less also has remains of the ancient structure), Ely Place, and the Savoy—the reader will have a tolerably complete general view of the old churches that remain. The Dutch church, Austin Friars, may here also be mentioned. This priory was founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex; the date is shown on the exterior, 1253. Strikingly



handsome as this building still is, with its long range of pointed windows of great size on each side, its magnificent western front, and its elegantly-clustered columns. The interior, both exterior and interior give but a partial view of the original splendour of this house of the bare-footed friars; the one wanting its spire, which formed the "beautifullest and rarest spectacle" in London, and the other the sumptuous monuments which formerly adorned it: whilst the whole forms but the nave of a perfect structure.

Of the churches enumerated in the preceding paragraph, it will be necessary to notice in detail only the more important. Allhallows Barking Church, is generally of the gothic style prevalent in the Tudor era, but there are certain pillars on each side of the nave, toward the western extremity, that at once attract the eye by their similarity to the remainder: these are low, massive, round—in a word, Norman. The antique inscriptions, monuments, and brasses too, all about us, point far backwards over the stream of time. If from among the latter, where all are so interesting, we select one for mention, the best perhaps is the brass plate of John Rulche, 1559, who appears in a close-fitting gown, with long hair, hands clasped upon his breast, a pouch at his girdle, and a rosary on his arm. A terrible and, in one respect, various accident injured the church in 1649—the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder, which at the same time destroyed fifty or sixty of the neighbouring houses with their inhabitants. The first person who ascended the steeple afterwards was not a little surprised at what he saw there—a female infant in a cradle, unhurt. The parents could not be traced, and in consequence some good Samaritan stepped forward and brought her up as his own. To the repair of the injuries done on this occasion was added the erection of a new and ugly brick steeple.

That the majority of the earliest churches built in London were of wood seems sufficiently probable, if we consider merely the length of time that structures of greater pretension must have required for their erection, and how unwilling the enthusiastic builders must frequently have been to wait any longer than was absolutely necessary for a temple in which to worship; and the name of Allhallows *Staining* points no doubt to some such state of things. Stane is the Saxon word for stone, and was most probably applied to this church to distinguish it from the others of the same name of wood; and if the view be a correct one, the choice of the word shows how uncommon was the use of the more durable material at the time. Looking at the modern front of this church in Mark Lane, a model of plain deformity, one would never suspect there was aught behind it worth a single glance; but if we step through the little court close by, the eye at once rests upon a tower of unmistakeable antiquity. The body to which it belonged fell in 1671, and was replaced by the structure, of which the front already mentioned is a worthy representative; and, as if that was not enough degradation for a venerable steeple which could possibly date its birth from the days of the third Henry, they have actually thrust one of those abominable round-headed windows into its walls. But it has had its consolations too. If tradition speak truly, it was the merry peal of its bells pouring forth their congratulations to the parish on the release of Elizabeth from the Tower, that attracted the Princess herself hither, as the most agreeable place in which to perform her devotions.

The objects of our inquiry now grow thick around us; here we see the low but elegant gothic exterior of St. Olave's, in Hart Street, there the more imposing range of pointed windows belonging to St. Katherine Cree, in Leadenhall Street, and scarcely a stone's-throw distant, the modern and beautiful tower of St. Andrew Undershaft. The interior of St. Andrew's forms a very interesting specimen of the Tudor architecture of the fifteenth century; and is rich in large fresco paintings of the Apostles,



in its stained glass, with portraits of Edward VI. and succeeding monarchs down to Charles II., in its monuments, its noble organ, and its painted and gilded roof. But one thinks little of these things on the spot, for there in the north-east corner is Stow's monument. The history of St. Katherine Cree's—the latter word being a corruption for Christ's—church, like many others of the metropolis, impresses upon the mind the dateless antiquity of its foundation; the original edifice was pulled down about 1107, with three other churches, to make way for the great convent of Trinity, and the church of the latter, under the appellation of Christ's, having been made parochial, was devoted to the use of the four united parishes. The body of this church having become, it is said, old and crazy, was pulled down and rebuilt in 1628; if so, there must have been a very praiseworthy determination on the part of the architect to follow in some degree the style of the preceding building or of some of the neighbouring churches; but it was probably only an extensive repair of the exterior that took place at the times mentioned, for the interior exhibits proofs that there was no such self-denial in the artist's thought: here Gothic and Corinthian jostle in strange, but certainly picturesque, confusion. It is said that Inigo Jones was the author of the repair or rebuilding in 1628. We hope he is not answerable for walling up the magnificent western window, the tracery of which is just visible at the top. That it was magnificent any one may easily assure himself by stepping up the narrow alley in Leadenhall Street at the eastern extremity of the building, and gazing, as well as the place will permit, upon the correspondent work that there lies before him. Within, among other noticeable dead, we are reminded of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the gallant spirit who so baffled the hunters in Guildhall, by the sight of his canopied effigy, and we remember without such aid that in all probability somewhere beneath our feet, or in the adjoining churchyard, lies all that remains of Hans Holbein. In the beautiful monument to Samuel Thorpe, 1791, by Bacon, St. Katherine Cree possesses another claim to the attention of the lovers of art.

Let us now turn into Bishopsgate Street, and thence into the area at the back of Crosby Place, where a path runs between fine young trees, and through the centre of the bright level sward of the churchyard of St. Helen's, to the church. The remarkable aspect of the exterior must strike every one. The ends of two naves or bodies of separate churches placed side by side, with a little turret at the intersection above is the idea at once impressed. The interior shows us that this is no fanciful notion, the double church being there still more evident, although intimately connected together. An irregular, but far from unpleasing or unpicturesque effect is thus produced. In the part that now appears as an aisle, a long row of carved seats against the wall catches the eye, and the inquiry into their use explains the peculiar architectural exhibition around us. Here there was a church dedicated to Helena, the mother of Constantine, from a very remote period, of which the nave of the present building is the descendant. About 1212 William Fitzwilliam, a goldsmith, founded on the same locality a priory of Benedictine nuns, and probably built a church for them, against that of St. Helen's; when the latter came into the possession of the nuns, which it did at no very distant period, it may have been thought desirable to lengthen the nuns' church to range with that of St. Helen's (hence the blank wall in the north-east corner), and to throw them open to each other, or divide them at least merely by the screen between the intercolumniations, which we know to have existed here until the Reformation. The seats we have alluded to were those used by the nuns. Among the monuments of St. Helen's which most imperatively demand notice, we may first mention the oldest and most valuable—Sir John Crosby and his lady's, an exquisite specimen of the sculpture of the fifteenth century, exhibiting their effigies

le by side, on a table monument; the costume is remarkable, particularly the head-dresses, and in all its details carefully defined. On one side near him, beneath an ambitious-looking Elizabethan canopy with double arches, lies Sir W. Pickering, one of the courtiers of the virgin queen, who is said to have aspired to a share of her throne, and who could plead as a justification of his hopes the possession of qualifications which make Strype call him the finest gentleman of the age in learning, arts, and warfare. Still farther, on the same side, directly before the great window of the nuns' church, and with the coloured rays from his own arms in the said window falling upon his tomb, lies Sir Thomas Gresham: that tomb, as becomes the eminent man whose remains it guards, is simplicity itself—a very large square slab, raised a little high, bearing his sculptured arms, but no adornments, no inscription. Of the tablets and other memorials on the wall beyond Gresham's monument, the most remarkable are those to Sir William Bond, a distinguished merchant adventurer, who died in 1576, and his son, Martin Bond, one of Elizabeth's captains at Tilbury. A still more interesting feature of this wall is the beautiful niche, with a row of open arches below, through which the nuns, according to Malcolm, heard mass on particular occasions from the crypt below. Returning to the eastern part of the church, we find, in the chancel that occupies the south-east corner, the remarkable monument of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, who died in 1636. It is a beautiful table-tomb, the workmanship of Nicholas Stone.

St. Giles, Cripplegate, was built by Alfune, the man who rendered Rahere such efficient assistance in the erection of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, and derives the concluding part of its designation from the gate in the great wall, near which it was erected (one of the finest remaining pieces of that wall is still preserved in the churchyard), and which was called the *cripple* gate, from the number of deformed persons who haunted it to beg. The church was partially burnt in the sixteenth century, but a single glance at the tower and exterior walls shows how much remains of a date anterior to that event. Here rest, in addition to Milton and his father, Fox the martyrologist, Speed the historian, and "Sir Martyn Furbisher, Knt.," who is generally, but incorrectly, said to have been buried at Plymouth, where he was brought after receiving his death-wound in the assault on Croyzon, near Brest. His name is entered as we have transcribed it (from Malcolm) under the date 1594-5, Jan. 14. Numerous other interesting recollections of St. Giles might be mentioned; we must confine ourselves to two: here, on the 22nd of August, 1620, were married Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Bouchier; and in connection with Cromwell's friend and secretary, the great poet before mentioned, we cannot but feel interested in observing in the parish registers the frequent mention of the names of Brackley, Egeron, and Bridgewater, dear to the lovers of Milton and 'Comus'; the family of Bridgewater having had a house in the immediate neighbourhood.

Passing from the Strand into a narrow street near Waterloo Bridge, we are in the precincts of the ancient palace of the Savoy; and that rather low, but long and antique-looking edifice, with its beautiful windows and curious little tower, is its chapel, the last remnant of its architectural glories. In front extends the burial-ground, a peculiarly neat one for London, with its well-gravelled walks, and fresh-looking evergreens. The founder of the Savoy was Peter de Savoy, brother to Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, and uncle to Eleanor, the queen of Henry III. The date of 1245 is ascribed to the original erection. The early history of the Savoy is full of interesting associations. The ancient palace was made a heap of ruins in Wat Tyler's insurrection, and remained so till an hospital was erected on its site, in the reigns of the seventh and eighth Henrys. It became the scene of two great reli-



gious meetings in the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century much of the hospital was in ruins. It had been built in the form of a cross, with one front towards the Thames, having several projections, and a double row of angular mullioned windows, and another towards the Strand, facing the Friary, with large pointed windows, embattled parapets, and a strong buttressed gateway, bearing the arms and badge of Henry VII., and two Latin lines engraved in large characters, ascribing the foundation to that monarch. During the improvement of the neighbourhood consequent on the erection of Waterloo Bridge, all remains of the Savoy were swept away, with the exception of the Chapel. The roof is perhaps the most striking feature on a first glance. It is covered with minute-looking decorations, consisting of quatrefoils, with circular leaves, enclosing crowns of thorns, carved emblems, shields, &c., which were formerly gilded, and must then have made the roof one blaze of decoration. There are here the remains of an exceedingly beautiful altar-piece. On one side it has been almost entirely destroyed to make room for the immense monument of Sir Robert Douglas and his lady, and on the other the beautiful architecture is disfigured by a brass plate to one William Chaworth, and the kneeling effigies of Lady Dalhousie's monument. The Douglas monument exhibits the armed effigy of Sir Robert reclining on his right arm, a work of considerable merit; and a kneeling representation of his lady, in a great hood, behind him. On the western wall, near the altar-piece, is a beautiful ornamented recess, in the back of which have been effigies engraved on brass. Near this is a small tablet to Anne Killigrew, 1685, daughter of one of the masters of the Savoy, Dr. Killigrew, and niece to the well-known jester. This is the lady immortalised by Dryden, as

"A Grace for beauty, and a Muse for wit."

The only other monument requiring notice is a very large and magnificent structure of the Elizabethan era, enriched with pillars, a niche, &c., and having the effigies of a lady extended along its table. Lastly, there is the tablet to the memory of the enterprising but unfortunate traveller, Richard Lander. The inscription records briefly the melancholy circumstance of his death. He "died at Fernandez Po, on the 2nd of February, 1834. His death was produced by a gun-shot wound, received from the natives of Africa, by whom he was attacked and plundered whilst ascending the river Niger, for the purpose of introducing into that country the blessings of civilisation and the arts of peace." Before we quit the Savoy we must visit a tomb in the burial-ground, signifying to all who are interested in the last resting-place of a man of genius that there lies William Hilton, the late Keeper of the Royal Academy.

The present Lambeth Church is of the period of Edward IV. From its connection with the palace adjoining, several of the archbishops have been interred in it, including Bancroft, Tenison, Hutton, and Secker. Bishops Thirlby and Tunstal also repose within its walls. A military-looking memorial to Robert Scot records the services of one of Gustavus Adolphus's English followers, and the inventor of leathern artillery, which he used with great effect in the service of the Swedish monarch. In one of the windows is a painted figure of a man (said to be a pedlar) and a dog; according to tradition, the piece of land known as Pedlar's Acre was given to the parish by the individual here commemorated. The churchyard has a monument to the Tradescants, famous antiquaries during the reigns of the Charleses, who lived at Lambeth, and formed there the first Museum of Curiosities of which we have any record in England. Their garden also was very valuable for the amazing number and variety of plants they had collected in it, from all parts of the world.

The erection of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was owing to the desire of the Con-



to relieve the monks of the Abbey that he had so magnificently rebuilt from inconveniences attending its use as a parish church: hence that proximity to the older structure, which would hardly have been permitted under any other circumstances. St. Margaret's has been twice rebuilt;—in the reign of Edward I. by the shrewdly-minded merchants of the Staple, and again in that of Edward IV.: from this period we may justly date the present structure, in spite of the extensive repairs that have taken place in 1735 and in 1803. Here lies the illustrious Printer, from whom we read in the parish registers: "1478. Item, the day of burying William Caxton, for ii. torches and iii. tapers at a low mass;" and a similar entry, under the year 1491, shows the fitting honours that were paid to his memory; a handsome monument has been placed in the church of late years by the Roxburgh Club. Here also lies buried Skelton, the satirical poet of Henry VIII.'s reign; Lord Howard of Effingham, Elizabeth's gallant Lord High Admiral, who had the chief defence of the kingdom intrusted to his charge at the period of the Spanish Armada, and to whose and his lady's memory there is here a sumptuous monument, with their effigies; Sir Walter Raleigh, brought hither after his execution in the neighbouring Palace Yard; Philip Warwick; and, lastly, Milton's wife, Catherine, buried here, Feb. 10, 1657, "late espoused saint" of his pathetic and beautiful 23rd sonnet. The church, as a place of assemblage for the Members of the House of Commons during the sittings of Parliament, is kept in excellent order, and exhibits many interesting features. The architecture, where ancient, is beautiful: and more particularly the recess, with its lofty groined roof, its panelled niches, and fresco designs. But the painted eastern window is the grand attraction of St. Margaret's. This represents the whole history of the Crucifixion in what is considered the most masterly work of the art, and the effect is truly gorgeous. The history of this window is one of commemoration. It was made by the orders of the magistrates of Dort, in Holland, as a suitable present to Henry VII., for the chapel erected by him in the city; hence the figure of that monarch at his devotions, and the red and white robes introduced into the picture. Henry, however, dying before it was completed, the window fell into the hands of the Abbot of Waltham, who kept it in his church till the dissolution. Then began a series of hairbreadth escapes, through which it is wonderful the work should have reached its present home. The last Abbot of Waltham saved it from destruction by sending it to New Hall, a seat of the Butlers, in Essex; from whence it was purchased, with the seat, by Thomas Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose son sold them to General Monk. The war against all such superfluous exhibitions of artistical skill was now raging hotly, and Monk knew there was no chance of his window escaping, except by its strict concealment; accordingly he hid it. At the Restoration, it was restored to the chapel at New Hall. Again threatened: the chapel was destroyed by a new possessor, who, however, willing to sell the window to some church, preserved it, cased up, and after some time sold it to Mr. Conyers, for his chapel at Epping; by this gentleman's son it was again sold, in the last century, to the committee for repairing and beautifying St. Margaret's.

St. Margaret's Place, the Palace of the Bishops of Ely, in Holborn, is a name familiar to every one from the scene in Shakspeare's 'Richard III.', where the usurper asks the Bishop for strawberries from his garden. The chapel, called of St. Etheldreda, is all that remains. In spite of patchings and modernisings, St. Etheldreda's Chapel retains much of its original aspect. On looking at the exterior, if we shut our eyes to the lower portion, where a part of the window has been cut away and an entrance made where formerly none was ever intended to exist, we perceive the true stamp of the days

when men built cathedrals. And in the interior the effect of the two windows, alike in general appearance, yet differing much in detail, is magnificent, although the storied panes which we may be sure once filled them are gone. The bold arch of the ceiling, plain and whitewashed though now be its surface, retains so much of the old effect, that, though we miss the fine oak carvings, we do not forget them. The noble row of windows on each side are in a somewhat similar condition; all their exquisite tracery has disappeared, but their number, height, and size tell us what they must have been in the palmy days of Ely Place; and, if we are still at a loss, there is fortunately ample evidence remaining in the ornaments which surround the upper portions of the windows in the interior, and divide them from each other. Of the original entrances into the chapel one only remains, which is quite unused, and is situated at the south-west corner of the edifice. Stepping through the doorway into a small court that encloses it, we perceive that it has been a very beautiful, deeply-receding, pointed arch, but now so greatly decayed that even the character of its ornaments is but partially discoverable. Here, too, is a piece of the wall of one of the original buildings of the palace—a stupendous piece of brickwork and masonry; and, on looking up, one of the octagonal buttresses, with its conical top, which ornamented the angles of the building, is seen. Descending a flight of steps, we find a low window looking into the crypt, and we catch a glimpse of the enormous chestnut posts and girders with which the floor of the chapel is supported.

Never was time more propitious for an artistical revolution than that which witnessed the growth of the Roman Italian among us. With one stroke, as it were, of the parliamentary pen, fifty new churches were ordered to be built in consequence of the destruction caused by the fire; and when these were erected, and Wren had developed *his* views, fifty more were determined upon by the same authority, thereby presenting a similar opportunity for the development of the views of his successors. We refer to the act passed in the 10th year of the reign of Queen Anne, having for one of its objects, to remedy the insufficiency of accommodation afforded by the churches of London and the vicinity; and for another, as we learn from the commission subsequently issued to regulate the necessary proceedings, the “redressing the inconvenience and growing mischiefs which resulted from the increase of Dissenters and Popery.” The expense was to be defrayed by a small duty on coals brought into the port of London, for a certain period. We may here observe in passing, that the intentions of this act, as regards the number of structures to be built, were but very imperfectly carried out. And now, as to the men who were to avail themselves of the magnificent field opened to their exertions. James Gibbs was born about 1674, and educated at Aberdeen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. In his twentieth year he visited Holland, and entered into the service of an architect. In 1700, through the advice and by the assistance of the Earl of Mar, his countryman and patron, he went to Italy, and studied for ten years. He then returned to England, to find the Earl of Mar in the ministry, at once able and willing to obtain employment for him from the Church Commissioners. The first stone of St. Mary’s in the Strand was laid in 1714, the steeple finished in 1717, and the whole consecrated in 1723. The old church of St. Mary occupied the site of the eastern part of the present Somerset House, and was one among the three or four public buildings pulled down by the proud and reckless Protector to make way for the pile he was about to build. The congregation waited a long time in the expectation that he would fulfil his promise of erecting another place of worship, joining them-



elves in the meantime to the congregation of St. Clement's. Somerset died without having done anything for them, and a second removal took place—the church of the Savoy being this time the adopted place. Here they remained till the rection of the present edifice. Gibbs, the architect, in his own account of St. Mary's, says it was the first building he was employed on after his arrival from Italy. Few structures have been more severely criticised. The great fault, it seems generally agreed, is the profusion of ornaments, and the multitude of small parts; on the other hand it possesses the high excellence of being admirably designed for the site, and the union of the façade and tower is eminently happy. The interior also is fine, though liable to the same objection of being too much ornamented. The side walls display two ranges of pilasters, with entablatures, one above the other; the ceiling is semi-oval, covered with decorations in stucco; and the altar at the east end, with a very large and striking-looking alcove, has paintings of the Annunciation and the Passion. The pulpit is very beautifully carved, and has a sounding-board in the form of a shell. St. Martin's in the Fields is the building on which Gibbs's fame chiefly rests—that fane, according to the poet Savage, who expressed only the general opinion of his time,

“Where God delights to dwell, and man to praise.”

St. Martin's was finished in 1726, at an expense of £37,000. The chief feature of the exterior, the portico, needs neither description nor eulogy, it is so universally known and admired. The steeple, though exceedingly stately and elegant in its form, harmonises little with the classical portico; and in the opinion of architects has another serious fault—instead of rising directly from the ground, it appears elevated above the roof. The interior presents an arched roof, supported by Corinthian columns, and in its general effect may deserve the commendation bestowed upon it, as “a perfect picture of architectural beauty;” but if you examine the details with a more critical eye, you are reminded in every direction of Walpole's severer judgment, “In all is wanting that harmonious simplicity that speaks a genius.” Although a very ancient foundation, and the parent of three or four others, St. Martin's has no particular features of interest in its earlier history; of the later, the most noticeable is the list of notorious or eminent persons buried within its precincts. The frail but warm-hearted Nell Gwynne is among the number who left the ringers a sum of money for their weekly entertainment. In the vaults under the church lies Mrs. Centlivre, the dramatic writer, and in the churchyard Roubiliac, the great sculptor, who died in 1762. Charles Dibdin was interred in the burial-ground belonging to this church, at Camden Town.

Hawksmoor commenced operations about the same time as Gibbs, and with his best work, St. Mary Woolnoth, which was finished in 1719. The exterior exhibits both his faults and excellences: it has something of the heaviness which characterised him, but has also an air of magnificence, with something like harmonious simplicity of decoration. The interior is sumptuously beautiful, though injured by the pews; the galleries also interfere with the classical simplicity and harmony of the plan. His next church, St. Ann's Limehouse, finished in 1724, presents all his worst qualities with scarcely any of his best. His next work, St. George's Church, was in the same neighbourhood. In St. George's, Bloomsbury, Hawksmoor made a material addition to his plans. Influenced probably by the admiration excited by Gibbs's portico to St. Martin's, he determined to have one for St. George's, and, as might have reasonably been expected, improved upon it in some points; it displays itself, for instance, better, from the height to which it is raised above the level of the street; though it is considered inferior in point of execution. But what shall be said of the heavy-looking



body behind, or of the steeple, which one writer (Walpole) calls a masterpiece of absurdity, whilst others prefer it to any other in the metropolis, on the ground of its originality, picturesque form, and expressiveness? Upon the tower, which has an expression of majestic simplicity, rises a range of unattached Corinthian pillars and pediments, extending round the four sides of the steeple, with a kind of double base, ornamented in the lower division with a round hole on each side, and a curious little projecting arch at each angle; above this stage commences a series of steps, gradually narrowing, so as to assume a pyramidal appearance, the lowest of which are ornamented at the corners by lions and unicorns guarding the royal arms, and which support at the apex, on a short column, a statue, in Roman costume, of George I.

The other architects of the period in question, who rose into reputation or notice by their churches, are James, Archer, and Flitcroft. To the first we owe the aristocratic church of the most aristocratical of parishes, St. George's, Hanover Square, completed in 1724, or two years before St. Martin's; a circumstance of some importance when we consider that its portico is considered to be only surpassed by that of the church referred to. As to the interior, not only are all the orders there, but more we fear than either an antique Roman or Greek would be willing to recognise. It is, indeed, but too evident, that, with all the architects we have mentioned, in all their works, St. Mary Woolnoth alone excepted, they have been excellent in the exact proportion in which they have been least original. Their porticos have chiefly made the fame of Gibbs, Hawksmoor, and James, which, at the best, we now learn from the highest authorities, are, in all their beauty, but imperfect imitations of their respective originals. St. Luke's, Old Street, with its fluted obelisk for a spire, is another of James's works, erected in 1732. Archer's well-known production is St. John's Church, Westminster, finished in 1728; and which, if it were possible to designate by any single phrase, it must be some such as—Architecture run mad. If one could imagine a collection of all the ordinary materials of a church in the last century, with an extraordinary profusion of decoration, of porticos, and of towers, to have suddenly dropped down from the skies, and, by some freak of Nature, to have fallen into a kind of order and harmony and fantastic grandeur,—the four towers at the angles, the porticos at the ends and in the front,—it would give no very exaggerated idea of St. John's. Vanbrugh, says Pennant, had the discredit of the pile. There is something refreshing in turning from such a specimen of originality to the soberer form and unpretending style of St. Giles in the Fields, with its tall and graceful spire. It is curious that this edifice, which has given to Flitcroft his reputation, should be attributed, in the Report of the Church Commissioners to the House of Commons, to Hawksmoor, who, they say, expended £8605 7s. 2d. upon it; but there is no doubt but Walpole, and the View, published in 1753, are correct in ascribing it to Flitcroft, who was probably employed by Gibbs, and not by the Commissioners. The interior has an arched ceiling, supported by Ionic pillars, and is more than usually chaste and beautiful. The "Resurrection Gate," as the entrance at one corner of the churchyard is called, from the representation of that event seen on its upper portion, is of older date than the church, having been executed about 1687. The old church, to which it was then an adjunct, had in former times many rich monuments; one, to Sir Roger L'Estrange, the well-known loyalist and writer, still remains. A more distinguished sharer in the turbulent but sublime war of principles that has made the seventeenth century for ever memorable, Andrew Marvel, was also interred here. St. Giles also preserves the ashes of a truly great poet, Chapman, the translator of Homer. Another of the illustrious has yet to be mentioned in connection with St. Giles, an artist whose works have raised him to the very highest pinnacle of

European fame as a sculptor—a man whose life was but a counterpart of his works: each illustrating each. Flaxman was buried here on the 15th of December, 1826, his body accompanied to the grave by the President and Council of the Royal Academy. For on an inscription speaks simple truth: we read here, "John Flaxman, R.A., P.S., whose mortal life was a constant preparation for a blessed immortality: his angelic spirit returned to the Divine Giver on the 7th of December, 1826, in the seventy-second year of his age." The ground on which St. Giles's stands was formerly occupied by a hospital, founded by Matilda, wife of Henry I., for lepers; and it was in front of this hospital that Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was so savagely burnt, during the reign of Henry V., his early friend. The phrase "St. Giles's Bowl" will remind many of the custom that formerly prevailed here of giving every malefactor on his way to Tyburn a bowl of ale, as his last worldly draught.

As to the host of other churches that arose during the same or a little later period, were useless to enter into any architectural details. Eternal imitations apparent through eternal attempts at originality are their chief characteristics, where the architects had any ambition; where they had not, their churches sank even below attempt, built as they mostly were in a style requiring splendour of decoration and harmonious combinations of form as its essentially redeeming features, qualities that the masters in the school alone could give. So we shall merely notice such of them as present any other features of moment. In St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate Street, the architecture of which, and of an extensive similar class, seems to us best described as the puffy cherubim with wings order (so favourite a species of decoration is that nature, and so completely does it harmonise, in its way, with all around), lies buried, with a monument preserved from the old church, Sir Peter Paul Pindar, the inhabitant of the neighbouring house in Bishopsgate Street, where we have still preserved the most rich and unique specimen of the ancient domestic architecture of the metropolis. In the churchyard there is a tomb inscribed with Persian characters, of which now gives the following account: "August 10, 1626. In Petty France [a part of the cemetery unconsecrated], out of Christian burial, was buried Hodges Shaughsware, a Persian merchant, who with his son came over with the Persian ambassador, and was buried by his own son, who read certain prayers, and used other ceremonies, according to the custom of their own country, morning and evening, for a whole month after the burial; for whom is set up, at the charge of his son, a tomb of stone with certain Persian characters thereon: the exposition thus—This grave is made for Hodges Shaughsware, the chiefest servant to the King of Persia for the space of 10 years, who came from the King of Persia, and died in his service. If any Persian cometh out of that country, let him read this and a prayer for him, the Lord receive his soul, for here lieth Maghmote Shaughsware, who was born in the town Novoy, Persia." Shoreditch was rebuilt about 1731 by the elder Dance; St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, originally given by the descendants of the thirteen knights forming the nighten Guild to the Priory of Trinity, in 1741; St. Mary, Whitechapel, in 1764; and St. Alphage or Elphege, one of the churches that escaped the fire, in 1777. The arch of St. Alphage, with its sculptured heads and pointed arches, is, however, no production of the eighteenth century, but a remnant of the old Elsing Priory.

After the erection of such of the fifty churches as were erected, and the rebuilding, we have just seen, of some of the older ones, there was a remarkable pause: during the long period extending from the commencement of the reign of George III. down almost to its close, there were not (including St. Alphage and St. Mary, Whitechapel) six churches erected in the metropolis. In an architectural point of view this was unfortunate. The Italian-Roman school had been fairly put before the public, and



there required time to come to a right understanding of its comparative merits with the Gothic, which it superseded here, and the purer Grecian and Roman schools, on which it had raised itself at home. The general character of the numerous new churches that now meet us on every side in the metropolis, the growth of the last twenty-five years, speaks emphatically that the decision has been unfavourable. It was again fortunate that after such a period the more eminent architects who assumed the responsible position of erecting buildings that, from their very character as well as from their metropolitan position, should always be the best the state of the art can furnish, did not attempt originality, till they had purified their own and the public tastes, by familiarity with the long misunderstood and misused works of antiquity. There can be nothing more certain in art of any kind, than that every permanent advance must be based on a thorough appreciation of the excellence that has gone before. Invaluable, therefore, were the variety of buildings erected in the early part of the present century, in which the Grecian orders, the Doric and Ionic, were introduced; though no doubt there was plenty of room for improvement in the mode of the introduction. It is in this light that the beautiful church of St. Pancras, New Road, appears with even greater interest than its exquisite columns and doors alone could give it. This was finished in 1822; the architects were Messrs. W. and H. Inwood, men who had evidently drunk deep at the undefiled well of Athenian architecture. Their building is an avowed imitation of the famous temple of Erechtheion at Athens, one of the most florid existing specimens of the Ionic order.

St. Dunstan's in the West demands a few words, if it be only for its past fame. Who does not remember its clock, and the clubmen who struck the hours and quarters on the bell suspended between them, and the eternal crowd of gazers [on the opposite side of the street, waiting for the moment of action? Yet not all their popularity saved them from being turned off with contumely at last. The church was rebuilt about 1833, from the designs of Mr. Shaw, the architect of Christ's Hospital, who died, as we learn from a tablet over the entrance, on the 12th day after its completion. It must have been a satisfaction, even in the dying hour, to feel that such a work *was* completed. The tower, 130 feet high, is an exceedingly picturesque composition, and the interior is no less distinguished for its general elegance of style and richness of decoration.

We now proceed to notice some of the ecclesiastical buildings of a more modern date, during which, if there is as yet too great a proneness to imitation, and no very striking attempts at originality, the models chosen have been of a higher kind, and in many instances the adaptations have been happy and the effects graceful and picturesque. For our specimens we shall not confine ourselves to the boundaries of London and Westminster, though all are within London in its wider sense—all within the London post-office district. First, of those belonging to the Church of England.

*St. Peter's*, Park Street, Bankside.—This church and the parsonage house and schools (by Mr. Chr. Edmonds, architect) make altogether a rather striking architectural group: nor is it, perhaps, any particular disadvantage to it, that it presents itself suddenly on turning the corner of a narrow and crooked street, going along from Blackfriars Bridge to Southwark Bridge. The church itself, which is built of gray brick and stone, is in a very plain style of pointed architecture, with the exception of the porch on the south side, in a much later and more ornamental style than the rest. Externally, however, it is upon the whole a very respectable production; but the same cannot be said of the interior, for that is exceedingly bald and plain.



the church was consecrated in 1840. It measures internally 80 feet by 46, and affords 1200 sittings, about one-third of which are free.

*Trinity Church*, Blackheath Hill, erected in 1840, from the designs of Mr. J. W. Pild, is in the earlier pointed style, of which it exhibits some good details, besides such that is both unusual and effective in the disposition and general combination, owing to the apsis being made to project between the towers; a novelty in the design not perfectly arbitrary, because, although inclining considerably towards the south, the east end of the building facing the road may be called the east, consequently is the end which, in conformity with custom, is appropriated to the altar; while, as the main street or road immediately passes it, it was almost matter of necessity that the principal entrances should be towards the latter. Perhaps it has been fortunate for the architect that the difficulties of the site forced upon him this peculiarity in his plan, since it has led to a strikingly picturesque physiognomy in the elevation of this principal front of the building, and to an exceedingly pleasing contrast of forms, and play of light and shade; and, as far as the latter is concerned, it is no small advantage that, instead of facing due east, this end has partly a south aspect. At the same time, the homeliness of the material employed detracts in some degree from the effect of the design, being constructed almost entirely of yellow brick. The extreme length of the interior is 96 feet; and the breadth, including the aisles (which do not extend quite to the north-west end), is 56 feet. These aisles are divided from the body of the church by five arches on each side. The timber roof, however, and the apsis with an altar screen, and three lofty windows filled with stained glass, produce a pleasing effect.

In 1841 another church was opened in the neighbourhood of the preceding one, at Lee, from the designs of Mr. John Brown. The style adopted for it is that of early Gothic or lancet-headed pointed, which has become rather general for buildings of this class; but the one we are now noticing forms a favourable exception to the majority of them, being free from that crudity of design which stamps so many of our lately-erected churches, and which bespeaks tasteless niggardliness rather than simplicity or sound economy. The plan of the church at Lee is a parallelogram, whose extreme length from east to west is 118 feet exclusively of the buttresses, and its width 54. At the west end rises a tower surmounted by an octangular belfry and spire, making an entire height of 136 feet; and that front is further distinguished by the gables over the side compartments, which contribute no little to general richness of composition and outline. Nor is the east end the least effective and ornamental portion of the exterior, that elevation being divided by buttresses into three compartments, each of which is crowned by a gable; and the middle one contains five windows grouped together into one design, after the manner of that called "The Five Sisters" in York Minster. For other parts and details of the exterior the Lady Chapel at Salisbury Cathedral has served as a model; and the general effect is highly satisfactory. The interior is divided into a nave and aisles, by two ranges of clustered pillars, from which spring richly-moulded arches supporting the roof; and the eastern end is marked by the arrangement of the pillars and arches into a sort of chancel or apsis, within which are the altar and vestry. This portion of the interior is further distinguished from the rest by having a groined ceiling; whereas the roof of the church generally is executed in a later style, it being divided by arched ribs into compartments which are again subdivided into panels by lesser ribs, with ornamental bosses at their intersections; and being designed in imitation of a timber ceiling, it is accordingly coloured to resemble oak. Besides the taste displayed in the design, the architectural character of this interior is greatly enhanced by there being no side

galleries, those stumbling-blocks in modern churches, which, instead of being made component parts of the architecture, are almost invariably offensive excrescences, no better in effect than so many temporary stagings put up within the aisles, and obstructing and encumbering the arches and pillars. The only gallery here is one at the west end, which is approached by a staircase within the tower; consequently the arches of the aisles are not blocked up by rows of seats in their upper part, which not only detract from perspective effect, but produce a mean and confused appearance. Another favourable circumstance is that all the windows are filled with stained glass, whereby a very unusual degree of richness and solemnity is imparted to the whole interior, and a mellow tone diffused over it, so different from that raw yet garish, and we might almost say worldly, every-day light which prevails in the generality of our churches. These windows have been executed by Mr. Wailes, of Newcastle, an artist who has here given proof of his study of ancient examples of the kind, particularly in the east window or windows, which have none of the theatrical glare that is so offensive to good taste in many modern specimens of painted glass. It having been determined that this interior shall not be disfigured by monuments, which, as usually introduced, are generally architectural blemishes, even when good in themselves;—a series of blank arcades have been formed at the eastern end of the aisles, to receive marble tablets, and should occasion arise, similar arcades will be formed along the north and south walls of the aisles.

*Christ Church*, Streatham, at the top of Brixton Hill, Surrey, deserves notice as well on account of its picturesque character as for the singularity of its style, which if not strictly Lombardic, partakes more of that than any other. The front is remarkable for breadth and simplicity of character, arising, in some degree, from the fewness of its features, consisting of three round-headed recesses containing doorways, and a large circular window (whose tracery is composed of intersecting triangles) over the centre one, and beneath the gable which crowns that division of the façade. That window is rendered more conspicuous by a radiated bordering encircling it, of coloured brick, which species of polychromy is extended to several other parts. The architect, Mr. J. W. Wild, restricted in the amount of the fund at his disposal, adopted a style which has enabled him to confer unity of expression upon the whole of his fabric, and to make the exterior and interior perfectly correspond with each other. It is simple almost to severity. Of what is generally understood by ornament there is here very little, nor is there any great variety of forms; nothing, however, is omitted that the design obviously demanded, nor are there any marks of negligence. Of this church it is not the least merit that, though there is apparently so very little in it to produce effect, there is far more than the usual degree of it, and that too of a peculiar kind. The church forms a simple parallelogram of 85 feet 6 inches by 57 feet, extended at the east end by a semicircular apsis, making the entire length 18 feet more, or 103 feet 6 inches. The monotony, however, that might arise from this uniformity of plan, is counteracted by the campanile being made to project from the south-east angle. This campanile is 15 feet square, and 85 high, or, measured to the summit, 113. The decoration elsewhere adopted in the church is resorted to both in the upper part of the campanile and in its spire, which last shows an inlay surface of red and white brick forming a chevron pattern on it. Of the three doorways, the centre one stands in a recessed arch, which is 10 feet square, and the tympanum was to have been occupied by a piece of sculpture by Bonomi, but it was never supplied. The lateral elevations show two tiers of windows below, the first or lower tier consisting of only four windows, while the other has triple that number, forming a continuous arcade, by which arrangement the interior of the building perfectly



coörds with its exterior. On each side of the nave are five pointed arches, similar in form to those of the west front, not resting upon piers or clustered shafts, but springing from the capitals of columns, tall rather than slender in their proportions. Between each arch are two smaller ones below of similar character, which support the front of the galleries. The altar recess, or apsis, which is somewhat more than a semicircle, being 17 feet in width by 11 in depth, is covered by a semidome and is lighted by a series of seven arches or windows on the same level from the floor as those at the back of the galleries.

*St. Mary's*, in St. George's Parish, Southwark. Though very different in itself from that which characterises the preceding structure, the mode in which its architect, Mr. B. Ferrey, has treated this building, shows similar discretion in not attempting so much, but endeavouring to produce effect rather by form than by decoration. He has accordingly omitted the usual appendage of a steeple or tower, and, contenting himself with placing a small bell-turret over the gable of the west end, has compensated for the plainness of the design in other respects by variety of outline. The situation is on a confined piece of ground near the Old Kent Road, which allows of no approach being made to the church on the west side, and accordingly that end of the building is left quite plain, as it cannot be viewed at all from any public road. The east end, on the contrary, comes into view at the termination of Clarence street, which it faces in a direct line. The style adopted is early English, with high-pitched roof and gable, and the plan (86 feet in length internally) cruciform, wing to which, and to the transepts being somewhat lower than the body of the church, considerable variety is given to the whole exterior. There are three entrances, one on the north and two on the south side. The whole is of brickwork with stone dressings, except the east end, which is faced with flint-work.

*St. Paul's*, Knightsbridge. Of this church (the first stone of which was laid Nov. 1840), the exterior, though only of brick and stone, displays much taste on the part of the architect (Mr. T. Cundy), at least with regard to the west front and tower, to which portions the rest of the design is evidently kept very subordinate. The tower, which is a good specimen of what is termed early perpendicular, has an open arch below on each of its three detached sides, placed in square-headed compartments with shields in the spandrels. To the porch thus formed there is an ascent of three or four steps, and within, its ceiling is groined and ribbed. Over the porch the structure is carried up to the height of 121 feet, in two stories, each having a lofty and handsome window (on its sides, as well as in front), and the whole terminating in a rich embattled parapet of open work, and eight crocketed pinnacles, four of which rise from the angles. Besides that within the porch, there are two other entrances, viz. a doorway on either hand of the tower, with bold label mouldings and enriched spandrels, and above it an ornamental niche, with crocketed pinnacles. These decorations cause the parapet of these lateral divisions of the front to look plain even to nakedness. The internal dimensions of this church (which has galleries, and is capable of containing 1560 persons, viz. 960 in pews, and 600 in free seats) are 66 feet in length by 59 feet 6 inches in width, and 47 feet 6 inches to the ceiling, where the timber-work of the roof is exposed to view, and the tie-beams are filled with tracery. Beneath the church are catacombs. The ground was given by the Marquis of Westminster, and the structure erected by subscription, at the cost of about £10,000, one thousand of which was raised by private contributions, in addition to the original estimate, in order that the embellishments might be more fully effected than they otherwise could have been.

*Trinity Chapel*, Poplar, is in the Grecian style, the architect being Mr. W. Hosking. The



façade consists of a portico whose columns are in the Greek Corinthian style, and 24 feet 6 inches high. This front is surmounted by a bell-turret, the summit of which is 80 feet above the ground. The other elevations are much plainer. The dimensions of the building are, externally, 80 by 55 feet, exclusive of the portico; internally, and clear of the organ-loft, 65 by 51; height from floor to ceiling, at the sides, 28 feet 9 inches; in the centre, which is raised to admit of clerestory or attic windows over the galleries, 35 feet. The organ case is designed in the Greek style, and so as to combine with and form a part of the architectural arrangements of the interior, a point which is generally quite disregarded, notwithstanding that it is one of material importance in the aggregate effect. The pulpit, which is entered immediately from a staircase connected with the vestry at that end of the chapel, is of tasteful design and of peculiar form and character; it is so placed as to be a central object to combine pleasingly with the lines and mouldings of the fronts of the galleries.

*St. Stephen's*, Rochester Row, Westminster, was erected and endowed at the sole cost of Miss Burdett Coutts. Mr. B. Ferrey was the architect of the building, the first stone of which was laid in 1847. It is built to accommodate about 1000 persons, and is in the style prevalent in the 14th century, with a tower and spire on its north side, and a north porch. Internally it has a nave 82 feet long by 21 feet wide, side aisles 13 feet wide, and a chancel 47 by 21 feet. The tower, which is placed more towards the east than the west end of the church, is 23 feet square, and, including the spire, the entire height from the ground is 200 feet. The tower contains a clock and belfry of the ancient completeness, and is externally one of the finest modern compositions of its kind. The spire is of stone; and being very slender, and considerably higher than the tower on which it stands, has an effect not graceful at a distance, but greatly improving in a near view, where the perspective tends to equalise the two heights, and to diminish the acuteness of the spire. It has ribs on the angles, which, though seldom afforded to a modern spire, are most essential to every stone one, which otherwise has the apparent mass and heaviness of an obelisk. The materials are Smeaton ragstone for the walls, and Ainstone stone for the dressings.

*Christ Church* at Highbury, completed in 1849, is a work highly creditable to the taste and ability of its architect, Mr. T. Allom. The building displays itself well, it being so situated that it can be closely approached and inspected on every side: and, as unity of character and attention to finishing have been observed for the whole of the exterior, it is marked by an equality of merit that is rarer than it ought to be. The exterior, which is of Kentish rag with Bath stone dressings, shows a cruciform arrangement, with a tower and spire within the re-entering angle formed by the nave and transept on the north side, so that it recedes from the west front. The spire has gabled and crocketed lucarnes rising from its base; and other lights of similar form, but very much smaller and plainer in its upper part. Internally the plan is equally novel and commodious, for in the centre, or at the intersection of the transept, it becomes an octagon of four wide and four narrow sides, with as many open arches, the smaller ones being on the diagonals of the plan. Besides producing pleasing perspective combinations from every point of view, this disposition allows the pulpit and reading-desk (placed against the pillars of the chancel arch), to be seen nearly equally distinctly from all parts of the church. Both pulpit and reading-desk, the former on the north side of the chancel arch, are of stone, and hexagonal in plan. The octagonal portion of the ground plan is covered by a timber roof constructed somewhat after the manner of a groined vault. The chancel forms five sides of an octagon, with as many windows of narrow and lofty proportions, ornamented with stained glass;

and the altar railing, which is of stone, resembles an open screen of miniature arches and pillars. The organ is within a screened recess in the lower part of the tower. The north and south windows of the transept part are at present plain, but will have painted glass, as has the west window at the back of the singing gallery.

*St. John's*, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, opened for service in 1847, was designed by Mr. Hugh Smith, in the Romanesque style, and presents in its west or street elevation a symmetrically-disposed composition, consisting of a centre compartment, with an enriched arched doorway below, a triple window in the next story, and over that a large circular or wheel window immediately beneath the gable. The side divisions are formed by two towers, only one of which, that to the north, is as yet surmounted by its spire, which is a short one, of the kind distinguished by the term "*broche*," has gabled lucarnes, and is covered with diamond-shaped slates. The entire height of tower and spire together is 120 feet, of which nearly 90 belong to the tower. The dark colour of the slate gives the spire a peculiar but by no means unpleasing character, for it is in consequence strongly defined, and comes very boldly and picturesquely into view from some of the neighbouring streets, where the rest of the structure is not visible. The front itself, on the contrary, has so much the look of having been intended to be upon a larger scale, as if the latter had been reduced after the design had been fixed upon; otherwise, it is satisfactory. Its dimensions are 86 feet by 58.

*St. Andrew's*, Wells Street, Oxford Street, of which Messrs. Dawkes and Hamilton, of Gloucester, are the architects, is one of the happiest applications of gothic to be met with in buildings of its class anywhere about town; the most free from that unhappy formalism and mannerism, both in regard to conception and to treatment, which stamp many modern productions of its kind otherwise manifesting much cleverness. Unlike the one in Charlotte Street, this church has not a uniform elevation, there being a tower carried up at the north-west angle, neither distinct from nor merely set upon that part of the structure, but incorporated with and rising up from it, whereby great variety is thrown into the composition, without its being too much broken up, or broken up at all in its lower part, for there very great breadth is preserved—a pleasing degree of repose, without the slightest tincture of either blankness or insipidity. On the contrary, a great deal of true artistic feeling is displayed: there are many happy touches which make themselves felt, although they seem quite spontaneous. Of this kind is the widely-extended buttress, with a small but boldly and handsomely moulded doorway in it, in conjunction with the tower at its north-west angle. Besides being piquant in itself, this exceedingly valuable little bit aids the composition greatly by spreading it out below. The building is also well situated for effect, that being no small advantage to it which most persons may be likely to think the reverse, namely, its standing in an irregularly-built street of rather ordinary houses, just where there is a bend in the line. It therefore *composes* better than usual with the objects around it. Of the Wells Street church, the tower and spire together rise to the height of 155 feet from the ground, the spire itself being about 70 feet. Though the east end of the building can be seen only from a little-frequented thoroughfare through a back yard, it is built, like the front, with Yorkshire stone, and Bath stone dressings and mouldings. In the interior the arches and pillars are well moulded, and architectural effect is attended to better than usual; for, instead of cutting against the pillars, the galleries in the side aisles are set back from them a few feet. The general dimensions are 78 feet from east to west, by 65 in breadth, and 55 in height over the nave.

With two or three other ecclesiastical buildings we close our notices of modern



church architecture. The most important, at least in point of size, is Mr. Pugin's Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. George's, near Bethlem Hospital, which was begun in 1841, and opened for service in 1849. The church itself is of yellow brick with stone dressings, rather coarse in its general appearance, and not particularly striking at first in point of general design, but carefully studied and well executed in all its individual features and their details. It is in the perpendicular gothic style, with a southern tower, which, however, is not yet carried up higher than the rest of the structure, but it is or was intended to be 180 feet high, with a spire of 140 feet more, making altogether an altitude of 320 feet. At the northern (the altar) end there is a mass of conventual buildings attached. These consist of the priests' residences and schools, and exhibit more of studied irregularity and quaint homeliness than of pretension as regards design, or even of severity of character; and although they are not altogether deficient in physiognomy, yet, were not their real purpose known, they might pass for an almshouse or spital. The interior is spacious, and has three exceedingly brilliant stained-glass windows at its north end, the largest of them in the chancel recess, the others in a lateral chapel on the west, and a chapel-like recess on the east, which last communicates with a long corridor that leads to the conventual residences. At present the interior has a somewhat vacant and bare look, although in one respect it is more filled up than is desirable, as far as appearance is concerned, by the benches that occupy the nave. What also strikes as a defect in the building itself is, that there is not a sufficiently-marked separation of the aisles and nave, owing to the arches between them being so wide and high, and the pillars so small in bulk, that the eye takes in the whole space at once. What, perhaps, causes the body of the church to appear more naked than it otherwise might do, is the profuse decoration and vivid colours bestowed on the chancel and the two lateral chapels. The former is separated from the nave by a double screen of small stone arches and pillars, over which is erected the rood-loft, with a crucifix and figures of the Virgin and St. John, which, besides being nearly of life size, are coloured in imitation of life or else of wax-work. The chancel or sanctuary, which is about 40 feet in depth, and as many in height, is scenic enough, not to say theatric also, in effect. The high altar, which is of Caen stone, is covered in front with quatrefoil panels containing bas-reliefs; and is backed by a reredos of the same material, forming a series of canopied niches, viz. ten small ones containing figures of angels, and a large one at each end, with the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. Immediately over this reredos is the large east window of nine lights, with a complexity of tracery in its head; and the whole of it filled in with brilliant painted glass, presented by the Earl of Shrewsbury. The other windows of the chancel, and also those of the two chapels, are of painted glass; nor have ultramarine, vermilion, and gilding been spared for the other embellishments. Yet, notwithstanding the ostentatious display made in mere ornaments and accessories, the architecture itself is by no means of particularly rich character; on the contrary, rather affectedly plain. There is, besides, great inequality of taste shown: thus, while the stone pulpit is a really beautiful work of excellent design and execution, the organ loft and choristers' gallery strikes us as sadly marring the effect that would else attend that lofty and spacious recess over the entrance at the south end of the nave (for the church stands north and south), and within the tower, where the painted window, seen through the lofty open arch which frames in the gallery and recess, shows itself in very picturesque perspective.

*The New Catholic Church, St. John's Wood*, was built and endowed in 1835 by two ladies. It is situated on the west side of the Grove End Road, fronting to it, and between the St. John's Wood and the Lodge Roads, to both of which its flanks present



hemselves respectively. The western and principal front of this edifice is divided into three compartments. The central compartment, fronting the nave, projects about ten feet, and is flanked, or terminated laterally, by octagonal pinnacled buttresses, which run up to a height of sixty feet, and is itself surmounted by a gable, the acroterium of which is formed by a cross, similar to the cross at the east end of Salisbury cathedral. The grand entrance door is in this compartment of the front, and above it there is a triple lancet-headed window, whilst the lower part of the gable is occupied by a circular or Catherine-wheel window, above which is a panel with a monogram of the founders immediately under the acroteral cross. The middle bay of the triple window rises above the other two, and thus adapts itself better to the arched and groined ceiling within. The outer compartments of the front, being the front of the aisles, have doors opening into them, and single lancet windows, and their gables are surmounted by peculiarly formed ornamented crosses, taken from a fine example of the thirteenth century found in Normandy, and smaller pinnacled buttresses rise out of the buttresses on their outer angles. It is not too much to say of this front, that it is one of the best modern adaptations of the materials furnished by ancient ecclesiastical architecture that London presents, and that whilst the style is strictly adhered to, the composition is original, though the materials are for the most part taken from existing examples.

A new Synagogue, in Great St. Helen's, is situated at the rear of the houses in Rosby Square, from which it is approached through a narrow covered passage, and, though secluded from view, has nevertheless a regular façade, forming its northern extremity. This, which is the only part visible of the outside, forms a composition in the Italian style, divided into two stories and three compartments horizontally. In the centre one is an open loggia of three arches, resting upon coupled columns of the Tuscan order, and above are five large arched windows, which are those of an apartment (42 by 21 feet) used as a committee-room or vestry. This portion of the front is crowned by a bold block cornice of Portland stone. Within the loggia are three doors, opening into an inner vestibule, or rather corridor, carried transversely to the body of the interior, and having the gallery staircases at the extremities. Facing the doors from the loggia are others that lead immediately into the synagogue; the *coup d'œil* of which is not a little striking and attractive, not only on account of its proportions and air of spaciousness, but also its general elegance, and, in some respects, novelty of design. As a piece of interior architecture it is highly creditable to the designer, Mr. J. Davies, who has here distinguished himself most advantageously. One circumstance highly favourable to effect is, that the area is not blocked up as our churches are with pewing, the seats in the lower part being almost confined to the space beneath the side galleries, beyond which they extend only three or four feet, leaving all the rest of the floor, between the ark at the south end and the platform at the north, quite unencumbered. Even these seats are not enclosed like pews, but are separated from the nave (if it may so be called) by merely a low parapet. Another thing, equally favourable in regard to architectural effect, is, that the seats of the galleries are quite concealed from view, instead of showing themselves as they do in some of our churches, rising steeply one above another, like those in a play-house. The total length from north to south, including the recess or ark at the south end, is 72 feet, and the extreme width 54, or between the fronts of the galleries 32; while the extreme height is 45. The elevations of the sides consist of two orders, presenting five inter-columns above and below, that is, four columns and two pilasters at the extremities. The lower order may be termed Doric, having an entablature of that character; but the pillars or piers

which support it are quite novel in design. The upper columns are Corinthian, and behind them are seen five windows, which deserve to be particularly mentioned on account of the architectural finish bestowed on them; in consequence of which they contribute very materially to the unity and consistency of the design. There is, likewise, another series of smaller semicircular windows, between the cornice of the upper order and the ceiling, answering to a clerestory. All these windows are glazed with ground glass, with coloured borders, which, if we except the gilded metal-work, standing on the lower entablature, that serves as the real parapet to the galleries, is the only colouring in these side elevations of the interior. The elevation of the south end between the galleries is entirely occupied by the ark, a semicircular recess, about 25 feet in diameter, of lofty proportions, and covered by a semi-dome. This also consists of two orders, viz. an Italian Doric in pilasters, whose shafts are painted in imitation of verde antico on a porphyry ground, and the mouldings of their capitals and entablature relieved by gilding; and a Corinthian order, with columns resembling Sienna marble, and capitals and entablature in white and gold. It consists of eight columns, viz. four in front, disposed in pairs (one on each side of the opening), and backed by pilasters, and four others within the recess, enclosed within two pilasters, grouped with the first-mentioned ones, and forming the reveals to the opening of the ark. In the three upper inter-columns thus produced are as many arched windows, entirely filled with stained glass of very rich arabesque pattern. These windows, which add so much splendour to this otherwise very rich architectural composition, were designed and executed by Mr. James Nixon; and the centre one has the name of Jehovah, in Hebrew characters, and the tables of the law. The semi-dome is coffered with octagonal caissons, filled in with gilded rosettes on an azure ground. There is a great deal of other decoration, including rich festoons of fruit and flowers between the capitals of the Corinthian columns, and ornaments on the frieze of the same order, on which is inscribed, in Hebrew characters, the following sentence:—"Know in whose presence thou standest." The centre of the lower part is fitted up with the recesses for the books of the law, which are enclosed with elegant doors of solid and beautifully-polished mahogany, partly concealed by a rich velvet curtain, fringed with gold. There are likewise massive gilded candelabra; nor is the pavement at all inferior to the other parts, it being entirely of fine veined Italian marble, though partly concealed by rich carpeting. This ark is not enclosed by any railing, but is elevated from the rest of the floor by two steps, which, advancing forward semicircularly, cause the marble pavement of the recess to present a complete circle in its plan. Outside of the ark is an arched panel on each side, on the level of the galleries; that on the east containing a prayer for the Queen and Royal Family, in Hebrew—and the other a similar one, in English. Above the ark there is a rich fan-window of painted glass, and a corresponding one, though less brilliantly coloured, at the north end. This latter is comparatively plain, being chiefly distinguished by the platform, which is raised four steps above the level of the floor, and enclosed by a low parapet, on the pedestals of which are placed candelabra similar to those within the ark. The ceiling, which is flat, contributes not a little to the general richness of the whole; its centre part being decorated with thirty coffers, each of which contains a large flower, serving to conceal an aperture for ventilation. It was built in 1839.





KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XVIII. CHURCHES.



1

## XVIII. CHURCHES: II.

MARY OVERIES.—Romance has of late years borrowed much from the stores of our antiquaries and topographers have been so long and so industriously heap-up, and with its "wizard" touch has re-animated the dry bones and crumbling icles. It is pity that the antiquaries and the topographers, on their part, do not procate such friendly advances. Romance would do much for them. So far, however, are they from thinking so, that, even when anything of the kind comes in their way—is so forced upon their attention that they *must* notice it—nothing can be more characteristic than their treatment of the impertinence. How suspiciously they peer at its genealogy; how curtly they dismiss it if no flaw be there discoverable; how emphantly if there be! So, in the history of the noble church we are about to describe, Mary Overy, plying to and fro between the opposite shores of the great river, before a single metropolitan bridge existed, and devoting her earnings, as well as the earnings of her parents before her, to the erection of a religious house on its banks—even she, poor maiden, hardly escapes their hands: they would deprive her of all honours, based though they be upon nine or ten centuries of grateful recollection. And why would they do this? Why, whilst few traditions are better authenticated than this of the ferryman's daughter, should few or none of the local historians give it frank and hearty credence? Why should most of them make a point of questioning its truth? Let us see what the evidence is. And first we shall call one of our own body (honest John Stow, the prince of topographers, because he has some of the spirit of poetry about him,) into court. "This church, or some other in place thereof, was of old time, long before the Conquest, an house of sisters, founded by a woman named Mary. Unto the which house and sisters she left (as was left her by her parents) the oversight and profits of a cross ferry over the Thames there kept her that any bridge was builded. This House of Sisters was afterwards by Swithin, a noble lady, converted into a college of priests, who, in place of the ferry, builded a bridge of timber, &c. \* \* \* \* In the year 1106 was this church again founded for canons regular, by William Pont de l'Arche and William Dauncy, Kts., Normans."\* As a matter of common occurrence, in the early ages of the Christian church, to record the names of the benefactors of religious communities in their "*canon*" books, such names were recited from time to time with honour, and the persons thenceforward held as *sancti*, or saints; and hence the word "*canonization*." Such, probably, was the process that transformed the ferryman's daughter into St. Mary Overy: the latter word meaning either *Over* the *Rhē* (the Saxon word for river), or, *o' the ferry*,—easily corrupted into Overy, when the bridge had put aside the more primitive method of transport, and the original meaning of the phrase was forgotten. The fact is, in all probability, the true derivation; "for in some very ancient records the church is called St. Mary *at the Ferry*."

The second foundation of St. Mary Overies was, as we have seen, for canons regular; the founders were "William Pont de l'Arche, and William Dauncy, Kts., Normans." Aldgod was the first prior. Gifford, the then bishop of Winchester, who

\* Strype's Stow, vol. ii. p. 773.

about the same period built the splendid palace adjoining, was also a great benefactor: indeed the erection of the entire nave is attributed to him. Others rendered assistance of a different but no less useful kind. Alexander Fitzgerald gave two weys of cheese, and his grandson Henry a field of wheat. The ceremonies attending the presentation of important gifts are strikingly illustrated in the instance of the second Earl of Warren, who, in presenting his church of Kircesfield to the new priory, placed a knife upon the altar, in confirmation of the grant. Of the building erected at this period, there remained in the nave, till the late alterations, four massy round pillars (differing from all the others, of a later date, which supported the roof), and the very ancient Norman arch which was discovered a few years since buried in the thickness of the wall of the north aisle, and which led, it is supposed, into the cloisters that extended along the northern side of St. Mary Overies.

In the great fire of Southwark in 1212, the Priory received so much damage, that the canons founded an hospital in the neighbourhood, where they performed all the services of their church until St. Mary Overies was repaired. From this hospital arose the well-known St. Thomas's. About five-and-twenty years after this calamity the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen was founded by Peter de Rupibus [Peter des Roches], who was consecrated Bishop of Winchester, at Rome, by the Pope, having previously distinguished himself as a follower of Richard I., and received the honour of knighthood at his hands. On the death of the Earl of Pembroke he was appointed guardian of the young king, Henry III., but was soon supplanted by his great rival, Hubert de Burgh. Of the state of the Priory in the beginning of the fourteenth century there is an interesting record; it is an answer to the application of the king, Edward I., to admit one of his aged servants into their body. They state that they are so poor that the whole of their goods, rents, and possessions cannot afford sufficient for their own maintenance without the "pious bounty of the faithful;" and then continue:—"our church, too, which now for thirty years last past (oh shame!) has been in ruin, we have laboured our utmost about the repairs of, since the beginning of that time, yet we have only been able to proceed so far in its restoration (hindered by vexatious and burdensome exactions, as well in spiritual as in temporal) as to build our campanile. Moreover, through that continued resistance which without ceasing we attempt against the violence of the River Thames (on whose banks our little house is situated), and for the safety of our church, our strength would not suffice for our own security, were the danger not lessened happily on the one hand by a subsidy, on the other by our being immediately furnished by ourselves," &c.\* During the period that the monks had been so piously struggling to repair their church, Walter, Archbishop of York (in 1273) promulgated thirty days' indulgence to all who should assist them; with what success does not appear. Another ancient record recalls a custom of the Catholic church in the olden times, which must have presented many pleasing and picturesque features. The Priory passed a statute in 1337, restricting the *boy-bishop* to the limits of his own parish. The personage thus referred to was a child commonly chosen from among the choristers by them on St. Nicholas' Day (December 6), to assume the dignity and perform some of the offices of a bishop, until the following Innocents' Day, wearing all the while the mitre, and bearing the pastoral staff. On the eve of that day, the chorister as bishop, and his companions as prebends, walked in procession to the church, preceded by the dean and canons. As he went he was feasted by the people, and bestowed in return his blessing, which was highly coveted.

\* *Bundela Brevium et Literam in Turro*, London. Ann. 32 Edw. I. Translated in Taylor's 'Annals.'



arrive now at one of the most interesting events in the history of St. Mary's—its restoration about the close of the fourteenth century, when the poet contributed the principal funds. This church was doubtless endeared to him by an peculiar tie: he was married here, in 1397, to Alice Groundolf, by the celebrated monk of Wickham, who then held the see of Winchester; and here their ashes lie. A small monument marked the site of her resting-place, according to Leland, has long disappeared; his is doubtless destined to last as long as the beautiful altar which enshrines it.

The monument, now in the south transept, was originally in a part of the north side of the nave, called St. John's Chapel, where it was placed in accordance with the directions as expressed in his will. He writes, "I leave my soul to God my Father; and my body to be buried in the church of the Canons of the blessed Mary's, in a place expressly provided for it."

The gratitude of the canons to their generous benefactor was marked by their long desire to perform a yearly obit to his memory, and by hanging up a tablet beside the monument with the inscription "that whosoever prayeth for the soul of John Gower, he shall, so oft as he so doth, have a M and a D days of pardon." Each of the three inscriptions seen at the back was originally supported by a Virgin crowned; the first named "Charity," with the lines,

"In thee who art the Son of God the Father,  
Be he saved that lies under this stone!"

The second named "Mercy," with the lines,

"O good Jesu, show thy mercy  
To the soul whose body lies here;"

The third named "Pity," with the lines,

"For thy pity, Jesu, have regard  
And put this soul in safe keeping."

The words "Charity," "Mercy," and "Pity," are painted in red above their respective tablets, which are in black, with the exception of the initial letters, also in red. The engraving across beneath these inscriptions is another, to the following effect, similarly designed, which has been thus rendered:—

"His shield henceforth is useless grown;  
To pay Death's tribute slain:  
His soul's with pious freedom flown  
Where spotless spirits reign."

In front we read, "Here lies John Gower, Esquire, a celebrated English poet, also benefactor to the sacred edifice in the time of Edward III. and Richard II." On a purple and gold band, with fillets of roses, which encircles his head, are the words "in Jhu." The three gilded volumes which support the latter bear the names of his principal works,—the 'Speculum Meditantis,' written in French, a work of devotions and examples, recommending the chastity of the marriage-bed; the 'Vox Christiani,' in Latin, having the insurrection of Wat Tyler for its subject; and the 'Assio Amantis,' in English, where an unhappy lover is solaced by his priest's counsel, and goes out a profusion of stories and disquisitions. The last alone has been printed, and is upon that his fame as a poet deservedly rests. On the wall at his feet are his arms, and a hat or helmet, with a red hood bordered with ermine, and surmounted

by his crest, a dog. In the last four or five years of Gower's life he became blind, and was, he pathetically complains,

"Condemn'd to suffer life, devoid of light."

One would like to know whether he had previously seen the beautiful edifice he had expended his treasure to rear, or whether he knew that beauty only by listening to its praises from other and much less deeply-interested admirers.

Will our readers look once more upon the engraving of Gower's monument? They will there see on the pillar at the side a cardinal's hat, with certain arms beneath. To that slight memorial is attached a long train of recollections, many of them of the highest interest. The arms are of the Beaufort family; the hat is Cardinal Beaufort's—that wealthy and ambitious prelate, whose death-bed has been painted by Shakspeare in such awful colours:—

"Lord cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,  
Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.—  
He dies, and makes no sign."

There is reason, however, to hope that Beaufort's death-bed was not of so fearful a character as the poet intimates. The memorials of him placed here are supposed to commemorate his assistance to the rebuilding of the church, which Gower, perhaps, had but partially completed. Beaufort was consecrated Bishop of Winchester in 1404, the very year in which Gower died. But the principal associations suggested by those memorials are of a much more absorbing nature than any we have yet intimated; to us they speak of an event in which the wily Cardinal had, it is said, the principal share,—the marriage of the royal poet of Scotland, James I., to Jane, a young lady of great personal and mental accomplishments, daughter of the Cardinal's deceased brother, the Earl of Somerset, and a near relation of the King. If one were to seek no further than the pages of many of the old chroniclers, we should say that the whole end and aim of the match was to allay whatever angry feelings might have been produced by James's long captivity in England, and connect the crowns of England and Scotland by a powerful tie; but we know, from the exquisite poem which records James's feelings and sentiments whilst in captivity\*, that a deeper emotion than statesmen take account of thrilled through his heart when that marriage was made. Windsor Castle had ceased to be a prison long before its gates were flung wide open for his departure. Looking out upon the garden which lay before his window, "I saw," he says, "one fresh May morrow,—

"walking under the tower  
Full secretly new coming her to plain,  
The fairest and the freshest youngé flower  
That ever I saw, methought, before that hour."

Lost in wonder he doubted whether it was

"a worldly creature,  
Or heavenly thing in likeness of nature,"

that he saw before him, with that "golden hair" and "chaplet fresh of hue," and

"Beauty enough to make a world to dote."

Was he prisoner after this? Yes, but it was Jane Beaufort who held the keys. This is not the place to enter into the transactions of the time concerning his release;

\* The 'King's Quair.'

suffice it to say he was released, and a considerable portion of the sum charged for his eighteen years' maintenance\* was resigned by way of dowry. The marriage feast was of course held at the Cardinal's palace adjoining, and in a style befitting the rank of the guests, the importance of the occasion, and the station and opulence of the entertainer, who was then the richest man in England. The mother of Jane (now Queen of Scotland), her uncles, and other kindred, literally showered presents upon her of "plate, jewels, gold and silver, rich furniture, cloths of arras, such as at that time had not been seen in Scotland; and, amongst other gorgeous ornaments, a suit of hangings in which the labours of Hercules were most curiously wrought. And being thus furnished of all things fit for her estate, her two uncles (the Cardinal and the Duke of Exeter), and divers other noble men and ladies, accompanied her and King James her husband into his own kingdom of Scotland, where they were received of his subjects with all joy and gladness."† The connection so romantically begun was blessed with more than ordinary happiness: the hearts of the Scottish writers seem to warm as they speak of the Queen's beauty, virtue, and conjugal affection. And as to him, the accomplished student—musician—poet, did the title *king* enhance or diminish his claims to love and admiration? Drummond of Hawthornden answers for us:—"Of the former kings (of Scotland) it might be said, the nation made the kings, but *this king made that people a nation*."‡ A terrible death, however, awaited him. The turbulent nobles, whom his vigour kept in awe, conspired against James. On the 24th of February, 1437, whilst he was conversing with the Queen and her attendant ladies just before retiring to rest, the murderers were heard at the door. James, knowing their aim, instantly tore up one of the planks of the flooring and descended into the vaults beneath; but he could not escape his remorseless pursuers. In vain did the Queen throw herself between him and the assailants; she was twice wounded, and at length torn forcibly away, and the murder accomplished. Yet in the history of the poet-king even this atrocious deed stands not without its own peculiar relief. A sublime spirit of self-devotion characterised that dreadful hour, and exhibited itself, as the purest and highest self-devotion generally does, in a woman's gentle form.

In the Lansdowne MS.§ there is a curious record concerning a charge of heresy, brought against Joane Baker in 1510, for having said that "she was sorry she had gone in so many pilgrimages, as to *St. Saviour's*, and divers other pilgrimages." *St. Mary Overies* is supposed to have received its modern name of *St. Saviour's* after its dissolution, in 1539, at the general breaking up of the religious houses, when the parishes of *St. Mary Magdalen* and *St. Margaret* were consolidated, and the Priory church purchased from the King for divine worship. The passage just quoted, however, shows that the latter was known as *St. Saviour's* nearly thirty years before. In 1532 a dole was given here at the door, which attracted such multitudes of people that several persons were smothered in the crowd. Two or three years later the King, Henry VIII., ordered a public procession to take place in the church, with what object does not appear; but it was performed with great ceremony and splendour.

\* Though the detention of James was a most unjustifiable proceeding, never was captive more honourably used. The very best possible education that the age could furnish was given to him. Bishop Leighton said only the truth when, addressing Henry VI. for his release, he observed, "His abode with you seemeth rather to have been a remaining in an academy than in any captivity."

† Drake's '*Historia Anglo-Scotica*.'

‡ '*History of the Lives and Reigns of the Five Jameses, Kings of Scotland*.'

§ 978, v. 44, p. 129.



In 1539 the Priory was dissolved, and its prior, Linsted, pensioned off with £100 a year. The annual revenue at this period was £624 6s. 6d. During Wyatt's insurrection, in 1554, St. Mary Overies had a narrow escape from destruction: he and his soldiers having posted themselves in Southwark, the lieutenant of the Tower "bent seven great pieces of ordnance, culverins, and demi-cannons, full against the foot of the bridge, and against Southwark, and the two steeples of St. Olave's and St. Mary Overies, beside all the pieces on the White Tower, and three fauconets over the Watergate."\* The inhabitants of Southwark were greatly alarmed, and begged Wyatt to depart, which he did. His soldiers, however, sacked the palace, and destroyed its extensive library. The next year showed but too clearly that Wyatt had not struggled against any imaginary evils. Persecution in its worst shape—religious persecution—and carried to an extreme which England has never known before or since—was then begun, by the appointment of a commission to sit in St. Mary Overies for the trial of heretics. On the 28th of January, Bishop Hooper and John Rogers were called before this council, excommunicated, and sent to prison till the following day, when they were again brought up with John Bradford, and sentence passed. Drs. Croome and Ferrar, and Mr. Saunders, appeared the next day before this dread tribunal of bigots. On the 4th of February, the first victim, John Rogers, went, with indomitable courage, to the stake at Smithfield. Others rapidly followed, and within the three years next ensuing between two and three hundred persons thus perished. Of the spirit that actuated these martyrs, plain John Bradford's letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, written about this period, affords as good an example as some of the more brilliant passages which have been preserved in connection with this subject. "This day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest." What could persecution do with men like these? Not four years after the commission had sat, and sent its Protestant victims by wholesale to the stake, we find an order to dispose of the "Popish vestments," for the purpose of repairing the church; consisting of robes of black velvet and crimson satin, with "lyans" of silver, and knobs of gold, a deacon's cope of green velvet and crimson, with flowers of gold, &c.; and two years later all the valuable Latin records of the Priory were burnt, as "superstitious" remains of Popery. About 1578 the church was repaired in many parts, "and within throughout richly and very worthily beautified." Under the year 1607 we find in the Register of Burials of St. Mary Overies a few words that serve rather to stimulate than to satisfy the imagination:—"Edmond Shakspeare, player, in the church." This was the great dramatist's brother. A somewhat similar recollection belongs to the year 1625, when the same register records the death and burial of "Mr John Fletcher, a man, in the church." Aubrey thus describes the circumstances attending his death:—"In the great plague of 1625 a knight of Norfolk or Suffolk invited him into the country: he stayed but to make himself a suit of clothes, and, while it was making, fell sick and died; this I heard from the tailor, who is now a very old man and clerk of St. Mary Overy." We conclude this (the historical) portion of our notice with a passage from Strype's Stow, written about 1713, and describing its state, &c., at that time:—"This is now a very magnificent church, since the late reparation. It hath an huge organ, which was procured by voluntary subscription. The repair (it is said) cost the parish £2600, and that well laid out. The old monuments are all refreshed and new painted." A still more

\* 'Chron. of London Bridge.'

important reparation has taken place within the last few years, both of the building and its exceedingly interesting monuments. In all, we believe, above £80,000 have been expended on this structure in the present century.

No one who has passed over the present London Bridge can be at a loss to know the site of St Mary Overies; and there can be but few who have not in so passing stopped some time or other at its foot to gaze upon that noble cathedral-looking edifice, partly buried in the hollow on the western side of the High Street. Whatever advantages belong to a commanding position are absent here; yet St. Mary Overies *has* advantages even of position which belong peculiarly to itself. Its very lowness enables you, as it were, to look over it, and take in at a glance the great size and noble proportions. Its plan is very simple, being that of a cross, formed by the Lady Chapel, choir, and nave, extending in a straight line nearly three hundred feet eastward from where we stand, and by the transepts extending from the main body about forty feet north and south. Where the nave, choir, and transepts join, about the centre of the pile, rises the tower, some thirty-five feet square, and one hundred and fifty high, yet light-looking and handsome, from the numerous windows with which it is pierced and the elegant pinnacles that surmount it. In the last repair of the tower, in 1818, it was found necessary to circle its entire breadth with three stages of iron bars or ties; they are, however, quite undistinguishable from the masonry. Along the north or river side of St. Mary Overies extends a vast pile of warehouses, which shut off all access in that direction; but on the south is a large open space, from whence may be obtained an excellent lateral view. From the farther corner of this spot might have been seen, till recently, the view shown in the engraving in the front of this paper; that is, before the nave was swept away, and a modern-looking church, whose lancet windows make but a sorry substitute for the picturesque outlines of the old building, erected in its place.

Of this new church we need not say much. Its front, which forms the western extremity of St. Mary Overies, is chiefly conspicuous for its bold buttresses, its great window, and pyramidal top. Within there is a light, airy, and somewhat elegant appearance produced by the tall, slender columns (with round richly-carved capitals) which support the vaulted roof. The organ, a magnificent instrument, is a genuine part of the old pile, although recently enlarged.

Leaving the new church, we pass round through the churchyard to the entrance of the old. Here Massinger lies. This is a dreary place for a poet's remains to rest in. There is scarcely a patch of green to be found, much less a flower. A few miserable trees there are to be sure, but even they have all shrunk together into a corner against the wall, where, as they can get no farther, they remain, and patiently dwindle away. Scattered about are a few half-formed graves, looking like so many heaps of rubbish; and we cannot move without striking before us some crumbling remains of humanity.

We must not omit to notice, in passing, the projecting transept with its beautiful window, which is a restoration of the exquisite work discovered a few years ago among the remains of Winchester Palace: it doubtless lighted the noble hall of the latter, the very scene of the banquet before referred to, on that happiest of the days of the far from unhappy life (notwithstanding his captivity and awful death) of the royal poet of Scotland. Having passed the transept, we find ourselves opposite the choir with its pinnacled buttresses, sending off, like so many protecting arms, its flying arches to the lower-roofed aisle by its side. From the aisle formerly projected the chapel founded by Bishop Rupibus, which was large enough to be used as the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen before the consolidation of the latter into St Saviour's. It injured the simplicity of the edifice, however, and was very properly



removed when it became necessary to rebuild the greater portion of the choir in 1822-3. Through a small pointed arched doorway we obtain admittance to the interior: and a more beautiful and accurate specimen of the architecture of the thirteenth century, restored though it be, it would perhaps be impossible to find, than that which here meets the eye. Yet if the *part* be thus beautiful, what must have been the effect of the *whole*, when the entire length of the church from the altar-screen—including the choir, the intersection of the transepts (with the light from the windows of the tower streaming down), and the nave—was all open, and the eye passed along a magnificent perspective of pillars below, and story upon story of arches above, till it rested on the fine old western window at the extremity, nearly two hundred and fifty feet distant? The nave is now gone, and a screen reaching to the roof shuts off all view beyond the transepts. We must, however, make the most of what remains to us; and so let us stand for a moment with our back to this screen, and enjoy the beautiful scene here pictured.

The pews and other paraphernalia have been recently removed; and the beautiful but dilapidated altar-screen, supposed to have been erected by Bishop Fox (from the pelican, his favourite device, being in the cornice), most exquisitely restored. There remains but to sweep away a most unsightly mass of staircasing between the transepts, which at present forms the only entrance to the galleries of the new church, to make St. Mary Overies all that the most enthusiastic antiquary could desire. We must pause a moment longer before the screen. It consists essentially of four stories of niches for statues, divided by half-length projecting figures of angels. The centre forms three large niches, one above the other, which give an air of grandeur to the whole. At the bottom are the Commandments inscribed in an antique-looking letter, with all the adornments of gay colours and bright gilding. The whole work is most exquisitely sculptured and most profusely ornamented. Here men are chasing animals, there supporting the slender angular-shaped shafts or buttresses which divide the niches from each other. Grotesque heads peep out from this part, fair flowers and foliage attract the eye to that; yet these details are all subordinate to the general effect; it is not the less a chaste because a most richly-elaborate work of art.

One of the most interesting sepulchral remains of St. Mary Overies is the effigy of the Knight Templar who lies in a wooden frame or box in the choir. Within the box, and below the Templar, lies the stone effigy of an emaciated man, wrapped in a shroud, which is drawn up in a very curious manner, at the back of the head, into a long projecting knot. Stepping into the space between the transepts, we perceive above us the tower, with a flat painted roof, which is supported on four magnificent arches formed by the junction of as many piers; showing, in their size and strength and elastic beauty, how lightly they bear their gigantic burdens, and how many an age must yet pass away before they will grow weary of, or stoop under it. We must ascend the tower if it be only to gaze at the prospect from its summit. Aye, there lies outspread before us, *London*, with all its indistinguishable masses of human dwellings; its crowding spires and turrets; its stately dome towering above all, the central object of the mighty picture, which gives unity, harmony, proportion to the whole; and lastly, there is the great river, which has borne bravely hither upon its capacious bosom the argosies of a thousand ports. The tower is graced by a fine peal of twelve bells, and sundry tablets in the belfry record the exploits performed upon them by the "College," "Cumberland," and other such ambitious "youths."

An old church is always a solemn place. The silence,—the repose, almost unearthly, which hangs about it,—dispose the mind to serious meditation; and in the presence of the many dead lying there, who can forget he is himself mortal? Yet walk round,



and examine the memorials which affection, or friendship, or vanity, or ostentatious professing gratitude, have reared along its walls, and what a strange medley of associations do we find! In St. Mary Overies it is as in most other of such edifices; the ludicrous, or merely fanciful, sadly outnumber the pathetic or beautiful epitaphs. That to a lady who is styled "a maid of honour" in celestial dignity is amusing; but it is not equal to one which formerly stood in the Lady Chapel:—

"Weep not for him, since he is gone before  
To heaven, where *grocers there are many more.*"

The principal monuments of St. Mary Overies extend round the three walls of each of the transepts, and along the north aisle, and are placed generally within lofty pointed arches.

A large monument to the memory of the Rev. T. Jones was erected by two of his parishioners as a memorial of "the edification they received from his faithful labours in the ministry." The monument to William Emerson exhibits a very diminutive emaciated figure in a shroud drawn up behind the head, like that before mentioned. He is lying on a mat, rolled partly up under his head. The whole is most delicately and beautifully sculptured. Gower's monument adjoins this. Immediately opposite, our attention is drawn to one of those specimens of painted sculpture which form so distinguishing a feature of St. Mary Overies. It represents a life-like bust of John Bingham, Esq., saddler to Queen Elizabeth and King James. The complexion and features, the white ruff and black moustachios, the dark jerkin and red waistcoat, of the saddler to royalty, are all here preserved in their natural colours and aspect. Crossing to the north transept, our attention is attracted by a curious emblematical monument, of most imposing appearance, to the memory of William Austin, Esq., 1633, richly painted, carved, and gilded. This is a most remarkable specimen of sculptured allegory—puzzling us with angels, rocks, suns, and serpents. We are doubtless indebted for the invention of the whole to Mr. William Austin himself, whose poem entitled 'Certain Devout, Learned, and Godly Meditations,' is a fit accompaniment to the *conceits* of the sculpture.

Next to this poet of the sepulchre lies one who doubtless in his day contributed somewhat more than his share to the making that sepulchre populous, Dr. Lockyer, the famous empiric of the time of Charles II. His effigy represents a respectable-looking personage, attired in a thick curled wig and furred gown, pensively reclining upon some pillows, as though he half doubted the truth of the friendly prophecy in his epitaph:—

"His virtues and his pills are so well known,  
That envy can't confine them under stone."

Leaving the transept for the north aisle, we arrive at the monument of John Trehearne, gentleman porter to James I., with the busts of himself and wife, both having the ruff round their necks, gilt buttons down their breasts, and gilt bands round their waists. They hold a tablet between them bearing a quaint inscription.

The space opposite, between two of the pillars of the choir, is occupied by the monument of Richard Humble, alderman of London. Upon the top of the tomb, under a large painted and gilded arch, are kneeling figures of the alderman and his two wives. On the front and back of the tomb are representations of their children; that on the north has the following beautiful inscription, which is a slightly varied extract from a poem attributed to Francis Quarles:—

" Like to the damask rose you see,  
 Or like the blossom on the tree,  
 Or like the dainty flower of May,  
 Or like the morning of the day,  
 Or like the sun, or like the shade,  
 Or like the gourd which Jonas had,  
     Even so is Man, whose thread is spun,  
     Drawn out, and cut, and so is done.  
 The rose withers, the blossom blasteth,  
 The flower fades, the morning hasteth;  
 The sun sets, the shadow flies,  
 The gourd consumes, and Man he dies."

At the extremity of the north aisle we pass through a door, and find ourselves in the far-famed Lady Chapel; the beautiful building which occupies the eastern extremity of the church, and the very site pointed out by Stow as that of the ancient House of Sisters "beyond the choir," where Mary Overy herself was buried. No monument records her memory, nor is any needed. St. Mary Overies itself is *her* most magnificent mausoleum. Stow speaks of this building as the "*New Chapel*," in former times called Our Lady's Chapel; and indeed, though very old, it now may be called a new one, because newly redeemed from such use and employment as, in respect of that it was built to—divine and religious duties—may very well be branded with the title of wretched, base, and unworthy. For that which before this abuse was, and is now, a fair and beautiful chapel, by those that were then the corporation was leased and let out, and their house of God made a bakehouse. \* \* \* In this place they had their ovens, in that a bolting place, in that their kneading trough, and in another, I have heard, a hog's trough." If the old topographer's generous indignation was so great at the mere temporary desecration of the "fair and beautiful chapel," what would he have said had he lived two hundred years later, and witnessed the strenuous efforts then made for its entire destruction? Never, perhaps, had so fine a work of art so narrow an escape. In preparing the approaches to London Bridge, the Committee agreed to grant a space of sixty feet for the better display of St. Mary Overies, on the condition that the Lady Chapel was swept away. The matter appeared in a fair way for being thus settled, when Mr. Taylor sounded the alarm in one of the daily papers. Thomas Saunders, Esq., and Messrs. Cottingham and Savage, the architects, actively interfered. A large majority of the parishioners, however, decided to accept the proposals of the Committee. In the meantime the gentlemen we have named were indefatigable in their exertions; and they were effectively seconded by the press. At a subsequent meeting there was a majority of three only for pulling down the chapel; and on a poll being demanded and obtained, there ultimately appeared the large majority of 240 for its preservation. The excitement of the hour was prudently used to obtain funds to restore it, which has been most successfully accomplished. Honour to the individuals who so boldly pioneered the way! Having gazed awhile upon those slender, tree-like pillars, sending off their countless branches till they appear to form one "continuity of shade" stretching over all, rather than a mere mason's groined roof—having also admired the effect of the elegantly-painted shields of arms which here and there enrich the windows, we now turn an inquiring gaze around to see what else of interest may belong to the Lady Chapel, until the tomb of Bishop Andrews is perceived, which at once arrests and fixes the attention. Seldom has the world seen a man



were worthy of its united love and veneration than he whose remains lie here interred; and seldom has the world been so willing as in his case to acknowledge such claims upon it. He was successively Dean of Westminster, Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Ely, and lastly, in 1618, Bishop of Winchester. His great learning made him a favourite with the King; his piety and virtues with the people; his fascinating eloquence with both. He was one of the authors of our common translation of the Bible. It is recorded that towards the close of his life the manuscript of his *Manual for Private Devotions*, &c., was scarcely ever out of his hands, and after his death it was found worn in pieces and wet with his tears. That death made a great sensation. Milton, then only about sixteen or seventeen, wrote, in Latin, an impassioned elegy to his memory, which Cowper has translated. The good bishop's tomb was formerly in the Bishop's Chapel, a small edifice projecting eastward beyond the Lady Chapel. It had originally a fair canopy upon black marble pillars, with a long inscription, commencing, "Reader, if thou art a Christian, stay; it will be worth thy tarrying to know how great a man lies here." This canopy was destroyed by the falling in of the roof of the chapel in the fire of 1676. During the late alterations this chapel was pulled down, and the tomb removed to its present site. The latter was then opened, and his coffin seen within, in an excellent state of preservation, closely bricked up. It rested on a cross of brickwork. The leaden coffin bore simply his initials, L. A., Lancelot Andrews.

**THE PRIORY AND CHURCH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.**—Of all the persons whom the mighty business of providing sustenance for the population of London leads among the pens, and crowds, and filth of the great Metropolitan beast-market—of all those whom chance, or a dim remembrance of the popular memories of the place, its burnings, tournaments, &c., or any other motive, brings into Smithfield—we wonder how many, as they pass the south-western corner of the area, look through the ancient gateway which leads up to the still more ancient church of St. Bartholomew, with a kindly remembrance of the man (whose ashes there repose) from whom these, and most of the other interesting features and recollections of Smithfield, are directly or indirectly derived? We fear very few. Time has wrought strange changes in the scene around; and it is not at all surprising that we should forget what has ceased to be readily visible. Who could suppose, from a mere hasty glance at the comparatively mean-looking brick tower, and the narrow restricted site of St. Bartholomew, that that very edifice was once the centre, and the centre only, of the splendid church of a splendid monastery—a church which extended its spacious transepts on either side, and sent up a noble tower high into the air, to overlook, and, as it were, to guard, the stately halls, far-extending cloisters, and delightful gardens, that surrounded the sacred edifice? Or, again, who would suspect that the site of this extensive establishment (now in a great measure covered with houses), and most probably the entire space of Smithfield, was, prior to the foundation of the former, nothing but a marsh "dunge and fenny," with the exception of a solitary spot of dry land, occupied by the travellers' token of civilisation, a gallows? Yet such are the changes that have taken place, and for all that is valuable in them our gratitude is due to the one man to whom we have referred—Rahere.

We have given the history of the founder of St. Bartholomew's in our account of the Hospital (No. XV.). Our business here is with the Priory and Church bearing that name. That history is partially involved in the account already given.

In 1410 the Priory was rebuilt. At this time, and perhaps before, it possessed within itself every possible convenience for the solace and comfort of its inmates. We read of *Le Fermery*, *Le Dorter*, *Le Frater*, *Les Cloysters*, *Les Galleries*, *Le Hall*, *Le*



Kitchen, Le Buttry, Le Pantry, Le olde Kitchen, Le Woodehouse, Le Garner, and Le Prior's stable, so late as the period of the dissolution in the sixteenth century. There was also the Prior's house, the Mulberry-garden, the Chapel, now the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, &c. &c. It was entirely enclosed within walls, the boundaries of which have been carefully traced in the 'Londini Illustrata.' At first there were no houses in the immediate neighbourhood; but the establishment of the monastery, and the fair granted to it, speedily caused a considerable population to spring up all around, and ultimately within. This grant was obtained from Henry II. The fair was to be kept at Bartholomew-tide for three days, namely, the eve, the next day, and the morrow; and unto it "the clothiers of England and drapers of London repaired, and had their booths and standings within the churchyard of this priory, closed in with walls and gates, locked every night and watched, for safety of men's goods and wares. A Court of Pie-powder sat daily during the fair holden for debts and contracts. "But now," continues Stow, "notwithstanding all proclamations of the prince, and also the act of parliament, in place of booths within the churchyard, only let out in the fair-time, and closed up all the year after, are many large houses built; and the north wall, towards Long Lane, being taken down, a number of tenements are there erected for such as will give great rents."\*

The churchyard here referred to occasionally presented a scene of a very interesting kind, and which Stow, who personally witnessed the discussions to which we refer, has described in his usual graphic style. We must premise that, so early as the period of Fitz-Stephen, it appears it was the custom upon the holidays for assemblies of persons to flock together about the churches to dispute; some, he says, using "demonstrations, others topical and probable arguments; some practise enthymems, others are better at perfect syllogisms; some for a show dispute, and for exercising themselves, and strive like adversaries; others for truth, which is the grace of perfection," &c. Again, "the boys of divers schools wrangle together in versifying, and canvass the principles of grammar, as the rules of the preterperfect and future tenses. Some, after an old custom of prating, use rhymes and epigrams: these can freely quip their fellows, suppressing their names with a festinate and railing liberty; these cast out most abusive jests, and with Socratical wittinesses either they give a touch at the vices of superiors, or fall upon them with a satiric bitterness. The hearers prepare for laughter, and make themselves merry in the mean time." It is in reference to this passage that Stow writes:—"As for the meeting of schoolmasters on festival-days at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, &c., whereof I have before spoken, the same was long since discontinued. But the arguing of schoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time; for I myself (in my youth) have yearly seen, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar-schools repair unto the churchyard of Saint Bartholomew, the Priory in Smithfield, where, upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he was by some better scholar overcome and put down; and then the overcomer, taking the place, did like the first: and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not: but it made both good schoolmasters and also good scholars (diligently against such times) to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland. I remember there repaired to these exercises (amongst others) the masters and scholars of the free schools of Saint Paul's in London, of Saint Peter's at Westminster, of Saint Thomas Acon's Hospital, and of Saint Anthony's Hospital,

\* Stow, p. 419, ed. 1633.

whereof the last-named commonly presented the best scholars and had the prize in those days. This Priory of Saint Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII., those disputations of scholars in that place surceased, and was again, only for a year or two in the reign of Edward VI., revived in the cloister of Christ's Hospital, where the best scholars (then still of Saint Anthony's school) were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith. Nevertheless, however, the encouragement failed; the scholars of Paul's, meeting with them of Saint Anthony's, would call them Saint Anthony's pigs, and they again would call the others pigeons of Paul's—because many pigeons were bred in Paul's church, and Saint Anthony was always figured with a pig following him: and, mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with *Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare, placet*; and so, proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows, with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers: so that finally they were restrained with the decay of Saint Anthony's school."

Encroachments of the character pointed out by Stow of course could not have been made but for the previous dissolution of the Priory—an event which rapidly altered the entire aspect of the place. In the grant of the Priory, in 1544, to Sir Richard afterwards Lord Rich, the man to whose baseness and treachery the executions of the venerable Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and his illustrious fellow-prisoner in the Tower, Sir Thomas More, were in no slight degree referable, we find an accurate description of the then state of Rahere's famous establishment. The grant included the capital messuage or mansion-house, the close called Great St. Bartholomew, the Fermery, Dorter, &c., before mentioned, fifty-one tenements lying within the precincts of the said close, five other messuages and tenements, water from the conduit-head at Canonbury (the country residence of the Priors at Islington), and lastly, the fair of St. Bartholomew. The grant concludes with the words: "And whereas the great close of St. Bartholomew hath been before the memory of man used as a parish within itself, and distinct from other parishes; and the inhabitants thereof had their parish church and churchyard within the church of the late Monastery and Priory, and to the same church annexed, and have had divine service performed by a curate from the appointment of the Prior and Convent; and whereas a certain chapel, called 'the Parish Chapel,' with part of the great parish church, have been taken away, and the materials sold for our use; nevertheless there still remains a part fit for erecting a parish church, and already raised and built: we do grant to the said Richard Rich, Knt., and to the present and future inhabitants within the great close, that part of the said church of the said late Monastery or Priory which remains raised and built to be a parish church for ever for the use of the said inhabitants." The parish was declared to be distinct and separate from other parishes, and a void piece of ground, eighty-seven feet long by sixty broad, next adjoining the west side of the church, was to be taken for a churchyard. Such is the origin of the parish, the present church, and churchyard. The parish formerly possessed numerous and valuable privileges, derived no doubt from those of the Priory, some of which have been lost. Of those that still exist, one of the most striking is that any resident may keep a shop, or exercise whatever calling or trade he pleases, without becoming free of the City. The parishioners are also exempt from serving on juries or ward offices: they appoint their own constables subject to the control of the City magistrates, and tax themselves for paving, watching, lighting, &c. During the reign of Mary a partial attempt was made to revive something of the olden aspect and pur-



pose of the place, by giving it to the Black or Preaching Friars, as their conventual church. But in the very first year of her sister and successor's reign the friars were driven out, and the place appropriated as before.

Although the present church, which was the choir of the more ancient structure belonging to the Priory, stands some distance backwards from Smithfield, there is little doubt that its front was originally on a line with the small gateway yet remaining, and that the latter indeed was the entrance from Smithfield into the southern aisle of the nave, the part of the church now entirely lost. It is useless to inquire what kind of front was here presented to the open area before it; but if we may judge of it by this gateway, and by the general style of the interior parts of the choir, it must have been a grand work. The gateway is of a very beautiful character, with a finely-pointed arch, consisting of four ribs, each with numerous mouldings, receding one within the other, and decorated with roses and zigzag ornaments. Straight before us as we pass through this gateway are the churchyard and church, the former having around it a range of large and very dingy-looking lath-and-plaster houses, which, however, derive somewhat of a picturesque appearance from their gable ends, and their windows scattered about in "most admired disorder." The exterior of the church, as it here appears to us, consists of a brick tower, erected in 1628, and by its side the end of the church, from which the nave has been cut away, and the wall and large window erected to terminate the structure at this point. The foundations of the nave still lie below the soil of the churchyard some three or four feet. The wall of the latter, on the right or southern side, now faced with brick, is very ancient and of immense thickness, and formed most probably the original wall of the south aisle. On stepping into the apartments of the adjoining public-house, to which the wall now belongs, we find traces of a past very different from what we see at present. Rooms with arched ceilings, a cornice with a shield extending through two or three of them, and thus showing that they have formed but one room, and a chalk cellar below the house—all betoken that we are wandering among the ruins of the old Priory. By the side of this house is a yard filled with costermongers and their donkeys, and surrounded by black and decayed sheds and habitations, with balconied galleries. Here the cheery ringing sound of the hammer on the anvil guides us to ground more intelligible. The passage leads into a smith's workshop, where some of the arches of the eastern cloister (the only one of which there are any remains) appear in the opposite wall. Violence and decay have deprived these arches of all their original beauty, though not of their bold expressive character. The soil here, as in almost every other part surrounding the church, has been raised several feet: thus, for instance, the spring of these arches is nearly level with the ground. Leaving this to enter another yard, of an equally unpromising appearance, we find ourselves within the east cloister. Much of this beautiful part has been lost of late years by the fall of the roof and part of the wall on one side. Climbing, however, as well as we can, over the double or treble row of great barrels which fill the entire space, we find that on the opposite or eastern wall are five arches, more or less entire, yet remaining, and one on the west. The noble character of the architecture is here still visible in the fine deep receding mouldings and the graceful span. Farther north the space is walled up with an arch, which, if original, as it appears, must have crossed the cloister. The space within, extending to the church, which was entered by a fine Norman arch still existing, includes the remainder of the cloister; and one can only lament that, as it not only possesses the arches on both sides, but the groined roof, it should be completely walled up. Here the delicacy and proportion of the style, the fine finish of the groins and key-stones, and the elaborate workmanship of the many

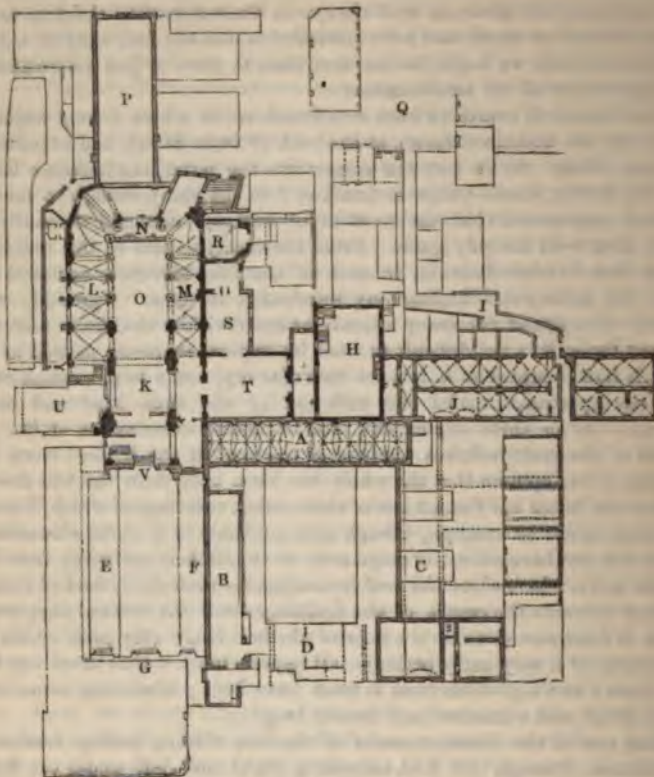


curious devices and historical subjects carved in different parts, are alone visible in their natural combination. Over this part is now built a house in a line with and joining to the tower of the church. As one looks around on the still evident beauty of the architecture, and measures with the eye its dimensions (the cloisters must have been nearly fifteen feet broad, and have extended round the four sides of a square of nearly a hundred feet), we begin for the first time to have a just impression of the original magnificence of the establishment.

The public-house and courts we have mentioned are in a lane (along which on the eastern side ran the western cloister), at the back of Duke Street, and communicating with the great Close. As we turn the corner into the latter, the immense Refectory, or Hall of the Priory, stands before us (marked J in the plan), though so modernised in its outward appearance that the most eager antiquarian would assuredly pass it unnoticed if that were his only guide. From the scanty notices of this building, and of the crypt that extends beneath, in such of the local historians as notice them at all, we had not anticipated finding any interesting remains. Agreeably were we disappointed. In spite of the many alterations and divisions that have been made in it at different times, it is not difficult to trace its original character, as well as its vast extent. It is now occupied as a tobacco manufactory, and a large portion of it still forms but one apartment, roofed over with oak of the finest kind and condition. There are now two or three stories, but, after a careful examination of the general arrangement of the multitudinous timbers of the roof of the highest story, we cannot but express our opinion that the whole has been open from the first floor to the roof, and that the latter has formed one of those oaken coverings of which Westminster Hall is so magnificent an example, though most probably of a ruder character. The complicated and yet harmonious arrangement of the timbers springing from the side on the upper story, where alone the roof is unaltered—their finely-arched form rising airily upward towards the centre of the building—and the vertical supports which they appear to have sent down to the floor of the hall below (the posts which characterised the halls of a very early period),—all appear to show that there was but one story, one room; and a glorious room it must have been; measuring some forty feet high, thirty broad, and a hundred and twenty long!

Descending now to the commencement of the low winding passage marked in the plan "Middlesex Passage," we find, extending right and left under the Refectory, the Crypt, of which the passage cutting right through it forms a part. Interesting as these places generally are, we doubt whether a more favourable specimen could be found than this of the once famous Priory of St. Bartholomew. Its immense length, its double row of beautiful aisles extending throughout, and its admirable state of preservation, render this Crypt worthy of peculiar attention. The spot marked in the plan Q, or the Prior's offices, is that towards which we next direct our steps. The stables, wood-yard, and other domestic buildings, are thus referred to. In a large and ancient house we here find, on the ground-floor, a very thick wall and a pointed arch—evidence of its connection with the Priory. The same house has some other noticeable features; namely, two beautifully-wainscoted large rooms, the upper of which has a vaulted ceiling and a fine carved mantel-piece. Lord Rich, to whom the buildings and site of the Priory were granted, resided in some part of the latter:—was it here? The mansion has evidently been occupied by some resident of importance at a distant period. The family of the present occupier has lived in it for a century, during which the features we have referred to have existed as at present. The Mulberry Gardens were here also; and but a few years ago was cut down the last and finest of the descendants of the old Priory trees which stood

behind the house. Returning to the eastern extremity of Middlesex Passage, the Prior's House is on our right, standing almost in a line with the church; and by the



[Plan of the Priory of St. Bartholomew.]

#### EXPLANATION OF THE REFERENCES.

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| <p>A. The East Cloister, the only one of which there are any remains.</p> <p>B. The North Cloister, parallel with the Nave.</p> <p>C. The South Cloister.</p> <p>D. The West Cloister. The Square thus enclosed by the Cloisters measures about a hundred feet each way.</p> <p>E. The North Aisle of the Nave.</p> <p>F. The South Aisle, to which the existing Gateway in front of Smithfield was the original entrance.</p> <p>G. The Nave, no part of which or of the Aisles now remains.</p> <p>H. St. Bartholomew's Chapel, destroyed by fire about 1830.</p> <p>I. Middlesex Passage, leading from Great to Little Bartholomew Close.</p> <p>J. The Dining Hall or Refectory of the Priory, with the Crypt beneath.</p> | <p>K. Situation of the Great Tower, which was supported on four arches that still remain.</p> <p>L. The Northern Aisle of the Choir.</p> <p>M. The Southern Aisle of the Choir.</p> <p>N. The Eastern Aisle of the Choir.</p> <p>O. The present Parish Church, forming the Choir of the old Priory Church.</p> <p>P. The Prior's House, with the Dormitory and Infirmary above.</p> <p>Q. Site of the Prior's Offices, Stables, Wood Yard, &amp;c.</p> <p>R. The Old Vestry.</p> <p>S. The Chapter House, with an entrance gateway from</p> <p>T. The South Transept.</p> <p>U. The North Transept.</p> <p>V. The present entrance into the Church.</p> |
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- On the top of the plan is Little Bartholomew Close. on the left Cloth Fair, at the bottom Smithfield, and on the right Great Bartholomew Close.

side of the latter are the remains of the south transept. This house also bears plenty of internal evidence as to its antiquity. The walls, for instance, would shame those of many fortifications; there are just within the modern gable roof three arches, with square flat pillars and fluted capitals, corresponding with those of the choir; on the broad staircase is a kind of alcove in the wall, and beside it a slightly-pointed arch set in a square frame; there are latticed windows in different parts; and above all, at the top, is the dormitory (le Dorter), where the canons were locked up at night, like so many unruly children. Here each inmate had, we presume, in accordance with the general custom, a little place wainscoted off, with a shelf in the window to support books. The middle part of the dormitory, where now the gimp-spinners of a fringe manufactory are pursuing their ceaseless walk, was, no doubt (also as usual), paved with fine tiles. If we may trust the author of the 'Ship of Fools,' the monks might well be treated as children, for they were as full of fun and frolic; and on reaching the dormitory, considering, we suppose, that they had been sufficiently grave for one day, began to play all sorts of wild pranks. For, says Barclay,

"The frere or monk in his frock and cowl  
Must dance in his dorter, leaping to play the fool."

The transept we have mentioned is on the south side of the church, and the pile of ruins that fill up almost all the area of this part speak not only of the destruction that has seized it, but of the Chapter-house also, which stood between the old vestry and the transept. Faint traces of the once beautiful arch that led from the latter into the Chapter-house are to be seen in that rugged mass of wall which stretches across in a right angle from the church in our south view. Of the Chapter-house itself not a vestige remains.

Entering the church by the gateway below the tower, we get the first glimpse of the new world, as it were, that opens upon us, or rather we should say the old world of seven hundred years ago that has passed away. Everything is solemn, grand, and apparently eternal. Those immense pillars that we look upon have lost nothing as yet of their original strength: there is no token that they will ever lose it. Within the porch are the remains of a very elegant-pointed arch in the right wall, leading, we presume, into the cloisters, but of an older date than those glorious Norman pillars to which some, of as peculiarly slender make, belonging to another and opposite arch, appear to have been attached, somewhat, we think, to the injury of their simple character. One of the most interesting features of the choir is the long-continued aisle, or series of aisles, which entirely encircle it, opening into the former by the spaces between the flat and circular arch-piers of the body of the structure. It is about twelve feet wide, with a pure arched and vaulted ceiling in the simplest and truest Norman style, and with windows of different sizes slightly pointed. The pillars against the wall opposite the entrance into the choir are flat. One of the most beautiful little architectural effects of a simple kind that we can conceive is to be found at the north-eastern corner of the aisle. Between two of the grand Norman pillars projecting from the wall is a low postern doorway, and above, rising on each side from the capitals, a peculiarly elegant arch, something like an elongated horse-shoe. The connection between two styles so strikingly different in most respects as the Moorish, with its fantastic delicacy and variety and richness, and the Norman with its simple (occasionally uncouth) grandeur, was never more apparent. That little picture is alone worth a visit to St. Bartholomew's. The postern leads into a curious place enclosed by the end of the choir (or altar end) on one side, and the circular wall of the eastern aisle on the other. It is supposed by Mr. Godwin to have been



the chancel of the original building, and no doubt it was, if we are to suppose that the altar wall has undergone great changes. At present the space is so narrow and so dark that it need not surprise us to hear that it is called the Purgatory. We have no doubt that this part has been visible in some way from the choir, and not, as it is now, entirely excluded from it; for a pair of exactly similar pillars with the beautiful arch above, standing at the south-east corner of the aisle, are in a great measure shut in here. On opening the little door, indeed, into the place, we can with difficulty refrain from an exclamation of surprise at the sight of the stately pillars rising up so grandly in that unworthy spot; and to make it evident that their arch has been intended to be seen from the choir, we find that, unlike the other, of which we see only the exterior, this is beautifully ornamented. We must add that these aisles are a fine study for the architect; thus, for instance, from the very exquisite horse-shoe arch we have mentioned, there is a regular gradation through the next two windows to the perfect semicircle. Near the junction of the south and east aisles is the old vestry-room, which Malcolm supposes to have been an ancient oratory. The present vestry is built over the southern aisle, and occupies a part of the space of the southern transept. Here is a beautiful Norman semicircular arch, forming originally, no doubt, one of the range of arches by which the second story of the choir was continued at a right angle along the sides of the transept. Among the monuments of the aisles are several of interest.

Let us now enter the Choir, and, ascending the gallery to the side of the organ, gaze on the impressive and characteristic work before us, which seems scarcely less fresh and solid than when Rahere beheld in its vast piers and beautiful arches the realisation of the vision for which he had so long yearned. We are standing in the centre of four arches of the most magnificent span, fit bearers of the great tower that they lifted so airily, as it were a thing of nought, into the air. Two of these are round, and two slightly pointed. The last (which were originally open and formed the commencement of the transepts) have been referred to as among the various instances of the occasional use of pointed arches by the Normans before their systematic introduction as a style. "The cause," says Mr. Britton, "is evident; for those sides of the tower being much narrower than the east and west divisions, which are formed of semicircular arches, it became necessary to carry the arches of the former to a point, in order to suit the oblong plan of the intersection, and at the same time make the upper mouldings and lines range with the corresponding members of the circular arches."\* In each of the spandrels formed by these arches is a small lozenge-shaped panel containing ornaments which bear a striking resemblance to the Grecian honeysuckle, and deserve notice from their singularity. Behind us are arches showing the original continuation of the church into the nave. The roof is very ancient, and not particularly handsome looking. It consists of massy timbers, some of them braced up in the middle, apparently to prevent their falling. Prior Bolton's elegant oriel window in the second story appears to have been built as a kind of pew or seat, from which the Prior could overlook the canons when he pleased, without their being aware of his presence, as it communicated with his house at the eastern extremity of the church. The piers which support the range of pointed arches forming the uppermost story are, pierced longitudinally, so as to leave open a passage all round the upper part of the building. The dimensions of the church are stated somewhat differently by different writers, and we have no means of reconciling the discrepancy. According to Malcolm, the height is about

\* 'Chronological History of Christian Architecture in England.'

forty feet, the breadth sixty feet, and the length one hundred and thirty-eight feet; to which if we add eighty-seven feet for the length of the nave, we have two hundred and twenty-five feet as the entire length of the Priory church within the walls. Osborne, in his 'English Architecture,' gives the height as forty-seven feet, the breadth fifty-seven feet, and the length of the present church one hundred and thirty-two feet. We may here observe that when a fire broke out in 1830 the interior of the church was much injured, and the entire pile had a narrow escape from destruction. A portion of the roof of the south aisle fell on that occasion, and showed it to be composed of rubble-work. The church has undergone numerous reparations and alterations—we wish we could add improvements. But, on the contrary, many parts appear to have been injured, if not wantonly, certainly from unworthy or insufficient reasons. Thus, in Henry VIII.'s time, the sacred edifice had well nigh been entirely pulled down for the value of the materials. The erection of the brick tower in 1628 was little better than an architectural insult to the pride of the fine old Norman choir. And, as if the very sight of its magnificent arch-piers had become irksome, they have been cased round with wood, for no better reason, we presume, than that they were apt to leave undesirable marks on the coats of the congregation. But is that their fault? *They* are not plaster; nor, if they could speak, do we believe we should find them at all ambitious of whitewash.

There are some interesting monuments in the Choir. We find the monument of the founder in the north-eastern corner. This is a work in every way worthy of the man whom it enshrines. It is one of the most elegant specimens of the pointed style of architecture, consisting mainly of a very highly-wrought stone-work screen, enclosing a tomb on which Rahere's effigy extends at full length. The roof of the little chamber, as we may call it, is most exquisitely groined. At what period the monument was erected is uncertain; but the style marks it as of a later date than that of the founder's decease. But it was most carefully restored by Prior Bolton; and the fact is significant of its antiquity. As the latter found, no doubt, a labour of love in making these reparations, so Time itself seems to have seconded his efforts, and to have shared in the hopes of its builders that a long period of prosperity should be granted to it, by touching it very gently. Here and there the pinnacles have been somewhat diminished of their fair proportions, and that is pretty well the entire extent of the injury the work has experienced. The monument, it must be added, is richly painted as well as sculptured, and shows us the black robes of Rahere and of the monks who are kneeling at his side—the ruddy features of the former, and the splendid coats of arms on the front of the tomb below. Each of the monks has a Bible before him, open at the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah.

We conclude this paper with a notice of an appendage of St. Bartholomew, scarcely less interesting than itself:—we refer to Canonbury, the place so well known as the residence of Goldsmith, in one of the rooms of the tower of which was written, under a pressing pecuniary necessity, that most admirable of fictions, the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' These pressing necessities unfortunately occurred very often; and another and less agreeable memory of Canonbury House than that of the composition of the 'Vicar of Wakefield' is that Goldsmith here frequently hid himself for fear of arrest. The warm-hearted bookseller, Newberry, for whom Goldsmith wrote so much, then rented the house. From hence the poet was frequently accustomed to set out, with some or other of his numerous and distinguished list of friends, on excursions through the surrounding country. The beauties of Highgate and Hampstead, distinctly visible from his windows, no doubt were often a temptation to him to throw aside his books. Various other literary men have lived at Canonbury; amongst whom we may



mention Chambers, the author of the Cyclopædia known by his name. Nor are interesting names belonging to men of a different class wanting. Here the "Rich Spencer," for instance, lived, and has bequeathed to Canonbury some noticeable recollections. In a curious pamphlet, entitled 'The Vanity of the Lives and Passions of Men, by D. Papillon, Gent., 1651,' occurs the following remarkable passage, in connection with this great *millionaire* of the sixteenth century:—"In Queen Elizabeth's days a pirate of Dunkirk laid a plot, with twelve of his mates, to carry away Sir John Spencer; which if he had done, fifty thousand pounds had not redeemed him. He came over the seas on a shallop with twelve musketeers, and in the night came into Barking Creek, and left the shallop in the custody of six of his men, and with the other six came as far as Islington, and there hid themselves in ditches near the path in which Sir John always came to his house; but, by the providence of God, Sir John, upon some extraordinary occasion, was forced to stay in London that night, otherwise they had taken him away; and they, fearing they should be discovered in the night-time, came to their shallop, and so came safe to Dunkirk again." The author adds that he obtained this story from a private record. At Sir John's death in 1609 some thousand men were present, in mourning cloaks and gowns, amongst whom were three hundred and twenty-four persons who had each a basket given to him containing a black gown, four pounds of beef, two loaves of bread, a little bottle of wine, a candlestick, a pound of candles, two saucers, two spoons, a black pudding, a pair of gloves, a dozen of points to tie his garments with, two red herrings, four white herrings, six sprats, and two eggs. We must add to these reminiscences of the family, that his daughter is said to have been carried off from Canonbury in a baker's basket by Lord Compton, who became her husband, and who at her father's death was unable to bear with equanimity the immense fortune that devolved to him: he was distracted for some time afterwards. His death happened under strange circumstances:—"Yesterday se'nnight the Earl of Northampton (he had now succeeded to this earldom), Lord President of Wales, after he had waited on the King at supper, and he had also supped, went in a boat with others to wash himself in the Thames, and so soon as his legs were in the water but to the knees, he had the colic, and cried out, 'Have me into the boat again, or I am a dead man!' and died in a few hours afterwards, June 24, 1630."

The manor appears to have been originally presented to the priory by Ralph de Berners, in the time of Edward I., and most probably obtained its present name on the erection (about 1362, that date having long existed on one of the walls) of a place of residence for the first *Canon* or Prior,—*bury* signifying mansion or dwelling-house. There seems to exist a kind of tradition that at some period a fortified mansion stood on the spot, of which a moat that existed in front of the house until a recent period was a remain. All the ancient parts, however, that now meet our gaze are attributed to Prior Bolton, the predecessor of Fuller, who surrendered the possessions of the canons to the king. This is the man of whom Hall writes in the following curious passage:—"The people" (saith he), "being feared by prognostications which declared that in the year of Christ 1524 there should be such eclipses in watery signs, and such conjunctions, that by waters and floods many people should perish, people victualled themselves, and went to high grounds for fear of drowning, and especially one Bolton, which was prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, builded him a house upon Harrow on the Hill, only for fear of this flood: thither he went and made provision of all things necessary within him, for the space of two months." Stow says that "this was not so indeed," as he had been credibly informed, "and that his predecessor was following a fable then on foot." Bolton was the parson of Harrow



as well as Prior of St. Bartholomew, and therefore repaired the parsonage-house; but he builded there nothing "more than a dovehouse, to serve him when he had foregone his Priory." This is he also to whom Ben Jonson alludes when he speaks

"Of prior Bolton, with his *bolt* and *ton*;"

referring to the rebus on his name, of which the Prior is said to have been the inventor, and for which he certainly had an inventor's love, for we find it everywhere—in the church, in some of the houses of Bartholomew Close, and here again at Canonbury. Immediately behind the tower is a house now used as a boarding-school, which is supposed to have belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and to have even been occasionally inhabited by her; and the internal evidence is certainly of a formidable character. The staircase alone would show that it has been a very splendid mansion: but there are more important parts. The drawing-room, now divided into three apartments, has evidently originally formed but one, with a circular end, and a richly-ornamented ceiling, bearing representations of ships of war, medallion heads of ancient heroes, as Alexander and Julius Cæsar; and in combination with these decorations are a variety of scroll-work ornaments, with the thistle strikingly predominant. In the centre are the initials *E. R.* The material is a most delicately-wrought stucco. The mantelpiece is also well worthy of attention; it contains figures, arms, caryatides, and an endless variety of other ornament. The whole forms one of the most superb pieces of workmanship conceivable. In the same house a room, called the Stone Parlour, on the ground-floor, has also a stuccoed ceiling, embossed and with pendants, and a decorated mantelpiece, with figures of the Cardinal Virtues. Adjoining this house is that which was Prior Bolton's, now occupied also as a boarding-school. It stands on a beautiful lawn, somewhat elevated, and must have originally commanded a beautiful prospect; as a part of which, and not the least interesting part, was the splendid establishment of which the resident here was master: the peculiarly dense smoke of cloud was as yet a thing unknown, and but few buildings intervened, so that the Prior could see it at all times. The most interesting feature of this mansion is a stone passage or corridor leading to the kitchen and other offices, in which is a Tudor door of a peculiarly elegant shape, containing Bolton's rebus. Among the other noticeable matters are a mantelpiece of the period of Elizabeth, and a curious coat of arms with some uncouth supporters, apparently goats, painted, and with an inscription of a later period, stating them to belong to "Sir Walter Denny, of Gloucestershire, who was made a knight by bathing at the creation of Arthur Prince of Wales, in November, 1489," &c. From the house we pass to the lawn, which is terminated by a wall with a raised and embowered terrace, from which we look over on the other side to the kitchen-garden, the New River, and thence onwards towards London. At each extremity of this wall is an octagonal garden-house, built by Prior Bolton—the one to the left having a small gothic window in the basement story. Proceeding along the wall towards the other, we find it in the grounds of another mansion; this also contains the Prior's rebus. The spot here is at the same time so beautiful and yet so antique in its character, that we have only to forget the lapse of three centuries, and expect to see the stately abbot himself coming forth into his pleasance, book in hand perhaps, to enable him to forget the little vexations of his government, or the darker shadows of the coming Reformation, which, fortunately for him, he did not live to see—his death took place in 1532. The fig and mulberry trees, probably planted by him,—certainly no recent denizens of the soil,—appear here in all their perfection. On the wall which runs up to the house occurs another rebus, near to a stone basin called the fish-pond, where

kept some of the choicest of the finny tribe for the supply  
quit this very interesting place without a tribute of admirat  
the taste and munificence of its principal founder. Next to Rahere, his is the  
memory of the Priory—we meet with him everywhere. The church, the bes  
oriel window which overlooks it, Rahere's tomb, which he carefully and adm  
restored, the gardens and buildings of Canonbury, all speak of an enlightene  
generous mind; and we do not see that it is at all necessary to quarrel wit  
because he took care to refer their merit to its right owner by the everl  
*bolt in ton.*





THE TEMPLE CHURCH



INTERIOR

ALTAR



ENTRANCE

KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XIX. TEMPLE CHURCH, INNS OF COURT, ETC.



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## XIX. TEMPLE CHURCH, INNS OF COURT, &c.

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THE TEMPLE CHURCH.—If one had never heard of the existence of such a Society as the Templars—a band of men who sought to be as conspicuous for their piety as for their military skill and courage, and who made it the business of their lives to reconcile the two pursuits—it would be still difficult to look on the exterior of the structure, of which the restoration was completed in 1842, without some such idea occurring to the mind. In the massive Round, with its buttresses and narrow windows, we are inevitably reminded of the strong circular keep or stronghold of the castles of the middle ages; whilst the junction of the oblong portion, built in the purest and most beautiful of the early English Ecclesiastical styles, at the same time tells plainly enough that no mere warriors erected the whole. And the interest likely to be roused by such associations is only the more deepened when we inquire into the history of the Order: when we read of Hugh de Payens with only eight companions devoting themselves, as “poor fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ,” to the defence of the pilgrims on the high road to Jerusalem, recently forced from the Saracens by the early Crusaders, and learn that from this humble origin sprung the mighty fellowship, which extended its ramifications through every country of Christian Europe, which comprised a large portion of the noblest in blood, and most influential in wealth and power, of European chivalry; when we read also of the poverty—Hugh de Payens and another knight riding on one horse, for instance—the humility and self-sacrifices to which they at first voluntarily submitted themselves, of their heroism in active warfare as well as in passive endurance, of their decline and fall as they grew prosperous and corrupt, and then of the sudden restoration of the old spirit in the purifying flames of the horrible death to which many of the most illustrious members were subjected at the period of the extinction of the Order, by the rapacious monarchs of Europe thirsting for their enormous wealth; when we read of these things, we might naturally suppose that it would be difficult to find any other circumstances that could materially enhance in our eyes the chief of the structures built by these men in our country. And had the Temple Church, as we have always hitherto seen it, been in the state the Templars had left it, no doubt the feeling would have been a correct one; but we now know that, with the exception of the bare outline of the walls, pillars, and windows, no building could be less like the church of the Knights Templars than the Temple Church was until a recent period; and the great harm and value of the modern works in this now most beautiful of English buildings, is that they are all strictly works of restoration. In looking at the decorations, so novel to our eyes, and in such a place so opposed to our ordinary ideas of fitness, as well as at the great expenditure incurred, this fact must be constantly borne in mind. That it is a fact we shall have various opportunities of noticing in the progress of our paper.

To the lovers of Gothic architecture, a designation that promises shortly to be synonymous in effect with persons of taste and intelligence generally (already the notion of the irregular genius of the style has shared the fate of the somewhat similar notion concerning our great dramatic poet)—to such persons the Temple offers an additional feature of interest and instruction, being looked upon by architects as

the most interesting example we possess of the transition from the plain massive Norman to the light and elegant early English. Thus we have before us the Round with its semicircular bended windows, Norman, but Norman in the last stage of the change to something else—already grown slender and elongated; and we have the oblong with its pointed windows, the very perfection of what is called the lancet style. But to return to matters of more general interest: the period of the erection of the edifice is from some little time prior to 1185, when the Round was dedicated, in honour of the Virgin Mary, by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, up to 1240, when the oblong was consecrated on Ascension-day. The Templars had before this a house on the site of the present Southampton Buildings, Holborn. Heraclius was in England on business of a very critical nature at the time of the dedication. In a battle on the banks of the Jordan, in 1179, the great body of Knights Templars had been nearly cut to pieces by Saladin, and the grand-master taken prisoner, to perish in prison by his own firmness or obstinacy, in resisting all overtures for exchange or ransom. The Christian armies, however, so far redeemed themselves from the temporary disgrace of this defeat, as to be able to obtain a truce for four years, whilst they sent Heraclius and the masters of the Temple, and the kindred society of the Hospitallers, through Europe to seek fresh aid. They in particular hoped much from Henry II. of England; so much, indeed, that when the king and his chief nobility offered to raise fifty thousand marks for the purpose of paying the expenses of a levy of troops, and to agree that all persons who pleased might engage in the cause, the patriarch seems to have been at once deeply disappointed and indignant. "We seek a man, and not money," was his reply; "well near every Christian region sendeth unto us money, but no land sendeth to us a prince:" and departing in this state of dissatisfaction, Henry, who had reason to dread the power of the Church, remembering the affair of Beckett, followed him to the seaside, in order to appease his anger. "But," continues Fabian, "the more the king thought to satisfy him with his fair speech, the more the patriarch was discontented, insomuch that, at the last, he said unto him, 'Hitherto thou hast reigned gloriously, but hereafter thou shalt be forsaken of Him whom thou at this time forsakest. Think on Him, what he hath given to thee, and what thou hast yielded to Him again; how first thou wert false unto the king of France, and after slew that holy man Thomas of Canterbury, and, lastly, thou forsakest the protection of Christian faith.' The king was moved with these words, and said unto the patriarch, 'Though all the men of my land were one body, and spake with one mouth, they durst not speak to me such words.' 'No wonder,' said the patriarch, 'for they love thine, and not thee: that is to mean, they love thy goods temporal, and fear thee for loss of promotion, but they love not thy soul.' And when he had so said he offered his hand to the king, saying, 'Do by me right as thou didst by that blessed man Thomas of Canterbury, for I had liefer to be slain of thee than of the Saracens, for thou art worse than any Saracen.'" But Henry, however inly exasperated, was determined not to edify his subjects by another kingly scourging, so answered patiently, "I may not wend out of my land, for my own sons will arise against me when I am absent." Somewhat irreverently the patriarch closed the conference by remarking, "No wonder, for of the devil they come, and to the devil they shall go;" and so hurried away. Such were the circumstances connected with the dedication of the Temple in 1185.

In our walk round the exterior we are reminded of an interesting chapel formerly attached to its south side; the chapel of St. Anne, where the solemn ceremony of introducing new members into the Order took place. The rules of the Templars, which were very strict, were from the hand of St. Bernard, who at an early period of



their career treated them with marked consideration. The new member having satisfactorily answered in private to the questions put to him, affirming that he was free from all obligations, such as betrothal, marriage vows, or consecration in connection with any other order, debt, disease, or weakly constitution, was ushered into the chapel, where he found present the entire body of knights. With folded hands and bended knees, he then said to the master: "Sir, I am come, before God and before you and the brethren, and pray and beseech you, for the sake of God and our dear Lady, to admit me into your Society, and the good deeds of the Order, as one who will be all his life long the servant and slave of the Order." In answer he was warned, that he was desirous of a great matter; that he saw nothing but the shell, the fine horses and rich caparisons, the luxurious fare and splendid clothing, but that he knew not the rigour which lay within. He was told it was a hard matter for him, his own master, to become another's servant; to watch when he wished to sleep, and find his most ordinary actions similarly controlled. The candidate, however, answering firmly to all the questions that followed, and binding himself to be obedient to the master of the house, as well as to the master of the Order generally, to observe the usual customs, to live chastely, and help with all the powers God had given him to conquer the Holy Land, and to befriend all oppressed Christians, was received into the coveted brotherhood, and whilst he was assured of bread and water, clothing, and "labour and toil enow," the Templar's habit was put on his limbs, and he too was a Knight Templar. The building in which these interesting scenes occurred appears to have consisted of two stories, each with a separate entrance from the church, each with a groined and vaulted roof, and each divided near the centre by a massive and no doubt very elegant archway. A portion of the building fell in 1825, and during the repairs, commenced about that time, of the Round, the whole was swept away. Such, we are glad to say, is not the spirit in which the late extensive reparations have been carried on.

From the time of the Puritans down to the very act we have last alluded to, the removal of the chapel of St. Anne, the Temple Church seems to have been undergoing one steady process of degradation or mutilation in all that respects its original beauty or completeness; and it would be difficult to say which have done the most injury, the early church reformers who damaged it on principle, or the kind benefactors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who repaired and beautified it, making a very labour of love of the display of their bad taste. Thus in 1682 a screen of "light wainscot" was stretched across the space between the two parts of the structure, cutting them asunder, and destroying at once all sense of harmony, or size, or fine perspective. This screen, by way of refresher to eyes wearied with the eternal Gothic tamped on the building around, was decorated with Corinthian pilasters and other suitable appendages. And that there might be no stealing a glimpse over the screen through the great central archway, a new organ was placed in that spot, with its classic front reaching nearly to the groined ceiling of the nave. There only remained to close up or to hide the form of the beautiful lesser arches on each side, which was carefully done, and to put in glass doors and windows in the lower portions of all the arches; and that, too, accomplished, no doubt the worthy Benchers smirked, and smiled, and congratulated themselves, as they stepped backwards and forwards, painter-fashion, some such exclamation no doubt escaping at intervals, as "Come, I think that's very nice and snug." But there was yet much to be done to bring everything into perfect order. The marble pillars looked bluish and cold, and the roof looked hollow and high, and the tessellated pavement felt uncomfortable, and the walls were sadly naked. So to work once more went the beautifiers; the pave-

ment was raised up by a good layer of earth, some more "light wainscot" was obtained, and placed all round the walls, the pillars were cased a good way up in the same material, and the rest did not much matter, as they were there stuck over pretty thickly with tablets, or concealed by large gilded monuments: the church was also well paved; and, as a finish, the whole, pillars, capitals, cornices, roof, groins, and wall, were plastered and whitewashed. Add to these features of the Temple Church as it was, the cumbrous pulpit with carved cherubim, and vases, and a still more cumbrous sounding-board—add also the altar-pieces, an immense work in the same Corinthian style, actually concealing no inconsiderable portion of the great eastern window, as the monuments along the sides trenched upon the windows of the aisles—and we must acknowledge that the said beautifiers did not work by halves—that, in short, they made everything so very complete in one way, that it is only surprising their successors should have ventured to undo the whole, in order to try their hands at another. And though they did venture, and with a result that forms probably the commencement of a new era in the restoration of our old buildings, as well as in the decoration of all, there were not wanting persons to warn them of the reckless course they proposed to pursue. "As a proof," says Mr. Burge, "how little the public were acquainted with the character of the Temple Church, and with those parts of its style and construction which constituted its beauty, it may be mentioned, that when the restoration was commenced in 1840, the removal of these beautifications and adornments for the purpose of effecting the restoration was regarded and publicly reprobated as an act of vandalism, evincing an utter disregard for the ancient and original beauty of the church, and a fond devotion to the frivolous and degraded styles of modern architecture." It were not without interest to follow the successive steps of the restoration to see how the recovery of one beauty led to that of another; the removal of the screen to the removal of the organ; that of the great pews to that of the pulpit; or to see how the removal of the whitewash above and the rubbish below, and consequent discovery of the remains of the original decoration, led to the revival of such decorations in the sumptuous roof, and windows, and pavement, that now meet the eye; but our space will only allow us to notice the result of the whole as exemplified in the magnificent interior, towards which we now advance.

A very deeply-recessed and sumptuously-enriched Norman gateway leads from the low sunken porch at the extremity of the western extremity of the building into the Round. Among the variety of objects that press upon the attention it is difficult to fix upon any one. There are the painted windows at the farthest end, appearing like some sudden discovery of one of the richest works of the olden time that we have so often read of; and the painted roof, scarcely less splendid, and from its novelty still more interesting: nearer still there are the three beautiful arches, which rather connect than divide the two portions of the structure—the very arches so mercilessly closed up and disfigured: whilst around us is the beautiful aisle with its groined roof, supported at intervals by stately dark marble pillars, that rise conspicuously from the arcade of pointed arches decorating the lower part of the wall; and, lastly, in the centre, divided from the aisle by the circle of tall clustered marble columns that support its lofty roof, is the tower, or central portion of the Round, with its series of archways opening into the gallery, or triforium;—its clerestory, or range of windows, one of them—the gift of Mr. Willement—painted; and above, the roof, where the compartments formed by the bold groining are studded over with delicate blue ornaments on a kind of drab-like ground; the centre standing out from all the rest by its richer and more varied display of colours, surrounding a massive gilded boss. The painted window mentioned, with its deep rubies, and purples, and bronzes, represents



Christ enthroned; and the general design of the decoration of the dome is borrowed from an existing ancient Sicilian church. Among the features of interest in this part of the structure are the heads which decorate the arcade in the aisle, sixty-four in number, and which were probably intended to represent on one half-circle—that to the left—a state of purgatory, and on the other of relief from it, by the mediation of the Church. But as none of the heads are original, and some of them not even copies of the original designs, it is not easy to prove the truth of this hypothesis. But we perceive, first, that in other parts of the structure—the entrance archways to the aisles of the oblong—the opposing character of the two corbel faces in each arch bears evident reference to an idea of this kind; and, secondly, the half-circle that was most carefully restored—the left or northern—presents but comparatively few exceptions to the painful character expressed by all the heads on that side, and which has been marked throughout by the nicest discrimination of the different kinds of manifestation of pain applicable to so many different classes of individuals. The philosopher looks as though he would pluck out the heart of even this mystery; the satirist or misanthrope as though he had as much contempt for purgatory as all other things, even while he felt its power; on the other hand, where the individuals represented are less intellectual, and more sensual, the appropriate expressions are no less strikingly developed: here, beauty is distorted into a thing it would tremble but to see; here one can hardly avoid feeling the claws and teeth of the animal tearing the ear: whilst there is one head, combining a mingled sensation of physical and mental horror which surpasses description—it is ghastly—fearful!—it is as if all the worst passions of man's nature had been gathered together in one point and then smitten with some intolerable agony. But perhaps the most interesting of the whole is the last of this circle, a female's face—probably a mother, who forgets even the anguish of her own sufferings in the passionate, yet quiet because hopeless, misery of reflecting on those she has left behind. Mixed with the heads we have referred to are a great variety of grotesques, and the whole are highly deserving of attention. According to Mr. Addison, the author of a 'History of the Knights Templars,' an arcade and cornice similarly decorated with heads have been found in the ruins of the Temple churches at Nice, and in their famous fortress near Mount Carmel, known as the "Pilgrims' Castle." We must not omit to add that the original heads, after being carelessly because inartistically copied, were used in the builder's yard to slip beneath cart-wheels occasionally!

The pavement of the Temple Church has attracted much attention, and deservedly. On removing the rubbish beneath the late pavement, patches of the former decorated one were found; and, accordingly, the Benchers, in pursuance of the rule that has throughout guided them, determined to restore the old encaustic tile. And as they had the old quarry at Purbeck re-opened purposely for the supply of the right material for the new pillars which it was found necessary to have in the Round, so did they seek and obtain permission to have the flooring of the Chapter-house at Westminster Abbey taken up, to learn the exact nature of the decorations used at the period in question, and then made arrangements to have the tiles manufactured accordingly in Staffordshire. The prevailing colour is yellow or amber, forming the decorative parts, upon a dark red ground. The decorations combine a great variety of heraldic and pictorial subjects, as animals with their tails linked together, cocks and foxes, figures playing upon musical instruments; but the chief ornaments are the symbols of the two Societies of the Temple, the Lamb and the Pegasus: the former founded on the device of St. John; and the latter, it is supposed, from the interesting circumstance before mentioned concerning the founder of the Order, and the poverty which for a



time prevailed among the Templars. Mr. Willement, in his 'Report to the Societies on the subject of the Decorations of the Church,' which were confided entirely to him, says, "It very probably took its rise from the earliest device of the Knights Templars, namely, the two knights on the same horse. From an imperfect impression of an imperfect seal, these two knights were by mistake converted into two wings, which the classic taste of the reign of Elizabeth might induce the Society to think a very pretty device, and the error has been, without further examination, perpetuated." A good joke in poetical guise has made these emblems noticeable; the verses here following are said to have been first chalked up on the Temple gates:—

"As by the Templars' hold you go,  
The Horse and Lamb display'd,  
In emblematic figures shew  
The merits of their trade.

That clients may infer from thence  
How just is their profession—  
The Lamb sets forth their innocence,  
The Horse their expedition," &c.

But, of all the objects of interest in the Round, the recumbent figures of the Crusaders, on the floor, most eminently deserve and justify examination. These, in their neglected state, looked generally more like rude masses of worthless stone than anything else, the surface being extensively decayed—noses, fingers, swords, legs, and feet every here and there missing—all delicacy of workmanship, such as expression in the faces, or minute points of costume in the garb, apparently lost. It was found, indeed, that they were too far gone for restoration. A trial, however, was permitted to be made on one of them—the exceedingly graceful figure that is nearest to the central walk of the second pair on the right hand—and the sculptor, Mr. Richardson, set to work. The paint and whitewash, in places a quarter of an inch thick, were first removed by means of a finely-pointed tool (washes of a sufficiently powerful kind it was feared would be injurious to so decayed a surface), and the surface made clean; a chemical liquid was then forced into the stone to harden it, and, next, the restoring process begun. This consisted of two parts—filling up all the hollows (which were so numerous as to make the effigy appear like a honeycomb) with a composition exactly imitating the stone, and becoming immediately almost as hard; and, secondly, of supplying the missing limbs and members by the authority of those which remained, worked in the same material, and joined by the composition. Except in very urgent cases, the original surface, however decayed, was left untouched, and no restorations were made without absolute evidence that they *were* restorations; and yet the result is the very beautiful and noble effigies which once more grace the floor of the Temple Church in their pristine state; one only exception being made as to the coloured decorations in painting and gilding, which it was discovered by Mr. Richardson, in cleaning them, they had formerly borne, particularly those which had not been wrought in Purbeck marble: the effigy of William Marshal the younger seems to have been most rich in this respect; traces were found on it of a crimson surcoat, gilded armour, and of glass enamelling about the cushion.

Whilst upon this subject we may observe that other interesting discoveries of a similar kind were made during the restorations. Some of the corbel heads before referred to in the intervening archways of the aisles had *glass beads* for eyes; and only a week before the re-opening of the church a beautiful little seraph-like head was discovered at the corner of one of these archways (between the Round and the

southern aisle) which had been most delicately coloured: from the traces remaining, it could be discerned that the eyes had been blue, the lips tinged with vermilion, and the cheek with a flesh-colour, and that the graceful flowing hair had been gilded. How all this reminds one of the custom of the Greeks, even in the purest eras of art among them; and of the extraordinary length to which they carried this species of decoration in works which to our eyes seem so beautiful in their naked simplicity, that they could only be impaired by such additions. With them we find metal, precious stones, or imitations of precious stones, used for the eyes of their busts and statues, as well as glass; we find them also inlaying the lips. Different-coloured marbles were used in the same work, and compositions of metal formed to harmonise in hue with the feeling intended to be expressed by the sculptor. One of the most interesting examples of the latter is that mentioned by Plutarch, a statue of Jocasta, wife of Laius, king of Thebes, by the sculptor Silanion, in which the queen was represented dying. By an ingenious mixture of the metals of which it was formed, and, it is said, chiefly by the addition of silver, a pallid tone was produced, which greatly increased the intensity of the expression in the features. By similar means, no doubt, was produced the bronze statue of Cupid by Praxiteles, so much admired by Callistratus for its elegance of position, the arrangement of the hair, its smile, the fire in the eyes, and the vivid blush in the countenance; and the iron statue of Athamas at Delphi, mentioned by Pliny, which represented the king, sitting, after the murder of his son: this work, it appears, was not entirely of iron, for the artist Aristonidas, wishing to express the effect of confusion and remorse in the countenance of the king, used a mixture of iron and bronze, which should imitate in some measure the blush of shame. Seeing then that we have such high authorities for the coloured decorations of statues, and that these heads in the Temple Church *were* coloured, it may almost be doubted whether the restoring process should have stopped short of this point; that is, supposing there were sufficient materials to have restored it rightly. To return: the effigies, nine in number, lie four on each side of the central walk, in a double line, the ninth being farther off on the right against the wall in the aisle, and corresponding with the simply but elegantly carved stone coffin-lid in the opposite aisle. As far as it has been found possible to identify the effigies, five out of the nine are assigned as follows:—of the first pair on the right, the farthest figure is that of the great Protector Pembroke, whose statesman-like policy freed England from the foreigners whom the revolted barons had introduced in self-defence against John, and restored at the same time to the throne of the young Henry the allegiance of hearts that had been long alienated from it; the other and nearer figure by his side is one of Pembroke's sons, William Marshal the younger, who overthrew Llewellyn of Wales, and was one of John's hated opponents, a supporter of the Great Charter, although John's own son-in-law, having married his daughter. Henry III. followed his funeral to the grave here, and was so affected that he could not restrain his grief from being visible to all the bystanders. Of the second pair, the foremost is unknown, the other is the effigy of Gilbert Marshal, another of the Protector's sons, who died at a tournament which he had instituted, through a fall from a runaway horse. The figure still farther to the right, De Roos's, an exquisitely-beautiful piece of sculpture, refers also to one of the great men of the Charter. On the left, one only of the figures has been recognised, the foremost of the two nearest the western door, which is Geoffrey de Magnaville's, a grandson of the Norman follower of William who so distinguished himself at the battle of Hastings, and whose history was of no ordinary kind. During the civil war in the reign of Stephen, Magnaville, having deserted the cause of the latter, held the Tower for Maud, and was attacked there by



the citizens without success; but being taken prisoner at St. Albans, in 1443, was compelled to give it up with his other possessions. From that time De Magnaville seems to have grown tired of rapine and plunder on another's account (for much of the civil war at that time seems to have been little else than rapine and plunder), and to have determined to act entirely upon his own, respecting no party—treating the Church no better than the laity. One of his exploits was robbing Romsey Abbey of its consecrated vessels, among other valuables. He was killed by an arrow, which pierced his brain, as he was besieging the royal castle at Burwell, the archer's aim having been probably invited by his removing his helmet on account of the heat of the day. Of course he had been excommunicated for such deeds as that before mentioned, and in consequence no one dared to bury him in consecrated ground. The Templars, however, with whom no doubt he was connected as a kind of lay-brother and benefactor, wrapped his dead body in their habit, placed it in a leaden coffin, and then suspended it from one of the trees in their garden here. Some years after, absolution was obtained, and the body buried in the porch before the entrance doorway, and there two bodies were recently found, one of them no doubt his. Of the unknown figures, one very probably is the effigy of William Plantagenet, fifth son of Henry III., who was buried in the Temple Church. Those of the nine figures which have the legs crossed are, we need hardly mention, persons who had joined in the Crusades, or were under vows to do so. The whole form the most valuable series of examples of military costume that we possess from the days of Stephen to those of Henry III.

It has been said that the Round is deficient in colour, and there can be no doubt that in comparison with the chancel, or oblong part beyond, it is so; whether that be a defect or the reverse depends on which of two principles of art we favour; for it does not seem certain what the original arrangement of this matter was. The benchers had therefore the alternatives of raising the whole of the decorations up to such a point that, the moment the spectator entered, he should be surrounded by *all* the splendour that the church had to exhibit, thereby producing an instantaneous and powerful but not increasing effect,—or to conduct him from the sober realities of the outer world up to the gorgeous magnificence of the altar, through a succession of transitive stages: first, a doorway sculptured only; then a magnificent vestibule (the Round), where rich colours begin to appear, but still subordinate to the architecture; and finally, of the chief portion of the chancel itself, revelling in the most intimate and happy union of painting and architecture, and only less rich and glorious than the last compartment of the columnar vista. The second of these methods is the one which has been adopted by the Benchers; and if a *little* more colour could be added to the Round—the large spaces of blank wall rendered a little less conspicuously blank—we think that method the best one.

The period of the erection of the Temple Church was precisely that which offered the best opportunities for rich decoration. The Crusaders, however little they liked the Saracens, were much smitten with their magnificence; and every ship that returned brought no doubt fresh importations of Eastern taste, with probably materials of various kinds—as designs—to diffuse such taste in England, and possibly even Oriental artists themselves. The spectator, therefore, who has just advanced into the church and stands bewildered with the magical scene before him—all the old tales of childhood, with its fairy palaces and gardens of enchanted fruit, such as the 'Arabian Nights' opened into his heart once and for ever, crowding upon him—need not be surprised at the eastern character of the arabesques, which in many a flowery maze play over all the compartments of the roof, and entwine about its groinings down to the very capitals of the pillars which support them. These last, four in number on



each side, are, like the pillars of the Round, clustered, exceedingly elegant and stately-looking, and of a finely-veined dark (Purbeck) marble. A series of smaller clustered columns against the wall, and resting on the stone seat which extends along the base of the latter through the entire church, supports in a similar manner the roof of each aisle. The more conspicuous ornaments in the roof of the nave differ from those in the aisles: in the first we see in alternate compartments the Societies' emblems in small circles, the lamb on a red ground, and the horse on a blue; and in the second the two banners used by the Templars—one a flag, half white for their friends, and half black for their enemies, with the dreaded war-cry "Beauseant"—the other the Maltese-like cross: with these is interspersed a device used by them, copied from a seal belonging to the Temple now in the Museum, representing the Christian cross triumphing over the Saracenic crescent.

These remarks apply with equal force to the painted windows, those of the east end, over and at each side of the altar, being one blaze of gorgeous hues, and the window in the centre of the south side being equally conspicuous for the general chasteness of its design and the intense richness of the few masses of colour, which are confined to the figures of the angels playing ancient musical instruments, three in the central light, and one in each of the others. As to the chief of the eastern windows, the eye at first feels lost amidst what appears at some distance only a marvellous combination of the minutest possible pieces of glass of different hues; and, delighted with the harmony evolved from the combination, is content to be lost: but as we approach nearer, the whole resolves itself into a thousand beautiful designs; and at last we perceive standing out from the rest a long series of pictures illustrating all the more important acts and events in the life of Christ. Immediately beneath this window is the altar, where the arcade of small trefoil banded arches, and the fretted and canopied panels in the centre, the capitals of the pillars, and the elegantly-sculptured heads, are all richly gilded, yet without producing any sense of gaudiness or tasteless profusion. In the centre panel is a large cross, with the letters I. H. C., and surrounded by small golden stars on a ground of the heavenly tincture. The altar-table is covered with a crimson velvet cloth, sumptuously embroidered in gold. Everywhere, indeed, we meet with evidences of the untiring zeal and liberality which have directed all the recent operations. The very seats could furnish employment for an hour or two in the mere examination of the oak carvings so thickly strewed over them in the shape of heads, which are as remarkable for their variety as admirable for their expression, animals, flowers, fruit, and foliage. The designs are chiefly, if not entirely, from the casts in the late Mr. Cottenham's collection, taken by him from the original works in the chief cathedrals by means of what is technically called *squeezes*, that is, pressing with the hand a suitable plastic material—a kind of prepared clay—on the carving or sculpture to be copied, and which as it hardens becomes a mould for the cast.

On removing the organ from the central archway, it was found a difficult matter to decide upon a new and suitable position. At last a happy thought occurred to some one, which, after long discussion and consultation between the Benchers, aided by the advice of some of the most eminent architects, led to its being placed immediately behind the central window of the north side, in a chamber erected for it; the window itself stripped of its glass, and having an additional slender marble shaft added in the place of each dividing wall between the three lights, forming a very handsome open screen to the brilliantly-painted and gilded pipes behind, with their noble Gothic canopy. The organ has lately been reconstructed, in order to receive all the best modern improvements: when we add that it was previously distinguished as



one of the best instruments in England, our readers may judge of its quality now. It was built by the well-known Schmidt, who, when the Societies, in the reign of Charles II., determined to erect one of the best organs that could be obtained, offered himself in rivalry with Harris to undertake the work. The makers were both skilful, and so popular, that the Benchers, in despair of deciding satisfactorily to all parties, in that preliminary stage of the affair, made a very ingenious proposal that each should erect an organ in the Temple, and they would keep the best. This was done, and with such success by both, that the Benchers, unable to determine in favour of either, were at last obliged, in order to put an end to the contest, which excited the whole musical world in a most extraordinary degree, to confide the final judgment to Chief-Justice Jeffries, who chose Schmidt's organ. The other was subsequently divided, and part erected at St. Andrew's, Holborn; the remainder found its way to Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. The Temple choir consists of fourteen voices, six men's and eight boys': full cathedral service is performed.

Beneath the organ-chamber is a low vestry-room, where, among other memorials, is the bust of Lord Thurlow, buried in the vaults of the church, and the tablet erected by the Benchers to Goldsmith, who lies in the paved court adjoining to that side of the building which was till recently the burying-ground. In the triforium, or gallery surrounding the Rotunda, are the monuments formerly in the different parts of the church, chiefly of the period of Elizabeth and James. Among them is that of Plowden, the eminent lawyer, who was buried here, as was also Selden. On the side of the circular stairs, in the wall of the northern aisle, which leads to the triforium, is a small space hollowed out, not large enough for a man to lie down in at full length, with two slit holes as windows, overlooking respectively the two different portions of the church. This was the penitential hell of the Templars, and terrible have been the penances inflicted here, if we may judge from the record of one fact:—"Walter le Bachelor, grand preceptor of Ireland, was placed here in irons by the master, and left till he died: the corpse was then taken out at daybreak, and buried between the church and the adjoining hall." Descending again into the church, and throwing one last lingering look around, we notice the painted figures over the three archways, which represent respectively, beginning on the left, Henry I., contemporary with the foundation of the Order, with the black and white banner; Stephen (with the cross, for which in his reign they exchanged the said device; Henry II., in whose reign the Round was built, as you see by the model in his hand; Richard I., with a sword allusive to his exploits as the first of English monarchs who joined personally in the Crusades; John; and lastly, Henry III., holding a model of the entire church, the chancel having been added in his reign:—an interesting series of historical portraits in connection with the Knights Templars, but which, like the procession where Brutus's statue was not, suggests most by its (necessary) incompleteness. All are here that the Templars would have placed here: but not the less are we reminded of Edward I., and his pious visit to his mother's jewels in the Temple, which, by some peculiar mental process, ended in his carrying away ten thousand pounds from the Templars' coffers; or of Edward II., who, after long dallying between the desire to break up the Order for the sake of its possessions, and the consciousness of the monstrous wrong that desire involved, yielded to the temptations held out by the example of the King of France, and, on the 8th of January, 1308, caused the Templars throughout England suddenly to be arrested and imprisoned; and though the excessive barbarities of the French government, where actually thirty-six out of one batch of one hundred and forty prisoners perished under the torture, were not imitated here—no bonfires lighted for such wholesale

destruction as the burning of fifties at a time—yet it appears torture was resorted to in England to make the unhappy Templars confess the odious, absurd, and all but impossible crimes which Philip of France, the guiding spirit of the movement throughout Europe, had determined should be fastened upon them. With the exception of a chaplain and two serving men, the English members remained firm; and as Edward was not prepared to go the entire length of Philip, of killing them one way or another unless they did confess, a lucky discovery was made, which, to a certain extent, relieved all parties. The Templars had believed their master had the power of absolution: this it was now most carefully and dispassionately pointed out was a grievous heresy, as the master was a layman: did they wish to persevere in heresies? Oh, certainly not: the Templars were quite willing to abjure that as well as every other heresy. Great was the apparent joy of the church ministers who had the direction of the affair; one body after another publicly affirmed this declaration; and lo! the whole were reconciled to the Christian community. As to the charges on which they had been arrested and tortured, and their possessions seized, it was marvellous to see the utter forgetfulness on all sides: not so, however, as to the goodly possessions themselves. The Order was finally abolished in 1312, and the property in England directed to be transferred to the Hospitallers of St. John, to whom Edward did ultimately hand over some portion thereof, possibly about a twentieth. The site and building soon after fell into the hands of the students of law, whose successors have now, after a lapse of five centuries, shown so nobly their sense of the value of the building and the memories committed to their charge.

## INNS OF COURT.

### THE INNER AND MIDDLE TEMPLE.

ON the Continent of Europe, jurisprudence, and even municipal law, which among the continental nations is almost universally founded on the Roman civil law, is taught in the universities, among which Leyden, Heidelberg, and Jena have long been famed for the learning of their legal professors and teachers. In England, at a very early date, the science was taught in Inns of Court, situated in the metropolis, and in the immediate vicinity of the courts of law. Of these "hostels," one, called Johnson's Inn, is said to have been at Dowgate, another at Fewter's, or Fetter's Lane, and a third at Paternoster Row.

At these hostels the gentlemen of the law lived, or rather transacted business, and schools were opened for the purpose of reading and teaching the law; until at length, in 1346, being the twentieth year of Edward III., the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, to whom the forfeited estates of the rival brotherhood of the Templars had, after much entreaty, been granted by the Pope, demised the magnificent buildings, church, gardens, "and all the appurtenances that belonged to the Templars in London," to certain students of the common law, who are traditionally reported to have removed thither from a temporary residence in Thavie's Inn, in Holborn, in which part of the town the Knights Templars themselves had resided before the erection of their superb palaces on the Thames.

The new Inn of Court at the Temple was most fortunately placed; and, after its establishment, we hear no more of the ancient hostels, whose scholastic establishments had previously been suppressed by a proclamation of Henry III., enjoining the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London that they "forbid that any one should teach the laws there for the time to come." Thus pleasantly situated, as Fortescue



describes the Temple, "out of the City and the noise thereof, and in the suburbs of London; between the City of Westminster, the place of holding the King's court, and the City of London; for advantage of ready access to the one, and plenty of provisions in the other," the worthy "practisers" of the law lived in peace and quiet, occasionally displaying their erudition in the capacious intellects of our Cokes, Fitzherberts, and Seldens, and receiving into the bosom of their fraternity many noble scions of the haughtiest families of England, to whom they imparted their learning, encouraging them also to "dance, to sing, to play on instruments on the *ferial* days, and to study divinity on the *festival*, using such exercises as they did who were brought up in the King's court." In the course of a few years the number of students greatly increased; and Fortescue enumerates four Inns of Court, the same now existing, viz., the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, each containing two hundred members; and ten Inns of Chancery, only one of which, Clifford's Inn, remains to this day.

From the time that an influential body of lawyers thus acquired a respectable and elegant site for their Inn, they increased rapidly in number and importance, so that, although the Inn suffered greatly, during the short rebellion of Wat Tyler, from the attacks of the mob, who plundered the students and destroyed almost every book and record upon which they could lay hands, it was thought necessary to divide the Inn into two separate bodies, to be called the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, and the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, having separate halls, but making use of the same church, and holding their houses as tenants of the Knights Hospitallers until the general suppression of monasteries and monastic bodies by Henry VIII.; and after this event, of the crown by lease.

In the sixth year of James I. the whole of the buildings of the two Temples were granted by letters patent, bearing date at Westminster, the 13th day of August, to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Recorder of London, and others, the Benchers and Treasurers of the Inner and Middle Temple, "to have and to hold the said mansions, with the gardens, &c., unto them and their heirs and assigns for ever, for lodging, reception, and education of the professors and students of the laws of this realm;" and by virtue of these grants do these Inns of the Inner and Middle Temple still continue in the occupation and possession as an incorporated society of the "students and practisers of the laws of England."

From whatever point these beautiful Inns are viewed, the casual observer cannot but be struck by their elegance of appearance and the convenience of their site,—a convenience which increases daily from the immensity of business necessarily flowing in from the greatest and most opulent city in the world. The magnificence, external and internal, of the public buildings, and the commodious roomy chambers, attract his notice; but how much more interesting does the place appear to the man of taste and of education, in whose mind are raised up associations connected with the troubled lives and chequered fortunes of the first dignitaries of our country, and of the able bulwarks of its liberties, who have at length their earthly "abiding place" where once the haughty soldier's armed heel rang on the pavement, and the red cross was displayed on each resident's mantle. Perhaps he wanders into the garden, where knights, monks, benchers, and children have successively sauntered before him, have marched and countermarched, and, looking around, he feels inclined to believe that Elia might have been right when he asserted of his beloved haunt, that "it is, indeed, the most elegant spot in the metropolis." Its appearance has, however, no less altered since Elia's boyhood, than it had between that date and the seventeenth century.

The present Hall of the Inner Temple, which was built on the site of a more ancient structure, supposed by Dugdale, from the form of the windows, to be about the age of Edward III., is a fine room, but comparatively small. It is ornamented with emblematical paintings by Sir James Thornhill, and contains full-length portraits, in oil, of Littleton and his commentator, honest, imperious, malignant, incorruptible Coke.

In the Hall, dinner is prepared for the members of the Inn, every day during Term time; the Masters of the Bench dining on the *state*, or *dais*, and the Barristers and Students at long tables extending down the hall to the carved screen at the western end. Students keep twelve terms at the Inns of Court, before they are entitled to be called to the Bar, and they are required to dine in hall at least four times in each term. Graduates of either University are called upon keeping a smaller number of terms.

On the "grand days" the hall is graced not only by the attendance of a large number of the members of the Inner Temple, but occasionally by the presence of the Judges, who dine in succession with each of the four Inns of Court; and on these "grand days" extra commons are served out to the students who are keeping their terms at the Inn. When the room is well illuminated, the scene has an imposing effect. At the *state* sit the Judges of England, surrounded by many of the leading men in the profession, Masters in Chancery, Commissioners in Bankruptcy, equity and common-law lawyers, and occasionally the Attorney or Solicitor-General for the time being; and at the tables in the body of the hall sit the men who are to take their places, when they shall have "shuffled off this mortal coil," and shall be "no more than Tully or than Hyde." How many law dignitaries, *in prospectu*, sit unconscious of their future greatness at these long tables!—and how many more, who find that here the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong—that the highest talent is not all-powerful—that literature is regarded by the *wise* as an impediment to fortune—and that even the plodder can accomplish little unless he has "a connection!"

Crossing the lane which divides the Inner from the Middle Temple, the celebrated hall of the latter Inn presents itself to the view. Abutting on the garden towards the west, at the upper end of which the fountain throws up its small torrent the whole day, stands this famous hall, in which the lawyers had the honour of representing 'Twelfth Night,' probably for the first time; in which Eldon and Hardwicke have feasted, and Curran has "set the table in a roar." The Middle Temple Hall was commenced in the year 1562, and completed in 1572, in the treasurership of Edmund Plowden, the eminent jurist. The Society, by a subscription of all the members, erected the present beautiful building. Entering the hall by one of the doors beneath the music gallery, the *coup d'œil* which presents itself is truly magnificent. The emblazoned arms, the elaborate carvings, Vandyke's paintings, all contribute to render this hall worthy of a Society reckoning among its members the names of Somers, Hardwicke, Cowper, Thurlow, Dunning, Eldon, Blackstone, Stowell, Tenterden, Curran, and many other legal worthies.

Standing on the raised dais, or "state," let us view the hall from its western end. The carved screen and music-gallery at the eastern end, the armour and weapons of the Elizabethan era, which are almost hidden from the view on entering the hall, form from this position as beautiful an appearance as the pictures, stained glass, elevated dais, and massive furniture give to the room when seen from the screen: the strong oaken tables extend from end to end of the hall, the same tables at which the members dined in the sixteenth century, when the noble spirits, whose arms are now em-



blazoned on the walls and windows, with many more, their companions, gathered round them, some to speak of decisions by Coke, or Popham, or Bacon, some to laugh at some newly-reported anecdote of Will Shakspeare or Burbage, such as we find in the 'Templar's Diary,' preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. This diary appears to have been kept by a member of the Society of the Middle Temple, and extends from Christmas, 1601-2, to April 14, 1603-4. The diary contains the following entry :—

"Feb. 1601.—At our fest we had a play called 'Twelfth Night; or, What you will,' much like the comedy of errors, or 'Menechmis' in Plautus, but most like and near to that in Italian called 'Inganni.' A good practise in it to make the steward believe his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter, as from a lady, in generall termes telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gestures, inscribing his apparaile, &c.; and then when he came to practise, making him beleve they tooke him to be mad."

The editor of the Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare thus notices this entry in connection with the noble hall :—"There is something to our minds very precious in that memorial of Shakspeare which is preserved in the little Table-book of the Student of the Middle Temple: 'Feb. 2, 1601 [2]. At our feast we had a play called 'Twelfth Night; or, What you will.' What a scene do these few plain words call up before us! The Christmas festivities have lingered on till Candlemas. The Lord of Misrule has resigned his sceptre; the Fox and the Cat have been hunted round the hall; the Masters of the Revels have sung their songs; the drums are silent which lent their noisy chorus to the Marshal's proclamations; and Sir Francis Flatterer and Sir Randle Rackabite have passed into the ranks of ordinary men. But there is still a feast; and after the dinner a play; and that play Shakspeare's 'Twelfth Night.' And the actual roof under which the happy company of benchers, and barristers, and students first listened to that joyous and exhilarating play, full of the truest and most beautiful humanities, especially fitted for a season of cordial mirthfulness, is still standing; and we may walk into that stately hall and think,—Here Shakspeare's 'Twelfth Night' was acted in the Christmas of 1601; and here its exquisite poetry fell first upon the ear of some secluded scholar, and was to him as a fragrant flower blooming amidst the arid sands of his Bracton and his Fleta; and here its gentle satire upon the vain and the foolish penetrated into the natural heart of some grave and formal dispenser of justice, and made him look with tolerance, if not with sympathy, upon the mistakes of less grave and formal fellow-men; and here its ever-gushing spirit of enjoyment,—of fun without malice, of wit without grossness, of humor without extravagance,—taught the swaggering, roaring, overgrown boy, miscalled student, that there were higher sources of mirth than affrays in Fleet Street or drunkenness in Whitefriars. Venerable Hall of the Middle Temple, thou art to our eyes more stately and more to be admired since we looked upon that entry in the Table-book of John Manningham! The Globe has perished, and so has the Blackfriars. The works of the poet who made the names of these frail buildings immortal need no associations to recommend them; but it is yet pleasant to know that there is one locality remaining where a play of Shakspeare was listened to by his contemporaries; and that play, 'Twelfth Night.'"

#### LINCOLN'S INN.

LINCOLN'S INN, the next in importance to the Inner and Middle Temple, is situate on the west side of Chancery Lane, the "New Street" of Stow, and subsequently



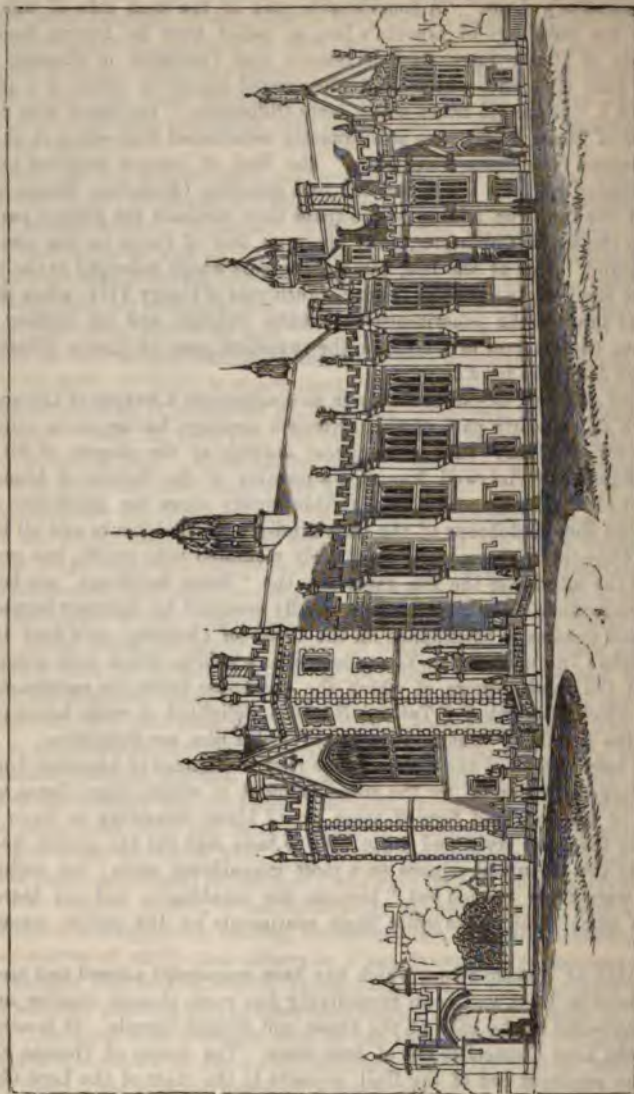
styled "Chancellor's Lane." A considerable part of the west side of this street is occupied by the buildings of Lincoln's Inn, so called from its having been the site of the palace of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, who died there in the year 1310, into whose hands the ground passed by virtue of a grant from King Edward I. "of the old friars' house *juxta* Oldbourne;" the friars here mentioned were a house of Black Friars, who subsequently established themselves in the quarter now denominated from them Blackfriars. The Earl of Lincoln assigned the ground formerly occupied by these friars, and his own mansion, Chichester House, to certain professors of the law, who, adding to the space thus obtained the greater part of that belonging to the see of Chichester, built there an Inn of Court for the study of the laws of England. Part of the Inn, namely, the part which belonged to the bishopric, was leased to the Society until the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII., when the Bishop of Chichester granted the inheritance to Francis Sulyard and his brother Eustace, both students, the survivor of whom, in the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth, sold the fee to the Benchers for £520.

The fine old gateway, or gatehouse tower, so conspicuous a feature of Chancery Lane, was the work of the early part of the sixteenth century, having been completed in the ninth year of Henry VIII., and almost entirely at the charge of Sir Thomas Lovell, the founder of Holywell Nunnery, a member of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and a knight of the Garter. The arms of this worthy adorn the gatehouse, on which are also placed the escutcheons of the Lacy family. The gatehouse and all the buildings facing Chancery Lane are now completely saturated with smoke, but some of the buildings in the interior of the Inn, especially the "Stone Buildings," are both handsome and commodious; the chambers are chiefly occupied by chancery barristers, conveyancers, and persons in attendance on the Court of Chancery, now held in the old hall of Lincoln's Inn and in the Vice Chancellor's courts, which now occupy nearly the whole of the small square, of which the gatehouse forms the eastern side. The gardens, in which Bickerstaff ('Tatler,' No. 100) delighted to walk, being privileged so to do by the Benchers "who had grown old" with him, are extensive.

From the terrace walk of the garden a fine view is obtained of Lincoln's Inn Square, one of the largest in Europe, for the embellishment of which Inigo Jones, who built the chapel of the Inn, had formed some grand ideas, intending to have built all the houses in the same style and taste, and to have laid out the garden and formed the inlets to this beautiful square on a most magnificent scale; but unfortunately his designs were never carried out, "because the inhabitants had not taste enough to be of the same mind, or to unite their sentiments for the public ornament and reputation."

The Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn, which has been repeatedly altered and modernised, was commenced in 1506, and is an exceedingly fine room, though smaller and by no means so handsome as the halls of the Inner and Middle Temple. It is used for the sittings of the Lord Chancellor out of term time. The statue of Thomas Erskine is placed at the southern end of the Hall, opposite to the chair of the Lord Chancellor.

Lincoln's Inn was never behind the Temple in its masques, revels, Christmasings; nor were the exercises of dancing and singing merely permitted at this Inn, but insisted on: for, by an order, made on the 6th of February, in the 7th of James I., it appears "that the under-barristers were by decimation *put out of commons, for example's sake*, because the whole Bar were offended by their not dancing on the Candlemas-day preceding, according to the ancient order of the Society, when the Judges were present," and a threat that if the like fault were repeated, they should be fined or disbarred.



Lincoln's Inn Hall and Library

The new Hall and Library of Lincoln's Inn were formally "inaugurated" on the 30th of October, 1846, to which ceremony her Majesty lent the honour of her presence, as she had done just a twelvemonth before to the similar one at the Royal Exchange. The exterior of the building is of red brick and stone, in the style of the early part of the sixteenth century. The woodcut will give a general notion of its character. Of the interior we shall speak in detail.

The vestibule, which is entered by the benchers' or east porch upon the terrace



possesses considerable architectural character, the octagonal compartment in the centre of it being carried up over the pillars and arches so as to form an additional story or clerestory, on each of whose sides is a handsome window enriched with painted glass, while the ribs and bosses of its vaulted ceiling are relieved by gilding. In addition to that proceeding from this lantern, light is obtained here by the spandrels or triangular compartments of the ceiling cut off by the octagon being glazed, and the corresponding spaces on the floor are paved with thick slabs of glass, by which means light is obtained down into the sub-hall beneath the vestibule, which lower vestibule is on the ground-floor, or that level with the terrace. Besides the four spandrel skylights in the angles of the centre division of the plan, there are two others of ground glass, viz., one in the ceiling of each of the end divisions of this entrance-hall. Taken altogether, this vestibule is pleasingly striking in effect, without its effect being disproportioned to that of the other apartments. The Drawing-room and Council-room, which very nearly resemble each other, have little else remarkable in point of architecture than their chimney-pieces and bay-windows, except their wainscoted ceilings, which, though only of deal *unpainted*, have the appearance of being of a very superior kind of wood, great depth of hue and lustre being imparted to it by some novel process or preparation. When entered at its upper end from the vestibule, in which direction the great south window comes immediately into view, the Hall produces an imposing effect. It is incontestably the finest apartment of the kind in the metropolis after Westminster Hall, greatly superior to those of any of the other Inns of Court, or even to that of Christ's Hospital, although the latter is somewhat larger. Neither does it yield to any of the most celebrated Halls at the Universities, or if it does in one or two particulars, it is far more complete as a whole. The fine open timber roof (after the fashion of those of Westminster Hall and Christ Church College, Oxford) would of itself alone confer an air of unusual magnificence on this spacious and lofty apartment, which magnificence is increased to splendour by the ends of the pendants being illuminated with colours and gilding, and from each of them hangs a chandelier similarly embellished. But the most striking effect as to colour is that which arises from the display of it in the windows, whose upper halves above their transoms are entirely filled in with heraldic emblazonments and devices, in such manner as to produce not only brilliancy but soberness also. The front of the gallery over the screen at the lower or south end is divided into five open arches, the piers between which form canopied tabernacle niches, in which are placed six statues by Mr. Thomas, the chief carver at the Houses of Parliament, representing Sir Matthew Hale, Archbishop Tillotson, Lord Mansfield, Lord Hardwicke, Bishop Warburton, and Sir William Grant. Over the northern entrance, from the vestibule, is the picture of 'Paul preaching before Felix,' by Hogarth, removed from the old Hall. After such array of architecture as is exhibited in this Hall, it may be supposed that the Library must show itself to some disadvantage, and so perhaps it would do were the transition from the one to the other immediate; but as the Library is at the opposite end of the vestibule, this last has again to be passed through before the Library can be reached, and on being entered it is far more likely greatly to surpass than at all to fall short of any previous idea or expectation. If less imposing for magnitude, it is, perhaps, even still more captivating, at any rate more original in character, than the Hall itself. Though the timber roof may be called plain in comparison with that of the Hall, it is sufficiently ornamental, and the two semi-octagonal oriels at the east and west ends, which extend the entire length of the room in that direction, from 80 feet, as it would otherwise be, to 90 feet, are of far more beautiful design, and more finished up than are



those of the Hall. Besides being enriched with some stained glass in the upper part of them, these windows are remarkable for the beautiful pattern of their glazing generally, which consists of small circular quarrels or panes and their interstices, and these being of embossed glass, a rich and sparkling effect of diapering is produced. On the north side of the room are eight other windows similarly glazed, viz., five in the gallery of the upper tier of book-cases, and three in the recesses between those below, the centre one of which is filled with the Royal Arms richly emblazoned, and this being immediately facing the door from the vestibule forms a splendid object on first entering. In addition to its purely architectural merits, the fittings up and furniture of this apartment give it an air of refined and luxurious comfort to which the Hall makes no pretence. From the library to the kitchen may seem a very abrupt transition, but the latter deserves mention: it is at the south end of the building, beneath the Hall, occupying the height both of the office basement within the raised terrace on which the structure stands, and of the upper basement or ground-floor level with the terrace. It is about 45 feet square, by 20 high, and has a vaulted ceiling supported by massive pillars and arches similar to those of a crypt. Without entering it, a full view may be obtained of this kitchen from a window in a lobby on the upper basement floor adjoining the sub-hall beneath the vestibule.

Sir Matthew Hale contributed a large collection of Manuscripts to the Library of this Society. The formation of this Library was begun in the reign of Henry VII.; and in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth the first building was erected, and the accumulation of books greatly forwarded by an order made in the sixth year of James I., "for the more speedy furnishing of the Library, every one that should thenceforth be called to the Bench in this Society should give *xxs.* toward the buying of bookes for the same Library; and every one thenceforth called to the bar *xliis. iiid.*: all which sums to be paid to Mr. Matthew Hadde, who, for the better ordering of the said Library, was then made master thereof." The Library is now greatly enlarged, and besides the valuable bequests of Sir Matthew Hale and other members of the Society, contains many thousands of volumes, principally on law and history, to which additions are continually made from the funds of the Society.

#### GRAY'S INN.

GRAY'S INN, the fourth Inn of Court in importance and in size, derives its name from the Lords Gray of Wilton, whose residence it originally was, and one of whom Edmund, Lord Gray of Wilton, in August, 1505, by indenture of bargain and sale, passed to Hugh Denny, Esq., his heirs and assigns, "the manor of Portpoole, otherwise called Gray's Inn, four messuages, four gardens, the site of a windmill, eight acres of land, ten shillings of free rent, and the advowson of the chantry of Portpoole." The parties into whose possession this property afterwards came, disposed of it to the prior and convent of East Sheen, in Surrey, a place celebrated for having been the nursery of Cardinal Pole and many other eminent ecclesiastics of the sixteenth century. The convent leased the mansion of Portpoole, as Gray's Inn was then frequently denominated, to certain students of the law, at the annual rent of £6 13s. 4d., at which rent they continued to hold them until the suppression of the ecclesiastical communities by Henry VIII., when they received a grant from the King, who seized these estates, together with the Temple and all other monastic property upon which he could lay his hands; and the Benchers of Gray's Inn were thenceforth entered in the King's books as the fee-farm tenants of the crown, paying

ually the same rent as was reserved by their former landlords, the monks of  
 en.

As Chancery Lane bounds Lincoln's Inn on the east, so does Gray's Inn Lane bound  
 y's Inn. The garden was first planted about the year 1600, at which period Mr.  
 ncis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam, in his account as treasurer of the Society,  
 its the Inn in the sum of £7 6s. 8d. for the planting of elm trees therein. Gray's  
 at present consists of two large squares, of which that which is entered imme-  
 tely from the Lane is the handsomer, but the recent restoration of the public  
 ildings of the Society has rendered the square very much more elegant than it  
 merly was. The Hall and Chapel separate these squares, and occupy the whole of  
 the south side of the larger; the former was built in Queen Mary's reign, and com-  
 eted in 1560, costing £863 10s. 8d.: it is a very handsome chamber, little inferior to  
 ddle Temple Hall, and its carved wainscot and timber roof render it much more  
 gnificent than the Inner Temple or old Lincoln's Inn Hall. Its windows also are  
 bly emblazoned with the armorial bearings of Burleigh, Lord Verulam, Sir  
 cholas Bacon, Jenkins, and others. The Chapel is of modern erection.

The internal economy and manners of this Inn seem to have been very similar to  
 it of the other Inns of Court at the same period: their masques and revels were  
 rticipated in by the men of Gray's Inn, as we find was the case in the famous  
 sque conducted by Whitelocke, and arranged at Ely Place.

The two most eminent members of whom Gray's Inn can boast are Francis Bacon,  
 rd Verulam, and Lord Burleigh, the celebrated minister of Queen Elizabeth. In  
 re recent times the name of Romilly has to be added.

In connection with the Inns of Court, and their associations and inhabitants, it will  
 proper to make some mention of the Inns of Chancery, formerly the nurseries of  
 great lawyers, but at present attached only by name to the parent Inns of Court.  
 these Inns of Chancery, the Inner Temple has three, Clement's, Clifford's, and  
 on's Inn; the Middle Temple, one, New Inn; Lincoln's Inn, two, Thavie's and  
 rnival's; and Gray's Inn, two, Barnard's and Staple's.

In the middle of the garden of Clement's Inn is a sundial, supported by a figure of  
 siderable merit, kneeling (a naked Moor or African), which was presented to the  
 iety by Lord Clare, by whom it was brought from Italy. The following verses are  
 d to have been found stuck upon this figure:—

“ In vain, poor sable son of woe,  
 Thou seek'st the tender tear;  
 From thee in vain with pangs they flow,  
 For mercy dwells not here.  
 From cannibals thou fled'st in vain,  
 Lawyers less quarter give:  
 The *first* won't eat you till you're dead,  
 The *last* will do't *alive*!”

The Inns, denominated “Sergeants' Inns,” one of which is in Chancery Lane, and  
 other in Fleet Street, are exclusively appropriated to gentlemen who have been  
 led to the degree of the coif: the Judges are always members of Sergeants' Inn,  
 d have official chambers in Rolls Garden, Chancery Lane, where a great deal of the  
 nor business of a suit at law is transacted.



## DOCTORS' COMMONS.

Among those mysterious places which one constantly hears of, without being able very clearly to understand, is that known by the scarcely less mysterious appellation of Doctors' Commons. We are aware that it is a locality which has a great deal to do with wills, and something with matrimony—that husbands, for instance, go there to get rid of unfaithful wives—wives of unfaithful or cruel husbands; and that, we believe, is about the extent of the general information on the subject. Many, no doubt, like ourselves, have thrown a passing glance into that well-known gateway in the south-western corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, with a vague sentiment of curiosity and expectation, and have added as little as we have to their slender stock of information by so doing: the most noticeable feature being the board affixed to the wall by the "Lodge," calling on strangers to "stop," and warning them against the blandishments of certain porters; whilst, as an amusing commentary, one of the said offenders is sure to come up to you with a delightful air of unconscious innocence to repeat the offence. But the desire to serve their fellow-creatures is evidently a passion with the porters of Doctors' Commons: there is nothing they are not prepared to do for you, even if it be to offer to relieve your failing sight by reading aloud the very warning in question. Well, we have no cause to answer or to institute, so are in no danger of being seduced into employing our volunteer guide's favourite proctor: but he shall lead us through these comparatively unknown regions. The word Lodge naturally makes us look for the edifice of which it is an appendage, and as we pass through the gateway a stately house, on the right of the small open square, presents itself, enclosed within lofty walls: but that, it appears, is the Dean of St. Paul's house. As we step into Carter Lane, we are reminded of the palace formerly standing here, called the Royal Wardrobe, and to which the widow of the Black Prince, the once "Fair Maid of Kent," was brought after the frightful scene in the Tower, in 1381, when the followers of Wat Tyler broke into it, murdered the chief men they found there, and treated her so rudely that she fell senseless; and here in the evening of the same day her son King Richard joined her. From Carter Lane a narrow passage leads us into Knight Rider Street, deriving its name from the circumstance, as our guide informs us, with a smile and a look which seem to express his wonder at his own learning, that the train of mounted knights used to pass through this street in the olden time on their way from the Tower to the tournaments in Smithfield. That fact having been duly impressed, he next points out to us the famous Heralds' College on Bennett's Hill; and, lastly, the inscription over a plain-looking building opposite, "the Prerogative Will Office"—one of the most interesting and important features of Doctors' Commons. Persons are passing rapidly in and out the narrow court, their bustle alone disturbing the marked quiet of the neighbourhood. At the end of the court we ascend a few steps and open a door. At first all seems hurry and confusion, or at least as if every one had a great deal of work to do, in a very insufficient space of time. Rapidly from the top to the bottom of the page run the fingers of the solicitors' clerks, as they turn over leaf after leaf of the bulky volumes they are examining at the desks in the centre, long practice having taught them to discover at a glance the object of their search; rapidly move to and fro those who are fetching from the shelves or carrying back to them the said volumes; rapidly glide the pens of the numerous copyists who are transcribing or making extracts from wills in all those



le boxes along the sides of the room. But as we begin to look a little more sely into the densely-packed occupants of the central space, we see persons ose air and manners exhibit a striking difference to those around them: there o misunderstanding that they are neither solicitors nor solicitors' clerks acting others, but parties whose own interests may be materially affected by the result their search.

When we consider the immense amount of business transacted in this Court, we d not wonder at the bustle that prevails in a place of such limited dimensions. As e law at present stands, if a person die possessed of property lying entirely within e diocese where he died, probate or proof of the will is made or administration taken t before the Bishop or Ordinary of that diocese; but if there were goods and chat- ls only to the amount of £5, except in the diocese of London, where the amount is 10, within any other diocese, and which is generally the case, then the jurisdiction lies (the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of the province, that is, either at York or at ectors' Commons—the latter, we need hardly say, being the Court of the Archbishop f Canterbury. The two Prerogative Courts therefore engross the great proportion of he business of this kind through the country; for although the Ecclesiastical Courts ave no power over the bequests of or succession to unmixed real property, if such ere left, cases of that nature seldom or never occur. And, as between the two pro- inces, not only is that of Canterbury much more important and extensive, but since he introduction of the funding system, and the extensive diffusion of such property, early all wills of importance belonging even to the province of York are also proved a Doctors' Commons, on account of the rule of the Bank of England to acknowledge o probates of wills but from thence.

The chief courts of Doctors' Commons are—the Court of Arches, which is the upreme ecclesiastical court of the whole province; the Prerogative Court, where all ontentions arising out of testamentary causes are tried; the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, which only differs from the other consistory courts throughout the ountry in its importance as including the metropolis in its sphere of operations; and he Court of Admiralty, which seems, at the first glance, oddly enough situated among uch neighbours. All these hold their sittings in the Common Hall of the College, owards which we now direct our steps. We have not far to go. Some fifty yards or o up the street, we pass through an unpretending-looking gateway, and find ourselves n a square, surrounded on three sides with good old handsome houses, each door earing the name of 'Dr.' — some one, names mostly familiar to the public in con- ection with the reports of trials in Doctors' Commons; whilst in front is the entrance o the Hall, which projects into the square from the left, forming a portion of its fourth ide. Without any architectural pretension, this is a handsome and exceedingly com- ortable court. The dark polished wainscot reaching so high up the walls, whilst above re the richly-embazoned coats of arms of all the Doctors for a century or two past; he picturesque dresses of the unengaged advocates in their scarlet and ermine, and of he proctors in their ermine and black, lounging about it; the peculiar arrangement f the business part of the Court, with its raised galleries on each side, for the op- posing advocates; the absence of prisoner's dock or jury-box—nay, even of a public, f which we do not see a solitary representative—altogether impress the stranger with a sense of agreeable novelty.

With the growth of the canon law there grew up also in connection with it a race f judges, commentators, and practitioners, at first distinct from the analogous body f persons belonging to the civil law, but gradually becoming even more closely con-

nected with them than the laws themselves, until at last there remained, in England at least, but one body, the existing Doctors of Civil Law, who alone have the right of practising as advocates of Doctors' Commons. The period of the junction of the students in both laws seems to be the Reformation; before that event degrees were as common in the canon as in the civil law, many persons indeed taking both; but in the 27th of Henry VIII. that monarch prohibited the University of Cambridge, and probably of Oxford also, from having lectures or granting degrees in the canon law. The practice of the supreme Ecclesiastical Courts must, therefore, have necessarily fallen into the hands of the doctors of civil law. The founder of what we now call Doctors' Commons was, according to Maitland, "Dr. Henry Harvey, doctor of the civil and canon law, and master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, a prebendary of Ely, and dean (or judge) of the Arches; a reverend, learned, and good man," who purchased a house here for the doctors to live in, in *common* together, hence the name. This house was burnt down in the Great Fire, and the present building erected on the site by the members. The doctors, we may observe, still dine together in a room adjoining the Court, on every court day. The admission of doctors to practise as advocates is a stately piece of ceremony, the new member being led up the Court by two senior advocates, with the mace borne in front, and there being much low bowing and reading of Latin speeches. The number of advocates at present, we believe, is twenty-six; the difference in the dress that we perceive among them marks them respectively as Cambridge and Oxford men. The proctors, who are in effect the solicitors of Doctors' Commons, are also admitted with ceremonials, and have to exhibit their attainments in a similar manner. Great pains are taken to ensure their respectability. When articulated, at or after the age of fourteen, they must present a certificate from the school-master as to their progress in classical learning; they are then articulated for seven years, and a considerable fee is given to the proctors, and as only the senior proctors are allowed to take such clerks, and to have but two at the same time, a considerable amount of experience and knowledge of the laws and customs of Doctors' Commons is ensured. Finally, they can only be admitted to practise as proctors by presenting a certificate signed by three advocates and three proctors, stating their fitness.









## XX. LAMBETH PALACE.

THE origin of Lambeth Palace, as stated by Matthew Paris, and in the words of his translator, Stowe, presents us with an extraordinary view of an eminent churchman of the thirteenth century.

"Boniface," saith Matthew Paris, "Archbishop of Canterbury, in his visitation came to this Priory [of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield], where, being received with procession in the most solemn wise, he said that he passed not upon the honour, but came to visit them. To whom the canons answered, that they, having a learned bishop, ought not, in contempt of him, to be visited by any other. Which answer so much offended the Archbishop, that he forthwith fell on the Sub-Prior, and smote him on the face, saying, Indeed, indeed! doth it become you English traitors so to answer me? Thus raging, with oaths not to be recited, he rent in pieces the rich cope of the Sub-Prior, and trod it under his feet, and thrust him against a pillar of the chancel with such violence that he had almost killed him. But the canons, seeing their Sub-Prior thus almost slain, came and plucked off the Archbishop with such force that they overthrew him backwards, whereby they might see *he was armed and prepared to fight*. The Archbishop's men, seeing their master down, being all strangers, and their master's countrymen, born at Provence, fell upon the canons, beat them, tore them, and trod them under foot. At length the canons getting away as well as they could, ran, bloody and miry, rent and torn, to the Bishop of London to complain: who bade them go to the King at Westminster, and tell him thereof. Whereupon four of them went thither; the rest were not able, they were so sore hurt. But when they came to Westminster the King would neither hear nor see them, so they returned without redress. In the mean season the whole city was in an uproar, and ready to have rung the common bell, and to have hewed the Archbishop into small pieces; who was secretly crept to Lambeth, where they sought him, and, not knowing him by sight, said to themselves, Where is that ruffian—that cruel smiter? He is no winner of souls, but an exacter of money, whom neither God nor any lawful or free election did bring to this promotion; but the King did unlawfully intrude him; being unlearned, a stranger born, and having a wife, &c. But the Archbishop conveyed himself over [to Westminster], and went to the King with a great complaint against the canons, whereas himself was guilty." So the Archbishop from Lambeth boldly issued a sentence of excommunication against his opposers, satisfied that the King would support him in his violent tyranny. Another tribunal, however, was appealed to which had no particular prepossession for the Archbishop—the Pope; who commanded him by way of expiation to build a splendid mansion at Lambeth for the occupants of the see, in the room of the humble manor-house that is supposed to have existed previously. Such was the origin of the first building erected at Lambeth expressly as the archiepiscopal seat. Of the history of the place prior to this period there are but few recorded facts. The first positive evidence we have on the subject refers to the eleventh century, when the manor was possessed by Goda, wife to Walter Earl of Mantes, and subsequently to Eustace Earl of Boulogne; and who was also sister to Edward the Confessor. This Eustace was one of the Normans who came over to visit Edward,



and who on his return, when within a mile of Dover, caused all his people to march in armed array through the town, and when there by their insolence so to exasperate the people of Dover that an affray took place, which ended in the death of nineteen of Eustace's attendants, and in his own hasty flight back towards the King at Gloucester. This little incident produced important consequences. The great Saxon Earl Godwin (Harold's father) defended the people of Dover from the vengeance meditated by the King, but in so doing brought on himself a sentence of banishment. Released from Godwin's control, Edward invited the Normans to his court in greater numbers than ever, and among them came William Duke of Normandy, the future conqueror of England, who then, it is said, obtained a promise of the crown after Edward's death, and who, at all events, it appears, from that time determined upon its acquisition. By this Earl of Boulogne the manor of Lambeth was bestowed on the see of Rochester: that nobleman reserving to himself the right of patronage to the church. After the Conquest William seized the manor and gave part of its lands to his brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, but afterwards restored the whole to its former owners. In 'Domesday Book' we find it referred to as the manor of St. Mary, or Lanchei; and the following particulars of its state at that time are there recorded:—"In demesne there are two carucates, and twelve villains, and twenty-six bordars, having four carucates. Here is a church, and nineteen burgesses in London, who pay a rent of thirty-six shillings; and here are three servants and sixteen acres of meadow-wood to feed three hogs," &c. During the reign of the Red King, some part of the revenues appear to have been appropriated to the maintenance of the monks of Rochester; in the charter of Gundulph, Bishop of that see, one thousand lampreys out of Lamhea (one of the old names for Lambeth) are assigned to their use; and his successor, Ernulph, ordained also that one salmon should be furnished to the convent, caught no doubt in the silvery waters of the Thames at Lambeth.

It was not until the reign of Richard I. that this manor of St. Mary's became the property and seat of the Archbishops of Canterbury; and the immediate cause of the change appears to have been, in some measure, the wish of the King to have the primate Baldwin near him. The latter consequently agreed with Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, in 1189, to exchange for a part of his court at Lambeth, on the Thames, the manor of Darent in Kent, with the church and chapel of Helles, and a sheep-walk, called Estmershe, in Olive or Cliff. Eight years later, by another exchange, the entire manor became the property of the Archbishops, with the exception of a small piece of land, on which the Bishops of Rochester erected a mansion for their use whenever they attended parliament. It was not till some time after this that Lambeth became more than an occasional residence of the primates of England. The cause was as follows:—

Hubert, the primate, jealous of the monks of Canterbury, and desirous to abridge their privileges, had determined to raise up against them a rival body, in the form of an establishment of canons regular, for whom he proceeded to erect a splendid edifice at Lambeth, with the approbation of the King, Richard I. This plan had originated with Archbishop Baldwin, who had intended to have reared his establishment at Hackington, near Canterbury. But as the monks of the latter place had successfully opposed this the first plan for their humiliation, so did they now bestir themselves to bring the second to a similar conclusion. There was one consideration in particular that appears to have strongly stimulated their zeal. The glory and the gain attached to the possession of the relics of St. Thomas à Becket were in danger;



ey had little doubt but that Hubert meant to remove them to the new establishment. They appealed to the Pope, Innocent III., who warmly supported them, and directed a bull to the Archbishop, in 1198, commanding him in a very imperious style to desist. "It is not fit," said he, "that any man should have any authority who does not reverence and obey the apostolic see." He then, in another bull, threatened the King for his contumacy in abetting Hubert; and, in a third mandate, declared he would not endure the least contempt of himself, or of God, whose place he held upon earth. "We will take care," he says, "so to punish both persons and deeds without distinction that oppose our measures, as to show our determination to proceed prudently, and in a royal manner." The *royalty* of this style strikes one rather more than its *prudence*; yet it achieved its object—the lion-hearted King and the rebellious Archbishop were both alarmed, and the rising edifice was at once destroyed. In disgust with this conclusion of the affair, the Archbishops thenceforward removed their chief residence from Canterbury to London. A more splendid house accordingly became desirable at Lambeth; and the brawl before referred to gave the Pope an admirable opportunity of imposing its erection on Boniface.

To enumerate merely in the driest manner all the important events that have taken place in Lambeth would inconveniently occupy our space, and to no useful purpose. Church councils of the highest interest in the history of their respective periods have been frequently held here; many of the most eminent prelates have been consecrated, amidst all the splendours of the old church ceremonies, in the ancient chapel; Kings and Queens, we were almost about to say, have been ordinary guests, frequent have been their visits: for instance, there are no less than fifteen of Elizabeth's to Whitgift recorded. We omit, therefore, any particular notice of those accidents which have ceased to have a general interest, and may thus devote more attention to the remainder. One of the most interesting of these connected with the early history of Lambeth was the sitting of the council, in 1100, with Archbishop Anselm as president, to consider the legality of the proposed marriage of King Henry I. with Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland; an important proposition, as being one of the first proofs of any value given by the Norman conquerors of their desire to amalgamate Saxons and Normans into an English people. The circumstances on which the council had to deliberate were as peculiar as they were interesting. Maude, or Matilda, was a descendant of the great Alfred, and, as he grew up, became an object of considerable rivalry among the Norman captains of Rufus. After the death of the latter, and the accession of Henry to the throne, he found a still nobler suitor at her feet—the King sought her as his wife. To his astonishment, however, she exhibited the most decided aversion to the match. The Saxons then appealed to her: "Oh, most noble and fair among women, if thou wilt, thou canst restore the ancient honour of England, and be a pledge of reconciliation and friendship; but if thou art obstinate in thy refusal the enmity between the two races will be everlasting, and the shedding of human blood know no end." She at last consented; and then the Normans interposed, who did not at all relish the idea of the equality between the races to which this match tended. They asserted that Maude was a nun, that she had worn the veil as the spouse of Christ, and therefore could now form no earthly alliance. Anselm, the kind and benevolent Archbishop, was much grieved to hear this, but at once declared that nothing could induce him to break so sacred a tie. He sent for her, however, possibly to Lambeth, to question her personally, when she denied the truth of the rumour. Her explanation gives us a melancholy proof of the treatment to which even high-born Saxon ladies were exposed. "I must confess," said she, "that I have sometimes appeared veiled; but

listen to the cause. In my first youth, when I was living under her care, my aunt, to save me, as she said, from the lust of the Normans, who attacked all females, was accustomed to throw a piece of black stuff over my head, and when I refused to cover myself with it she treated me very roughly. In her presence I wore that covering, but as soon as she was out of sight I threw it on the ground, and trampled it under my feet in childish anger." Anselm then summoned the council we have mentioned, before which Matilda repeated her statement, to the full satisfaction of the ecclesiastical authorities. Henry and she were married, and, although he was a most unfaithful husband, not the less did she think it her duty to be "a right loving and obedient wife." These qualities, added to her beautiful person, great charity, and her reputation as a lover of learning, confirmed the popularity which her Saxon blood had produced. Long after her death did the poor oppressed people speak with affectionate reverence of "Maude the Good." As we shall find a more convenient opportunity to notice the other historical memories of Lambeth Palace, let us now, as Pennant says, take our "accustomed walk" along the fine promenade which skirts the palace gardens, overshadowed with trees of the noblest growth (pity that it is so short!), towards the fine architectural group presented by the Palace Gateway and Lambeth Church.

Among the buildings enumerated in the steward's accounts of the palace, in the 15th year of Edward II., we find the "great gate" mentioned, which then admitted friends and repelled foes, in accordance with the double duties imposed upon those characteristic old piles. The present gateway, which for size and height has perhaps no existing rival, was rebuilt, about 1490, by Cardinal Morton. The groined roof is very fine, the different portions of which it is composed springing from four pillars, one in each corner. A low doorway on the right leads through the porter's lodge to a room, the original purpose of which there is little difficulty in discovering: three strong iron rings yet hang from the excessively thick walls, which have echoed with the sighs of hopeless prisoners, torn from their quiet firesides, and the company of those dear to them by the ties of nature and of love, to expiate the crime of daring to think for themselves. The ordinary tradition respecting this place is that it was used for the confinement of the prisoners for whom room could not be found in the prison of the Lollards' Tower. Another tradition refers to a name inscribed on the wall—*Grafton*—who, it is said, perished here. In the tower are the Record Room, the name of which explains its purpose; and the rooms occupied by the Archbishop's secretary for the transaction of the archiepiscopal business of that vast and magnificent system, the Established Church of England. Before quitting the gateway we must notice the group of poor people waiting without, and which reminds us of a custom that has continued unbroken (except perhaps during the Commonwealth) for many centuries down to the present time, a custom that one does not often see in London in these days—we refer to the dole of money, bread, and provisions, given three times a week to poor parishioners of Lambeth, ten different persons on each occasion, making in all thirty who enjoy the Archbishop's bounty. The amount of such bounty in former times was really astonishing. Archbishop Winchelsey, in the reign of Edward I., gave, besides the daily fragments of his house, "every Friday and Sunday, unto every beggar that came to his door, a loaf of bread of a farthing price, which no doubt was bigger than our penny loaf now (Stow says it was sufficient for his sustenance for the day); and there were usually such almsmen in time of dearth to the number of five thousand, but in a plentiful year four thousand, and seldom or never under, which amounted unto five hundred pounds a-year. Over and above all this, he used to give, every great festival-day, one hundred and fifty pence to so many poor people—to send



aily meat, drink, and bread unto such as by reason of age or sickness were not able to fetch alms at his gate—and to send money, meat, apparel, &c., to such as he thought wanted the same and were ashamed to beg. But of all other he was wont to take the rarest compassion upon those that by any misfortune were decayed, and had fallen from wealth to poor estate.”\* In Archbishop Parker’s regulations for the officers of his household we meet with a pleasant, because kind and thoughtful, provision for the comfort of those depending in a great measure upon his bounty. He gave particular orders, not only that there should be no purloining of meat from the tables, “but that it be put into the alms-tub, and the tub to be kept sweet and clean before it be used from time to time.” Custom has also established another small claim upon the bounty of the occupier of the palace. When Archbishop Tenison possessed the see a very near relation of his, who happened to be master of the Stationers’ Company, thought it a compliment to call at the palace in his stately barge, during the annual aquatic procession of the Lord Mayor from London to Westminster; and the Archbishop, in return, sent out a pint of wine for each liveryman, with new bread, old cheese, and plenty of strong ale, for the watermen and attendants. Next year the Stationers’ barge was found again stopping at Lambeth Stairs, and with a similar result; and from that time the thing has become a settled custom. The Company, in return for this hospitality, present to the Archbishop a copy of the several almanacs they publish.

Passing through the gateway we find ourselves in the outer court, with a fine old wall covered with ivy on our left, dividing the palace demesnes from the Thames and the favourite promenade we have mentioned, known as the “Bishop’s Walk;” the Water Tower (attached to which, and beyond, is the Lollards’ Tower) in front; and the great hall and the Manuscript Room on the right extending down to the gateway. Walking through a narrow pass around the base of the towers we perceive, by the difference of the style and the state in which they remain, that one is older than the other. The Water Tower is of brick, the Lollards’ of stone; the workmanship of the windows of the latter, too, appears in a great measure eaten away by time, although some portions of the ornaments of the beautiful niche that we perceive high up on its walls still seem as sharp and exquisite as ever; but the statue of Thomas à Becket which formerly adorned it is utterly gone. The exterior of the great hall presents to us the characteristics of a not very noble style—the style of the days of Charles II. The buttresses, large enough in their real dimensions, are frittered away in effect by the fantastic appearance of their white stone facing; and the roof does not derive any powerful attractions from the round balls which surmount the frieze,—a poor substitute for the fretted pinnacles of a more artistical period. The windows, however, are numerous and very fine; they are in all probability the restoration of an earlier structure: of this subject more presently. From the centre of the roof rises a lantern, evidently also of Charles’s time. The Manuscript Room has been built of late years, and rendered fire-proof for the better security of its valuable contents; among which may be mentioned the manuscript of ‘The Notable Wise Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers,’ translated from the French by Anthony Woodville, Earl of Rivers, in the reign of Edward IV. It is written in a fair regular hand, and has prefixed a fine illumination of the Earl presenting Caxton the printer to the King, in the presence of the Queen, the Duke of York, and a brilliant court. The ‘Dictes and Sayings’ was published by Caxton, with a preface in which he mentions a curious liberty he had taken with it, and which is interesting from the covert humour of the great printer.

\* Godwin’s ‘De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius.’



"I find," he writes, "that my said Lord hath left out certain and divers conclusions touching women; whereof I marvelled that my said Lord hath not writ on them, nor what hath moved him so to do, nor what cause he had at that time. But I suppose that some fair lady hath desired him to leave it out of his book; or else he was amorous on some noble lady, for whose love he would not set it in his book; or else, for the very affection, love, and good-will that he hath unto *all* ladies and gentlewomen, he thought that Socrates spared the sooth, and wrote of women more than truth; which I cannot think that so true a man, and so noble a philosopher as Socrates was, should. \* \* \* \* But I perceive that my said Lord knoweth verily that such defaults be not had nor found in the women born and dwelling in *these* parts nor regions of the world. \* \* \* \* I wot well, of whatsoever condition women be in Greece, the women of this country be right good, wise, pleasant, humble, discreet, sober, chaste, obedient to their husbands, true, secret, stedfast, ever busy and never idle, temperate in speaking, and virtuous in all their works;—*or at least should be so.*" Accordingly Caxton gathers up all the missing fragments, and publishes them together at the end of the book—a process not likely to decrease their effect. Among the other treasures of this room are a finely-blazoned missal, which belonged to Archbishop Chicheley, an illuminated 'Chronicle of St. Albans,' and a most splendid MS. on the 'Apocalypse of St. John,' with seventy-eight illuminations, rich beyond description in gold and brilliant colours. A curiosity of another kind is also preserved here,—the shell of a tortoise which was placed in the gardens of the palace by Laud in 1633, and lived there till 1753, when it was killed by the negligence of the gardener. Beneath the Manuscript Room is a gateway leading from the outer to the inner court, where we find, on the left, ranges of buildings extending round two sides of the square, and a lofty wall enclosing the remainder, over which, in front, appear the stables, and in the corner on the right the tower of the church. Following with our eye the course of the buildings we have mentioned, we perceive, first, the back or less ornamented side of the great hall, with a low but elegant modern porch leading into it, on the west, or the side parallel with the Thames; then the Guard Room beyond, with its curious but beautiful gable window; and lastly, the very splendid new buildings erected by Mr. Blore within the last few years, including the principal palace front, on the south. On a little green in the centre of the court is a kind of ornamental cross, supporting lamps; and here and there round the area the walls are overhung by lofty trees.

We may add to this general view of the appearance of the principal court or quadrangle, that between the buttresses on this side of the great hall are growing some small shoots of the fig-tree; these are all the remains of the trees planted by Cardinal Pole in the gardens of the palace, and one of which, when cut down about nine years ago, overspread the whole of the east end of the buildings then standing where the new buildings stand now. The trees were of the white Marseilles sort, and bore the most delicious fruit. It would be difficult to praise too highly the pure taste which reigns throughout these erections by Mr. Blore. To have built them in entire accordance with the remains of the old pile would have been impossible, for the very sufficient reason, that those remains, being erected at very different times, present very different styles. Yet an air of fine harmony pervades the entire palace, the best proof of the skill that has presided over the recent erections. The front, before which we are now standing, is irregular, embattled, with turret towers in the centre, mullioned windows on the left, and a fine oriel window on the right. The entrance-hall is a model of exquisite beauty. It is of great height and noble proportions. At the top of the staircase, with its elaborately-worked open balustrade, which ascends directly from the door, in the centre, a screen of three arches admits into the corridor running



away to the right and the left. Above the screen is a gallery,—its floor formed by the roof of the corridor,—overlooking the whole. The exquisitely-panelled walls on the ground round the staircase must not be overlooked. On the right the corridor leads to the principal private apartments of the new buildings; on the left, to the more ancient remains of the old. We shall, however, find it convenient to visit the latter by a different route. We recross the square, therefore, to the great hall.

It is very probable that the foundation-walls of this magnificent room were built by Boniface, for since his time we find no notice of its erection as an entirely new structure. It was repaired or refounded by Chicheley, and in the year 1570–71 the roof was covered with shingles by Archbishop Parker. During the Commonwealth Lambeth was granted to Scot and Hardyng, two of the Judges who sat on Charles's trial, and who, it is said, pulled down the noble hall, and sold the materials. On the Restoration Archbishop Juxon rebuilt it, as nearly as possible on the ancient model, and we have no doubt partly on the original walls. It cost him in all £10,500, and was not finished at his death; but so anxious was he in the matter, that he left the following direction in his will:—"If I happen to die before the hall at Lambeth be finished, my executors to be at the charge of finishing it according to the model made of it, if my successor shall give leave." On entering the hall, the first object that catches the eye is the lofty and beautiful painted window immediately opposite, full of interesting memorials collected from different parts of the old palace buildings that have been destroyed; in particular, a portrait of Chicheley, who, as we have said, repaired the hall, and erected a part of the palace which does less honour to his name—the Lollards' Tower. Juxon's arms here form a conspicuous object; and those of Philip of Spain, the husband of Mary, as a Knight of the Garter, are very brilliant and splendid: they are supposed to have been painted by order of Cardinal Pole, as a compliment to his royal mistress. From the window the eye roams along the great space comprised within those lofty walls, and then upwards to the roof, which is a most extraordinarily elaborate work, in some respects like the roof of the great hall of Eltham Palace; only that, in the latter, the series of broad semicircular arches, which more particularly characterise the pendant timber frame-work of Lambeth, are wanting. The lantern skylight is also peculiar to the latter. Oak, chestnut, and other woods, constitute the materials of the roof, which is covered with beautiful carvings, the effect of which, however, is lost from the great height. The dimensions of the hall are, in length, about ninety-three feet, breadth thirty-eight feet, and height above fifty. We need not, however, wonder at the size of this or similar halls, when we consider the magnificence of the feasts given in them,—the unbounded hospitality which rendered such vast places necessary. Let us look, for instance, at the list of the officers of Cranmer's household. It comprised a steward, treasurer, comptroller, gamators, clerk of the kitchen, caterer, clerk of the spicery, yeoman of the ewry, bakers, pantlers, yeoman of the horse, yeomen<sup>y</sup> ushers, butlers of wine and ale, larderers, squilleries, ushers of the hall, porter, ushers of the chamber, daily waiters in the great chamber, gentlemen ushers, yeomen of the chamber, carver, cup-bearer, groom of the chamber marshal, groom-usher, almoner, cooks, chandler, butchers, master of the horse, yeoman of the wardrobe, and harbingers. The state observed of course corresponded with such a retinue. There were generally three tables spread in the hall, and served at the same time, at the first of which sat the Archbishop, surrounded by peers of the realm, privy councillors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality; at the second, called the Almoner's table, sat the chaplains and all the other clerical guests below the rank of diocesan bishops and abbots; and at the third, or Steward's table, sat all the other gentlemen invited. The suffragan bishops by this arrangement sat at the second, or

Almoner's table; and it was noted as an especial aggravation of the ingratitude of Richard Thornden to Cranmer in conspiring against him, that the Archbishop had invited Thornden, his suffragan, to his own table. Shortly after the thorough establishment of the Church of England these suffragan, or rather assistant, bishops, were discontinued. Cardinal Pole had a patent from Philip and Mary to retain one hundred servants, so that we may judge that, in his hands, the magnificence and hospitality of Lambeth Palace had not degenerated. With an interesting passage descriptive of the order observed in dining here in Archbishop Parker's time, in the reign of Elizabeth, we dismiss this part of our subject. "In the daily eating this was the custom: the steward, with the servants that were gentlemen of the better rank, sat down at the tables in the hall on the right hand; and the almoner, with the clergy and the other servants, sat on the other side, where there was plenty of all sorts of provision, both for eating and drinking. The daily fragments thereof did suffice to fill the bellies of a great number of poor hungry people that waited at the gate; and so constant and unfailing was this provision at my Lord's table, that whosoever came in either at dinner or supper, being not above the degree of a knight, might here be entertained worthy of his quality, either at the steward's or almoner's table. And, moreover, it was the Archbishop's command to his servants, that all strangers should be received and treated with all manner of civility and respect, and that places at the table should be assigned them according to their dignity and quality, which redounded much to the praise and commendation of the Archbishop. The discourse and conversation at meals was void of all brawls and loud talking, and for the most part consisted in framing men's manners to religion, or to some other honest and befitting subject. There was a monitor of the hall; and if it happened that any spoke too loud, or concerning things less decent, it was presently hushed by one that cried Silence. The Archbishop loved hospitality, and no man showed it so much, or with better order, though he himself was very abstemious."

The hall now affords food and hospitality of another kind: it is used as the library of the palace. Along the walls on each side are projecting bookcases, containing some thirty or thirty-five thousand volumes, valuable chiefly for their works on controversial divinity, though not deficient of those belonging to general literature. Persons properly introduced are allowed to borrow from these extensive stores—a circumstance too honourable to the liberality of their owner to be overlooked. The history of this library is somewhat curious. It was formed by Archbishop Bancroft, who, dying in 1610, left "unto his successors the Archbishops of Canterbury for ever a great and famous library of books of divinity, and of many other sorts of learning." Security was to be given for its preservation to the see, by his successors, in failure of which the whole was to be given to Chelsea College, if erected within the next six years after his death (which it was not), and otherwise to the University of Cambridge. On the execution of Laud, in 1644, Selden, fearing for the preservation of the books in such troubled times (already they were in process of dispersion, having been first granted for the use of Dr. Wincocke, then given to Sion College, and many lent to private individuals), wisely suggested to the University to claim them, which it did with success in 1649. On the Restoration, Juxon demanded their return; but it was not until the time of his successor, Sheldon, who repeated the demand, that it was acceded to. An ordinance of parliament had then also to be obtained, to enforce the restoration of the books in private hands; among others, in the hands of John Thurloe and Hugh Peters. Bancroft's original gift was increased by donations, bequests, or purchases of the books of Abbot, Laud, Sheldon, Tenison, Secker, and Cornwallis, which are respectively known by their arms on the covers.



Between the little porch and the great hall is a kind of vestibule, with a staircase leading to the gallery and Guard Room. The gallery is modern, elegant, and admirably lighted by square lanterns in the ceiling, occurring at intervals along its course. The pictures are chiefly portraits of bishops, including those of Warren, by Gainsborough (unfinished); Burnet; Hough and Loyd, both of whom opposed themselves to the despotic acts of James II.; and Hoadly. The gallery also contains a portrait of the accomplished son of James I., Prince Henry, whose premature death so much excited the sensibilities of the English nation; another of Catherine Parr, most richly painted and gilded; and a picture, one of the most interesting in the collection, of Luther and his wife, supposed to be the work of Holbein. He has one arm round her neck, and with the hand of the other he holds one of her hands. The expression of the faces is very fine, and the whole so beautifully painted as to leave little doubt that it is attributed to the proper artist. At all events, we learn that it has always been treasured at the palace as a most valuable work. From the gallery a door leads us into one of the most interesting parts of the palace, the Guard Room, which is also one of the most beautiful chambers we have ever seen. It is very old, for we find it mentioned in the steward's accounts of the time of Henry VI.; and was a restoration of a former Guard Room. The arms kept here passed, by purchase, from one Archbishop to another. When our readers have gazed sufficiently long upon the fine proportions and most beautiful roof of this room, we would call their attention to the line of portraits extending round the walls, comprising an unbroken series of the Archbishops, from the time of Warham to that of Howley, the present Archbishop's predecessor, with portraits of one or two others of a still earlier date. What a host of associations rise to the mind as we look upon these suggestive memorials! There are few of our greatest historical events in which some or other of these men have not had an important share. Indeed, a very agreeable—and not remarkably incomplete—History of England would be composed by one who, walking round this room, should pour forth from the stores of an abundant knowledge all the thoughts and memories that the sight of these silent but most expressive portraits naturally produce. Our notices must be of a less ambitious character.

Among the Archbishops whose portraits are wanting in this valuable collection, here are some who must not be passed without notice. The famous Cardinal Langton, for instance, who extensively repaired the palace; and Sudbury, who was beheaded during the insurrection of Wat Tyler, under such peculiarly cruel circumstances, in the Tower: two days before, the insurgents had burned the furniture and all the records and books in the palace. One of the many interesting memories of the place is referred to the time of Archbishop Sudbury, when the most illustrious of our early Reformers, Wickliffe, himself appeared to defend his tenets within the precincts of Lambeth Palace. The following account is from his biographer, Lewis, whose authority was Walsingham. It must be premised that Wickliffe had previously been cited to St. Paul's, whither he went attended by the all-powerful John of Gaunt, his protector, of course to the very great dissatisfaction of the ecclesiastical authorities, among whom were some delegates from the Pope expressly commissioned to inquire into the matter. A new, and what was intended should be a more private council, was therefore held in the Archbishop's Chapel at Lambeth, before which Wickliffe appeared: "when not only the London citizens, but the mob, presumed to force themselves into the chapel, and to speak in Dr. Wickliffe's behalf, to the great terror of the delegates; and the Queen's mother sent Sir Lewis Clifford to them to forbid them to proceed to any definitive sentence:" with which message the delegates are said to have been much confounded. "As the reed of a wind shaken," says the

historian on whose authority this statement rests—Walsingham (*Hist. Angliæ*)—"their speech became as soft as oil, to the public loss of their own dignity, and the damage of the whole church. They were struck with such a dread that you would think them to be as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs." On this occasion Wickliffe delivered in writing an elaborate statement of his views, but which was so little satisfactory to the delegates that they commanded him to repeat no more such propositions either in the schools or his sermons. We shall, however, soon find the obnoxious "propositions" coming in a more multitudinous voice, and attacked by more terrible weapons than verbal condemnation. The earliest portrait the gallery contains is that of Arundel, whose brother was beheaded at the time he was himself banished by Richard II. "The tonsure of his hair," as an ecclesiastic, says Fuller, was alone the cause of "the keeping of his head." He returned with Bolingbroke, whom he crowned in Westminster Abbey. Archbishop Arundel has the bad reputation of being the first head of the church in England who brought in the argument of the fiery stake to aid the church in its endeavours to convince "heretics" of their heresy. The first victim was William Sawtre, priest of St. Osyth's, London; who, after a preliminary examination, having been adjudged to be a relapsed heretic, was delivered over to the secular power, in accordance with the provision of the famous law passed against such persons in the second year of Henry IV.'s reign. "The primate, Arundel, and six other bishops, assembled in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, arrayed in their pontifical robes, to perform the impressive preliminary ceremonial. Their victim was brought before them in his priestly attire, with the chalice for holding the host, and its paten or lid in his hands. As the Archbishop solemnly pronounced his degradation from the priestly order, he took from him these sacred insignia, and at the same time stripped him of his chasuble, or distinctive robe of the priesthood, made in imitation of the scarlet robe of mockery of the Saviour. His degradation from the office of deacon was in like manner effected by putting the New Testament in his hands, and then taking it from him, and depriving him of the stole or tippet worn about the neck in memory of the cord with which Christ was bound. He was next divested of the alb or surplice, and also of the maniple (otherwise called the fanon or fannel), a kind of scarf worn on the left wrist, to denote his degradation from the order of sub-deaconship: after that he surrendered, as acolyte, the candlestick, taper, and small pitcher called arceole; as exorcist, the book of exorcisms; as reader, the lexionary or book of daily lessons; and as sexton, the surplice of that office and key of the church-door. Finally, his priest's cap was removed from his head, the tonsure obliterated, and the cap of a layman put upon him. When he had thus been wholly divested of his clerical character, he was delivered over to the custody of the High Constable and Marshal of England, who were present to receive him, the primate finishing his task by pronouncing the formal recommendation to mercy with which the church was accustomed to veil, but only with a deeper horror, its deeds of blood. Sawtre was burned in Smithfield in the beginning of March, 1401, a vast multitude of people crowding to witness, with various, doubtless, but all with strong emotions, a spectacle then new in England." \* These men were "wise in their generation;" all this ceremony, senseless as it now appears to us, was undoubtedly calculated to deepen the impression made by the execution, which for a time appeared to have accomplished all the objects hoped from it. We have, however, only to look upon this neighbouring portrait of Arundel's successor, Chicheley, who is represented standing within a rich Gothic niche, to remember that within the next twenty years it was

\* 'Pictorial History of England,' Book V. p. 142.



found necessary to build new prisons, and to substitute prolonged imprisonment, whipping, and various other punishments, instead of the penalty of death, so numerous by that time were the heretics sentenced by the ecclesiastical courts. Then it was that the famous, or infamous, Lollards' Tower was built by Chicheley. Of the next five Archbishops, Stafford, Kemp, Bourchier, Morton, and Deane, there are no portraits, nor are there any circumstances connected with them requiring notice, except in the instance of Bourchier. During the period he held the see, Reginald Peacock, the learned, able, and moderate Bishop of Chichester, was summoned to Lambeth to answer to the truth of various false opinions attributed to him. Peacock was no Lollard; why then was he attacked? Simply because he wished the church to tolerate a latitude of opinion upon points that had been often acknowledged, even by the church, to be obscure, and in some respects incomprehensible. But this was sufficient to draw down upon his head the hatred and jealousy of the Establishment. On the day on which he was cited he appeared with his books at Lambeth Palace, before twenty-four learned doctors, who were to report the result to three auditors—William Waynfleet Bishop of Winchester, Chedworth Bishop of Lincoln, and Lowe of Rochester. He was convicted of heresy, and would have been burnt but for his abjuration of the opinions he had promulgated, which also took place at Lambeth, November 28, 1457. He was then sent to Canterbury, by way of penance, prior to the more public ceremonial that was to take place at Paul's Cross. There he read his abjuration before the Archbishop and others of the clergy, and thousands of spectators, delivering at the same time fourteen of his books to an attendant, who threw them into a fire lighted for the purpose. After all this, the unhappy man was left to die in prison. The finest picture in the whole collection is that of Warham, the prelate next in succession to Morton. It was painted by Holbein, and presented by him to Warham, with the addition of a portrait of Holbein's friend Erasmus. The most remarkable circumstance connected with the palace in this Archbishop's time is the confinement of Latimer in it, most probably for a very brief period, as the fact is mentioned without further particulars. The next portrait in point of time is that of the great Oxford martyr, Cranmer, who, on the 28th of May, 1533, first declared within these walls to the public the marriage of Anne Bullen and the King, and then confirmed it with his judicial and pastoral authority; and who, on the 17th of the same month, three years later, having "God alone before his eyes," pronounced in the same place that the marriage of Anne Bullen was, and always had been, utterly null and void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments which it was said were unknown at the time of the union, but had lately been confessed to him by the lady herself. Two days after, poor Anne Bullen went to the scaffold; and on the third day, her successor, Jane Seymour, to the royal bed.

In the interval between the confirmation and the annulling of this marriage, occurred another interesting but not, we should presume, very satisfactory event to Cranmer, who could not but be doubtful of the righteousness of the course he was pursuing. On the 13th of April, 1534, Sir Thomas More and the venerable Bishop Fisher were sent for from the Tower to attend the commissioners then sitting at Lambeth, to administer the oath of succession (which excluded the Princess Mary, the daughter of Queen Catherine, in favour of the heirs of Queen Anne Bullen) to the clergy and others of London who had not already sworn. Neither of these eminent men, it appears, objected so much to the ostensible object of the oath as to the doctrinal points involved in it, and Cranmer had endeavoured to save them by seeking permission to omit the latter. But he failed; and it is highly probable that Cranmer now sent for them in order to try once more to induce them



to save themselves by subscribing to the oath in its original state. Both again refused. The following little incident is recorded of Sir Thomas More on this occasion. A certain doctor of Croydon, who had made some difficulty before to the oath, now went up with the rest to be sworn. As he passed More, the latter, turning to Fisher, said, with a satirical smile, "He went to my Lord's buttery-hatch as he passed, and called for drink, and drank very familiarly, whether it were for gladness, or dryness, or that he was known to the Pontiff;"—a remark happily expressive of the doctor's forced endeavours to carry off, with an unconcerned air, what he was doing, and was ashamed of. In 1537 the archbishops and bishops held various meetings here to devise the composition of what has been styled the 'Bishops' Book;' but they were obliged to separate on account of the plague then raging at Lambeth, and which was so virulent that persons were dying at the palace gates. A circumstance that shows how sincerely Cranmer participated in the Reformation, although compelled by circumstances and his own weakness frequently to appear almost in the light of an opponent, is the residence of the eminent French Reformer, Bucer, at Lambeth, who had been invited from his native country by Cranmer. Another guest of the Archbishop's, the Earl of Cassilis, came under different auspices. He was taken prisoner in the defeat of the Scottish army at Solway Moss, in 1542, which was attended by such disgraceful circumstances that it broke their King (James's) heart. On reaching London Cassilis was sent to Lambeth Palace on his parole, where Cranmer busied himself with endeavours to turn him from the errors of Popery. The Archbishop succeeded, and it is stated by Bishop Burnet that he was afterwards a great promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. It would have been as well if Cranmer had made Cassilis an honest man as well as a Protestant. Among all those traitors to their native land who, bribed by English gold, were for years endeavouring to place the crown of Scotland upon the head of Henry VIII., Cassilis appears to have played the most conspicuous part. The next portrait that meets our eye reminds us that the religion of the country had again shifted. Cranmer's successor was Cardinal Pole, the man who had made Europe ring again with the murder of Sir Thomas More; who did not, however, return to England till some time after the great Protestant Archbishop had perished with his glorious companions at Oxford. He arrived in 1554, and, having presented himself at court, went in his barge to Lambeth; where soon after he summoned the bishops and inferior clergy then assembled in convocation in London to come to him and be absolved from their perjuries, heresies, and schisms. Lambeth Palace is said to have been completely furnished by Mary, at her own expense, for the reception of the Cardinal; and she still further honoured him by frequent visits. It is curious enough that they should both have died on one day. The portrait of Pole, though only a copy of one in the Barberini Palace, has great spirit and beauty. It represents him in the splendid dress usually worn by Cardinals. Fuller tells an interesting story of Pole's election to the Popedom:—"After the death of Paul III., he was, at midnight, in the Conclave, chosen to succeed him. Pole refused it, because he would not have his choice a deed of darkness, appearing therein not perfectly Italianised, in not taking preferment when tendered, and the Cardinals beheld his refusal as a deed of dulness. Next day, expecting a re-election, he found new mornings new minds; and Pole being reprobated, Julius III., his professed enemy, was chosen in his place." Next to him we have another Protestant bishop, Parker,—*"a parker indeed,"* exclaims the quaint writer from whom we have just been transcribing, *"careful to keep the fences and shut the gates of discipline*

against all such night stealers as would invade the same,"—whose portrait was, most probably, the work of Richard Lyne, an artist of great merit, whom the prelate retained in his establishment. Two engravers were also kept constantly employed by him, besides a number of the most learned and eminent men of his time, who were engaged in transcribing, collecting, and publishing some of the old historians,—as Matthew Paris, Asser, Walsingham, &c. The bible known as Parker's, or the Bishop's Bible, was translated under his auspices. He appears for some time to have been as great a favourite with Elizabeth as his predecessor had been with her sister. On his first promotion to the see she committed to his charge the deprived Roman Catholic Bishops Tonstal and Thirlby, whom Parker treated in a manner that must ever redound to his honour. He could appreciate their conscientious adherence to the old religion, when it came, as in their cases, in a mild and tolerant form, and was based upon extensive learning. Tonstal lived but about four months, and then was buried in the adjoining church, where, among other interesting memorials, are some of different Archbishops of the see interred therein. Thirlby was the prelate's guest for ten years: during all this time being treated with the greatest respect and attention. A contemporary writer, speaking of Tonstal, Thirlby, and Dr. Boxal, late secretary to Queen Mary, who was also a prisoner here, says, "All these had lodgings to themselves, with chambers for three men, and diet for them all in those lodgings; save only when they were called to the Archbishop's own table (when he dined, as the speech went abroad, out of his own private lodgings three days weekly, and then persons of the degree of knights and upwards came to him); fuel for their fire, and candle for their chambers; without any allowance for all this, either from the Queen or from themselves; saving at their death, he had from them some part of their libraries that they had there. Often had he others committed or commanded unto him from the Queen or Privy Council, to be entertained by him at his charge, as well of other nations, as home subjects; namely, the L . . . as a prisoner, and after, the L. H. Howard, the brother to the Duke of Norfolk. Those ever sat (but when they were with the Archbishop himself) at the steward's table, who had provision of diet answerable to their calling, and they had also fuel to their chambers." The body of Bishop Thirlby was accidentally discovered a few years ago, in opening a grave for the interment of Archbishop Cornwallis. It was wrapped in fine linen, moist, and had evidently been preserved in some species of pickle, which still retained its volatile smell, not unlike that of hartshorn; the face was perfect, the limbs flexible, the beard very long and beautifully white; the linen and woollen garments were all well preserved. Elizabeth was a frequent visitor of Parker, though there was one circumstance which must have always prevented the Archbishop from taking any pleasure in this mark of his royal mistress's favour. He was married, and Elizabeth disliked all such ties in connection with the clergy. So strong, indeed, was her feeling on this point, that she appears never to have recognised the Archbishop's lady as his lawful spouse. Although from the first "the Archbishop dissembled not his marriage," yet neither would Queen Elizabeth "dissemble her dislike of it. For whereas it pleased her often to come to his house in respect of her favour to him (that had been her mother's chaplain), being once above the rest greatly feasted, at her parting from thence, the Archbishop and his wife being together, she gave him very special thanks, with gracious and honourable terms; and then looking on his wife, 'And you,' saith she, 'madam I may not call you, and mistress I am ashamed to call you, so I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you.'"

\* Harrington's 'Brief View of the Church of England,' p. 3.



Grindall, who succeeded Parker, was less fortunate than the latter, because more tolerant, in his intimacy with the Queen. Persecution had taught him great truths. In the reign of Mary, long before he occupied the see, he had been compelled to exile himself from England, with Coverdale, Fox the martyrologist, and the great Scottish reformer Knox. Soon after his elevation by Elizabeth he ventured to recommend that milder measures should be used towards the Puritans; the consequence was his own suspension from the duties of his office till the last year of his life. Whitgift, the next Archbishop, was more obsequious and more intolerant; accordingly he had the honour of almost innumerable visits from the Virgin Queen, who stayed sometimes two or three days together. James I. showed him equal favour; his last visit took place on the 28th of February, 1604, when the prelate was dying. The King appears to have been greatly moved at the scene. He told the Archbishop he would pray to God for his life, and that if he could obtain it he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him. The Archbishop would have said something in reply, but his speech failed him; and though he made two or three attempts to write his thoughts, he could not,—the pen falling from his hand through the power of the disease that had seized him, which was paralysis. It is said that Whitgift's death was accelerated by his mortification at James's wholesale interference in the affairs of the church; mingled, perhaps, with considerations of a more personal nature. Whitgift, assisted by certain deputies of the University of Cambridge, had drawn up at Lambeth, in 1594, certain articles, denominated the 'Nine Articles of Lambeth,' of a high Calvinistic tone, which were sent down privately to the University, with a direction from the Archbishop to use them with discretion, as Elizabeth, then on the throne, would not have given her sanction to anything of the kind. On the 14th of the month preceding that in which Whitgift died, her successor, James, held his famous Conference at Hampton Court, when it was proposed to add the Nine Articles to the general established articles of religion. But James, who then for the first time heard of them, immediately declared against needlessly extending the book with such superfluous matter. Scarcely was the breath out of the Archbishop's body when Bancroft, the next possessor of the see, began to infuse his violent spirit into the affairs of the church. Three hundred ministers were silenced or deprived, in his primacy of six years. His death, and the elevation of Abbot to the vacant see, greatly improved the position of the Puritans, and they accordingly have treated the memory of the latter with much respect. "He was a man," says Clarendon, "of very morose manners and a very sour aspect, which in that time was called gravity." Hatred to Laud formed, it is said, no inconsiderable part of his motives for lenity towards the Nonconformist Puritans. During his time the commissioners for the trial of ecclesiastical causes sat frequently at Lambeth; and he complains bitterly of the cost it put him to. "I think it may be justified by my officers on oath that since I was Archbishop this thing alone has cost me out of my private estate one thousand pound and a half, and if I did say two thousand it were not much amiss, besides all my trouble of my servants, who neither directly nor indirectly gained five pounds by it in a whole year, but only travel and pains for their master's honour, and of that they had enough, my home being like a hostelry every Thursday in the term; and for my expenses no man giving so much as thanks."\* His portrait here is a fine picture, of great expression and brilliant colouring, bearing the date 1610. As James, toward the latter part of his reign, found himself, in spite of his (supposed) predilections for Calvinism, driven by politi-

\* Whitelock's 'Memorials.'



considerations to discourage that mode of faith, Abbot, the Calvinistic Archbishop, was out of favour, and was ultimately disgraced and suspended, whilst his rivals and allies—Laud, Neile, and others—were honoured and promoted at every opportunity. He stood, however, in the way of the former to the Archbishopric for many years. He died on the 4th of August, 1633. Laud writes in his Diary, "That very morning there came one to me, seriously, and that carried ability to perform it, and desired me to be a cardinal. I went presently to the King (Charles I.), and acquainted him both with the thing and the person." He determined, however, to be content with the primacy of England, to which he was appointed on the 19th of the following month. This is the most important and in every way interesting period in the history of Lambeth Palace; and it becomes still more interesting from the circumstance that from the Diary before mentioned we can, without quitting our ground, the palace, illustrate his momentous history in his own words:—

1633. Sep. 19.—I was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Lord made me able, &c. The day before, viz. Sep. 18, when I first went to Lambeth, my horse, horses, and men sunk to the bottom of the Thames in the ferry-boat, which was laden; but, I praise God for it, I lost neither man nor horse. 1637. Thursday.—I married James Duke of Lennox to the Lady Mary Villiers, the daughter of the Lord Duke of Buckingham: the marriage was in my chapel at Lambeth; the day very rainy; the King present. 1640. May 9.—A paper posted upon the Old Exchange, animating the citizens to sack my house upon the Monday following. May 11. Monday night.—At midnight my house was beset with 500 of these rascal routers. I had notice, and strengthened the house as well as I could; and God be thanked, I had no harm: I continued there full two hours. Since I have fortified my house as well as I can, I hope all may be safe. May 26. Thursday.—One of the chief, being taken, was hanged at Southwark, and *hanged* and quartered on Saturday morning following. 27. Tuesday.—Simon and Jude's Eve.—I went into my upper study to see some manuscripts which I was sending to Oxford. In that study hung my picture taken in my life; and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in parliament. God grant this be no omen!

Dec. 18. Friday.—I was accused by the House of Commons for high treason, without any particular charge laid against me; which they said should be prepared at a convenient time. I was presently committed to the gentleman usher; but was permitted to go in his company to my house at Lambeth, for a book or two to read in, such papers as pertained to my defence against the Scots. I stayed at Lambeth the evening to avoid the gaze of the people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. Psalms of the day (Ps. xciii. and xciv.) and chap. i. of Isaiah gave me great comfort, to make me worthy of it, and fit to receive it! As I went to my barge, hundreds of poor neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety and return to my house, which I bless God and them.

1642. Aug. 19.—A party of soldiers [went to Lambeth] to search for arms, and, under that pretence, broke open doors and committed other outrages. Nov. 24.—The soldiers broke open the chapel-door, and offered violence to the organ, but were prevented by their captain. 1643. May 1.—The chapel windows were defaced, and the steps torn up." Lastly. May 9.—All the Archbishop's goods and books were sold on, and even the very Diary, from which the preceding extracts have been transcribed, taken by force out of his pocket.

We need not follow his history further, as it so soon ended on the scaffold, whither his royal master was speedily to follow him. His portrait is by Vandyck; we need

hardly therefore say that it is a very fine one. Close to this picture is the portrait of Juxon, the prelate who attended Charles in his last moments, and received that mysterious communication conveyed in the word "Remember," which has so puzzled historians to understand. No unusual space exists between the two portraits; one would think, from merely looking at them, that no interruption had taken place. Yet what a momentous period had passed when Juxon received the appointment to the primacy in 1660—a period more thronged with great men and great events than any period of similar extent, whether in our own or in any other country! It was not probable that the men in power during that time should have much respect for Lambeth Palace, the late residence of him whose memory was linked in their minds with the atrocities of the Star Chamber. We have seen in Laud's Diary that it was occupied and defaced by troops, who, however, after all, did no very serious injury. By the Commonwealth Lambeth Palace was ordered to be used as a prison; and among the prisoners confined there were the Earls of Chesterfield and Derby; Sir Thomas Armstrong, afterwards executed for his participation in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; Dr. Allestry, an eminent divine; and Richard Lovelace, the poet. Sir George Berkeley, also, it is supposed, died here in confinement: his name is on the parish register. He was one of the party who so distinguished themselves in the defence of Basing House. Lambeth was put up to sale in 1648, and purchased with the manor for 7073*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* by Colonel Thomas Scot and Matthew Hardyng. The former was Cromwell's secretary of state, and had sat on the trial of Charles I., for which he was executed, after the Restoration, at Charing Cross, in 1660. During the period Lambeth was thus occupied the great hall was nearly destroyed, and the chapel used in its room. To restore the palace to its former splendour was the great object of Archbishop Juxon, on his appointment to the see at the Restoration; and although he lived scarcely three years afterwards, he had the satisfaction of seeing his wishes very nearly accomplished. In all, he expended nearly fifteen thousand pounds in this way. The remainder of the portraits which enrich the Guard Room are those of Sheldon; Sancroft, who was one of the seven prelates committed by James II. to the Tower; Tillotson, of whom a very characteristic circumstance is related—his study was over the old hall-door, from which he had peep-holes into the hall, court, &c., so that he could see every one who passed in or out of the palace; Tenison, who had the honour of a visit from Peter the Great to witness the ceremonies attending an ordination; Wake; Potter; Herring, whose portrait is by Hogarth; Hutton, by Hudson; Secker, by Reynolds; Cornwallis, by Dance, in whose time the palace had nearly been destroyed by a "No Popery" riot; Moore; Sutton; and Howley.

From the Guard Room there is a passage through some private apartments down to the vestry, in which is preserved a very splendid old chest, covered inside and out with figures and landscapes in relief, wonderfully elaborate. It is evidently a foreign work, said to be Chinese. From the vestry we pass into the chapel. This is probably of Boniface's original erection; for the walls and windows are evidently very ancient, though partially deprived of their character by the modern roof, and painted screen and furniture. The dimensions of the chapel are seventy-two feet in length, twenty-five in breadth, and thirty in height. The western window, like the eastern in its original state, which is shown in the accompanying view, consists of five lights set between deep and massive masonry. The screen, which is very elaborate, was, with the other internal decorations, added by Laud. It is a strange circumstance that all this beautiful timber-work of oak should be painted. Before the civil war there was very fine painted glass in the windows of the chapel, representing the whole history of man from the Creation to the Day of Judgment. The windows being divided into



three parts, those on the side contained the types in the Old Testament, and the middle portion the anti-type and verity in the New. Laud, on coming to Lambeth, found the windows "shameful to look on, all diversely patched, like a poor beggar's coat," and repaired them. This circumstance, it appears, was produced against him at his trial, his accusers alleging "that he did repair the story of those windows by their like in the Mass-book." The Archbishop, in denial, affirmed that he and his secretary had made out the story as well as they could by the remains that were unbroken. In the course of a few years these beautiful windows were all defaced by the Puritans. There was an organ in the chapel in Archbishop Parker's time, and in Laud's. The great memory of the chapel is its connection with Archbishop Parker, who was consecrated here, Miles Coverdale assisting, and who, dying, directed his remains to be buried in it. A friend wrote a very favourable epitaph whilst the primate was yet alive, and showed it to him. The Archbishop's reply was very happy. He could not, he said, assume the description of such a character to himself, but he would so make use of it as to attain as far as possible the good qualities and virtues it specified. In 1648 the monument with this inscription was taken away; for, Lambeth House then coming into the possession of Colonel Scot, he, wanting to turn the chapel into a hall or dancing-room, found this monument in his way, and so demolished it. Nor was that all. With the fanaticism which all the religious parties of the day exhibited in their conduct towards each other, Matthew Hardyng, a Puritan (and Archbishop Parker had been no friend to the Puritans), caused his body to be dug up, stripped of its leaden covering, which was sold, and the venerable remains to be buried in a dunghill, where they remained till after the Restoration. Sir William Dugdale had the honour of procuring their restoration. He heard of the matter accidentally, and immediately repaired to Archbishop Sancroft, by whose diligence, aided by an order from the House of Lords, the bones were found and again buried in the chapel. A stone, with the following inscription (translated from the Latin original), now marks the place: "The body of Matthew (Parker), Archbishop, here rests at last." Sancroft also caused the monument to be again erected to his memory, with a long inscription, in the part of the chapel divided from the rest by the screen. From the chapel we pass through a very fine and very ancient gateway into the Post Room. We do not anywhere find the idea thrown out that this gateway, with the large window above, now partly filled up, formed in all probability an exterior front to the chapel long before the building of the Lollards' Tower; yet such no doubt was the case. Of the origin or purpose of the Post Room, which derives its name from a stout pillar in the centre, we can gather no information from the local historians. It forms the lowest story of the Lollards' Tower; is it possible that it was intended for the personal punishment of the unfortunate heretics confined above? It is on record, as we have already seen, that the builder of the Tower, Chicheley, found during his time the impossibility of punishing heretics with death, and the inconvenience, and, as perhaps he thought, the inefficiency, of merely confining them; whipping and other severe and degrading punishments were consequently adopted. We fear that the Post Room was expressly set apart for this purpose. A low door in one corner originally led, we have been informed, to the crypt beneath, an exceedingly fine work, with groined roof, the whole size of the chapel. Upwards this door led by a stone staircase, now ruinous, to the gallery of the chapel, and across that into the staircase to the Lollards' prison. But the ordinary way to this room lies through a door on the opposite side of the Post Room. Entering through this door, we follow the winding track that many have gone before under



circumstances requiring the highest efforts of their minds to enable them to bear up under the inflictions that awaited them. The strength they sought, however, was given to them. These prison-walls have doubtless witnessed many an agonising effort to stun the voices of wives, children, friends, whispering to them of the relief that was to be purchased by apostasy; they have doubtless also witnessed the sublime victory that these gallant spirits have achieved. Could we know all the separate histories of the men whose handwriting lies on the wall of this strange-looking room, what glorious revelations into the dim but holy recesses of the human heart might not be given to us! There is one circumstance that must instantly arrest the attention of every one in the Lollards' prison: it is entirely boarded over—floor, ceiling, and walls. Could this have been done by Chicheley, who was not an unfeeling man when out of the performance of what he esteemed his duties, for the comfort of his prisoners; or was it necessary for their safety during the winter! In another respect this prison was far from being an unpleasant one, considered simply as a prison. The dash of falling oars into the water—the sighing of the wind in the tree-tops close to the window—the melody of the birds, who would sing as merrily for the heretics as for the orthodox Archbishop himself—must have materially lessened the horrors of captivity. A pleasing picture too rises to the mind's eye, as we contemplate the disposition of one of the rings—immediately under the principal window. The person who had that post might, no doubt, have been often heard telling his companions of what he saw passing on the river; noticing the splendid barges continually stopping at Westminster on the opposite shore, and speculating as to the names or objects of their owners. The feelings aroused by such narrations must have often been changed suddenly into an emotion of a deeper nature, as they saw the Archbishop or his messengers, in the episcopal barge, crossing towards Lambeth, with an order perhaps for the release of one of them, perhaps for his death. There are eight of these rings in all. The dimensions of the room are very small; about thirteen feet by twelve, and about eight high. The door within the stone walls is set in an immense framework of timber. There is another window besides that we have mentioned, which looks into the palace gardens. To these we now descend, and having paused awhile to admire the exquisite view of the palace thence obtained, finally quit, with no unnatural reluctance, this beautiful and deeply-interesting place.

## COLLEGE OF ARMS.

To Richard Champneys, Gloucester King of Arms, the English heralds are indebted for their charter of incorporation. At his instance, Richard III., by letters patent, dated March 2nd, 1483 (the first year of his reign), directed the incorporation of heralds, assigning for their habitation "one messuage with the appurtenances, in London, in the parish of All Saints, called Pulteney's Inn, or Cold Harbour, to the use of twelve, the most principal and approved of them for the time being, for ever, without compte or any other thing thereof to us or to our heirs to be given or paid."

This "messuage" received the name of Poulteney's Inn from Sir John Poulteney, who had been four times Lord Mayor of London, and who purchased and dwelt in it. He gave it to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. The earl of Arundel became possessed of it by marrying de Bohun's niece. In the year 1397, it belonged to John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon, who therein magnificently feasted his half-brother, Richard II. In the next year it passed to Edmond Langley, Earl of Cambridge, from whom it came to the crown. Henry IV., by his patent, dated March 18, 1410, granted it to his son Henry, Prince of Wales. Henry VI., in his 22nd year, conveyed it to John Holland, Duke of Exeter, whose son, Henry, being a Lancasterian, lost it by attainure of Parliament. Edward IV. kept it in his own hands; and at Richard III.'s accession it belonged to the crown, and, according to Stowe, was a "right fayre and stately house," when Richard gave it to Sir John Wroth or Wrythe, or Wriothesly, Garter King of Arms, in trust for the residence and assembling of heralds; and the College of Arms considering him as their founder, although Richard Champneys had perhaps a fairer claim to the title, adopted, with a change of colours, Sir John's armorial bearings for their official seal. King Henry VII., who invidiously subverted the establishments of his predecessors, dispossessed the heralds of their property in Cold Harbour. They removed to the Hospital of our Lady of Roncival, or Rounceval, at Charing Cross, where now stands Northumberland House. The heralds having no claim to it, they were only there upon sufferance of the crown; and in Edward VI.'s reign their revenues were so much diminished, that they petitioned for and obtained exemption from taxes. Soon afterwards, Derby or Stanley House, which had been first erected by Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby of that name, on St. Benet's Hill, having passed into the hands of Sir Richard Sackville by virtue of mortgage, was sold by him to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal. He instantly transferred it to the crown, and it was re-granted, by charter of Philip and Mary, to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter, and his associates in office, July 18th, 1555. In the Great Fire of London, 1666, Derby House was destroyed, and the present building was erected on the old site, after the design of Sir Christopher Wren, by the munificence of the nobility, assisted by the members of the College, particularly William Dugdale, at that time Norroy King of Arms, who built the north-west corner of the College at his own expense. Amongst the most interesting curiosities in the library are, the Warwick Roll, a series of figures of all the Earls of Warwick from the Conquest to the reign of Richard III., executed by Rous, the celebrated antiquary of Warwick, at the close of the fifteenth century, and a Tournament Roll of Henry VIII.'s time, in which that monarch is depicted in regal state, with all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious (mimic) war." A sword and dagger, said to have belonged to the unfortunate James, King of Scotland, who fell at Flodden



Field, are also in the possession of the Officers of Arms; a legitimate trophy of the illustrious House of Howard, whose Bend Argent received the honourable augmentation of the Scottish Lion, in testimony of the prowess displayed by the gallant Surrey, who commanded the English forces on that memorable occasion. There is nothing worthy of much remark in the edifice itself, which is composed of brick, and has rather a gloomy appearance.

Passing through the gateway upon St. Benet's Hill, the hollow arch of which is esteemed a curiosity, you find yourself in a square paved court-yard, on the north side of which is the principal entrance, approached by a flight of stone steps, and opening directly into the Grand Hall, in which the Court of Chivalry was formerly held. On the right hand is the old library, from which a door opens into the new fire-proof room aforesaid. On the left, a broad staircase conducts you to the apartments of several of the Officers of Arms. In the Grand Hall above-mentioned, and facing the entrance, is the judicial seat of the Earl Marshal, surrounded by a balustrade: but "the chair is empty, and the sword unswayed." The Court of Chivalry is numbered amongst the things that were, and "le nouveau riche" may now sport his carriage emblazoned all over with the bearings of half the noble families of England, without the fear of the Earl Marshal before his eyes, or of the degrading process of having his unjustly assumed lions or wyverns publicly painted out by some indignant herald. On the south side of the quadrangle is a paved terrace, on the wall of which are seen two escutcheons, one bearing the arms (and legs) of Man, and the other the Eagle's claw, both ensigns of the House of Stanley. They have been supposed to be relics of the original mansion, but are not ancient, and have been put up merely to mark the site of Old Derby House.

Of the practice of the *Curia Militaris*, or Court of the Earl Marshal, in the early centuries, no satisfactory documents have reached us: "though it may be presumed," says Dallaway, "that precedents of it were followed as scrupulously as the memory of man or oral tradition could warrant."

It was usually held within the verge of the Royal Court by the High Constable and Earl Marshal, who called to their assistance as many of their peers as they thought expedient; and the processes were conducted by the heralds, doctors in civic law, who were assessors by commission, and their inferior officers. Appeals were sometimes made to the Court of King's Bench, which, in course of time, were the cause of its virtual, though not of its actual, abolition. Henry V. gave the title of Garter King of Arms to William Bruges or Brydges, and with it the precedence of all others; and since that period Garter has been always principal officer of arms. In 1419 the same sovereign issued an edict, directed to the sheriff of each county, to summon all persons bearing arms to prove and establish their right to them. Many claims examined in consequence of this inquiry were referred to heralds as commissioners; but the first regular chapter held by them in a collegiate capacity is said to have been at the siege of Rouen, in 1420. The outlines of a code of laws and observances were then formed and approved of, and this being the first general notification of the institute of their appointment and legislation as officers of the king, not merely personal servants, but public functionaries, it has been held by collectors of heraldic documents as a most valuable record. On their ultimate incorporation by royal charter, in the reign of Richard III., they began with more authority and effect to execute their office, dividing England into two districts as north and south of Trent. To Clarencieux King of Arms was assigned the jurisdiction of the southern provinces, and to Norroy (or North King) those of the North. Over all presided Garter principal King of Arms.



One of the most useful employments of the heralds was the registering or recording of the gentry allowed to bear arms throughout the kingdom. "A period must arrive," says Dallaway, "when the immediate inheritors of honours and estates being no more, collateral claimants have to be sought, according to the tenures and injunctions of the original possession. In the lapse of years and the confusion of events such relations become obscure; and, without a regular and impartial record, where could satisfactory proof be obtained? An attention therefore to genealogical inquiries of such obvious utility was the chief employment of the heralds after their incorporation; and though they found precedents and authorities of their own privileges very serviceable to themselves, the advantages to be derived from their institution were evidently those which result from the confidence with which the public resorted to their archives and were determined by their reports." That such investigations might be as general and extensive as possible, a visitation of each county was decreed by the Earl Marshal, and confirmed by a warrant under the privy seal, and a plan was formed by which the intention might be best answered. The most ancient visitation of which any account is recorded is one made by Norroy King of Arms *emp.* Henry IV., A.D. 1412, and preserved in the Harleian Lib., 66 C. Of those who were delegated to the exercise of this function the most celebrated are "the learned Camden," Elias Ashmole, Sir Edward Byshe, William Dugdale, Augustus Vincent, and Robert Glover; and whoever compares these accumulated labours with each other will find a wide difference in the ability and industry of the several compilers. Of the essential consequence of incorruptible truth in the detail of genealogies thus compiled and registered, as supported by the strongest evidence, the final decision which was given by them in all cases of claims either to hereditary honours or property sufficiently evinces. The heralds were at that period invested with authority equivalent to the duty in which they were engaged, and were assisted in the performance of it by general consent, not only of the higher ranks, but of those who were eager to avail themselves of armorial distinctions.

The Officers of Arms appear to have availed themselves, as far as possible, of the fund of genealogical knowledge which had been collected in various monasteries, when these records were dispersed at the dissolution. "It is probable," says Dallaway, "that by them the ordinance of parochial registers was suggested to Cromwell Lord Essex, the Vicar General, who, in 1536, caused his mandate to be circulated for that purpose;" and there can be little doubt that, but for the disinclination of government to throw the patronage into the hands of an independent hereditary officer like the Earl Marshal, the general registration of births and deaths would have had its headquarters on St. Benet's Hill, instead of in Somerset House.

Another service of great trust and high consideration, belonging of ancient right to the Officers of Arms, was the bearing of letters and messages to sovereign princes and persons in authority. Legh, quoting "Upton's own words" (the earliest writer extant on the science of heraldry), says, "It is necessary that all estates should have courours, as suer messengers, for the expedition of their businesse, whose office is to passe and repasse on foote \* \* \* \* theis are knights in their offices, but not nobles, and are called Knightes caligate of Armes, because they weare startuppes (a sort of bootstocking) to the middle-leg. Theis when they have behaved themselves wisely and served worshipfully in this roome ye space of vii yeres: then were they sett on horsebacke, and called *Chivalers of Armes*" (or Knight Riders), "for that they rodd on their souveraignes messages." This honourable and important service has in modern times been transferred from the Officers of Arms to certain persons appointed by the Secretary of State, and termed King's (or, as now, Queen's) Messengers; and the

Knight *Rider* is no longer remembered by the present generation, who pass down "Knight Rider Street," within sight of the College, in utter ignorance of the origin of its appellation.

After an investigation of the claims and privileges of the College before the Star Chamber, in 1622, James the First issued a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, by which all former privileges were absolutely renewed and confirmed, and the peculiar jurisdiction of his court was duly recognised and published. The College of Arms then consisted of thirteen regular officers, being reduced to that number, as they continue to the present day.

*Kings.*

Garret, Principal.  
Clarencieux.  
Norroy.

*Heralds.*

Lancaster.  
Somerset.  
Richmond.  
Windsor.  
York.  
Chester.

*Pursuivants.*

Rouge Croix.  
Blue Mantle.  
Porteuillis.  
Rouge Dragon.

These now hold their places by patent under the Great Seal, by appointment of the Earl Marshal. The order of their succession is solely at his disposal, and the last-appointed officer takes the title but not the rank of his predecessor.





BILLINGSWATE



COAL EXCHANGE



CORN EXCHANGE

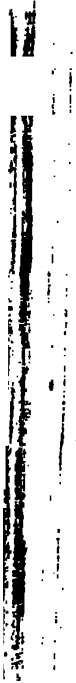


UPPER POOL

KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XXI. THE PORT OF LONDON.





## XXI. THE PORT OF LONDON.

Nothing is more marvellous in our land than the Port of London. The broad and busy and deeply-laden Thames; the noble bridge and its vast traffic; that triumph over impossibilities, the Thames Tunnel; the piers and the steamboat traffic; the closely-packed and widely-extended ranks of coal ships; the trading vessels, from the clumsy Dutch eel-boat to the majestic East Indiaman; the quays and wharfs, the warehouses and granaries, with their millions' worth of produce from every corner of the globe; the docks, with their stores of goods and ships; the Custom House, governing with an almost regal authority over all that is passing—these form, collectively, the grandest commercial picture which our country presents. Liverpool alone, of all other sea-ports, makes even an approach to it in magnitude.

London Bridge is one of the noblest structures of the kind which the world presents. We shall have to give a particular notice of its construction and history.

Let the Frenchman enter London at this point, in his course from Boulogne and Folkestone; or the German from Ostend and Dover—let him stand for a while on the bridge and look around. We know not any spot better fitted to give a due idea of the characteristics of the English nation. The never-ending stream of traffic over the bridge; the shoals of passengers bound to and from the fraternity of railways, whose station is near the foot of the bridge; the omnibuses—to be reckoned, not by the dozen or score, but by the hundred or gross—which connect the City with the belt of villages around the southern margin of the metropolis; the other stream of omnibuses which link the railway station with the east, west, and north of the metropolis; the cabs which thread their way, rattling and business-like, between the larger vehicles; the ponderous waggons, laden with wool, grain, malt, hops, and other commodities, which are, throughout the day, arriving from the granaries and warehouses of Bermondsey and Rotherhithe: these form the land view, north and south. Let him then glance westward, up the river; there are the wharfs and warehouses, as far as the eye can reach, lining both shores; there are barges, with their never-ending loads of coal and corn, of timber and other commodities; and there are the steamers—from the halfpenny 'Bee' to the shilling 'Locomotive'—carrying their crowds of upper passengers. Lastly, let the foreigner direct his glance eastward, to the 'Pool' and the Port; and let him, if he can, unravel the maze which presents itself to his eye. The broad Thames becomes a mere dribble, a thread of white in a broad margin of black: it is so blocked up with shipping on either side, that the central clear venue becomes every year narrower and narrower. Glancing to the left, there are the wharfs for steamers near the bridge; the lofty warehouses immediately beyond these wharfs; the network of rigging and slender masts belonging to the Billingsgate sh-vessels; the broad esplanade of the Custom House, backed by the fine building itself; the venerable quadrangular mass of the White Tower, which has during so many centuries been a conspicuous landmark; and beyond all these the forest of masts which marks the region of the St. Katherine's and the London Docks. To the right the scene is less diversified; for the Bermondsey and Rotherhithe shore, from London Bridge to the Thames Tunnel, presents one unbroken chain of warehouses, wharfs, and quays, fronted by coasting and foreign vessels of every class, and sur-

rounded with appendages of a more exclusively commercial character than any other part of the Port of London.

Transferring our attention next to what is passing on the bosom of the busy river, we have to notice the ships and the seamen who navigate them.

The number of vessels and of seamen engaged in the maritime commerce of this country are truly remarkable. It is estimated that there are not less than 200,000 British subjects belonging to the mercantile marine. The merchant-vessels belonging to the British Empire are about 34,000, with an aggregate tonnage of more than 4,000,000 tons, and a complement of about 230,000 men; the excess of this last number over the number before given being made up of foreigners employed in British ships. Our merchant-vessels increase in number at the rate of 600 to 700 per annum. It has been estimated that the British merchant-ships now existing are worth £38,000,000; that upwards of £10,000,000 is spent annually in building, repairing, and outfitting these ships; that nearly £10,000,000 more goes in payment of wages and provisions for the seamen who navigate them; and that about £28,000,000 is received annually by the shipowners for freight. These are, indeed, astounding sums, such as no other country could parallel! The vessels, British and foreign, which enter and leave our various ports in a year, are about 35,000 in number, with a tonnage of 6,500,000 tons, and crews amounting to 350,000 men; by these vessels merchandise is exported and imported to the value of £75,000,000 in a year! Our steam-vessels amount in number to about 1200, with nearly 100,000 horse-power. A little arithmetic has enabled an ingenious writer to show that these steamers, if extended in a line end to end, would exactly reach from Dover to Calais across the British Channel: we thank him for the illustration; for it is in this way that large numbers are best brought home to familiar apprehension. About 8000 voyages are made in a year, from and to British ports, by steam-vessels carrying cargoes, wholly in the foreign trade; this number does not include coasting-steamers, river-steamers, or passenger ocean-steamers. Of the 8000 voyages, 6500 are made by British steamers.

But it is with the Thames and the Port of London that we have here to do; the preceding items are given merely to show the *ratio* which the Thames trade bears to the whole British trade. This ratio is about 1 to 4; that is, about one-fourth of the whole British shipping-trade is conducted in the Port of London—so far as regards trade with foreign countries. About 9000 vessels enter the Thames annually from foreign ports, equivalent to 25 in a day; and they have an aggregate burden of about 2,000,000 tons. London has about 300 steamers engaged in foreign trade, and many of these are so large, that the whole present an average tonnage of more than 320 tons. Of the 8000 steam voyages made in a year between British and foreign ports, more than 2000 are made to or from London.

Of the merchant ships which trade between London and foreign ports, those connected with the ports of Germany, Russia, France, and Holland bear a very near relation to each other; the numbers in 1847 having been respectively 1110, 1033, 1018, and 874: in this enumeration, Prussia is included in Germany. All other countries take a far lower rank. The *tonnage* to and from Russia exceeds that in relation to any other country, on account of the size of the vessels and the bulk of the cargoes.

Another very important part of our maritime commerce is connected with the *coasting-trade*. This trade, as the name designates, is simply from one port to another, within the United Kingdom. The vessels which conduct this trade have a peculiar build, and are smaller than those which have to cross the seas in foreign trade. The coasting-trade from the Scotch ports to London used to be carried on in *smacks*; but



the smacks are now almost superseded by *clippers*. These clippers are schooners from 100 to 190 tons burden, with sharp bows, flat bottoms, and considerable length in proportion to their breadth of beam; they are navigated by crews of from seven to ten men each, and carry goods almost exclusively; for the fine steamers, and the two lines of railway, have nearly cut up the long-existing sailing-route for passengers between London and Scotland. The coal-trade from Northumberland and Durham to London is conducted in *colliers*, or coal ships, from 80 to 300 tons burden, and navigated by crews of from four to fourteen hands each. The trade from Ireland to England is conducted in *schooners* and *brigantines*, from 100 to 190 tons burden; bringing cargoes of corn, butter, bacon, cattle, and pigs; and navigated by crews of from five to nine hands each. The Welsh coasting-trade—which consists chiefly in cargoes of coal, iron, slate, lead, tin, and copper—is conducted in vessels varying greatly in size, according to the distance of the voyage to be made. The regular coasters between London and the various ports on the eastern coast, take their cargo usually from one destined port to another, without stopping to trade at any intermediate ports; but there are small schooners called “billy-boys,” which, in their voyage from London to Bristol, Liverpool, &c., stop to trade at other ports.

There are about 150,000 voyages made in a year by trading-vessels from one port to another of the United Kingdom; representing a tonnage of 13,000,000 tons. Of this number, about 18,000 voyages are made by steamers. Limiting our attention to the Thames and the Port of London, we find that the number of coasting voyages made to London in a year by steamers is about 1100; by fishing-vessels, about 5000; by colliers, about 10,000; and by other coasters, about 13,000. So that we come to this astounding result: that, including the 9000 voyages made to London in a year from foreign ports, there are no less than 38,000 voyages made per annum to this busy centre of commerce; more than 100 vessels per day sail or steam up the Thames from British, Colonial, or Foreign ports with cargoes; and those which proceed down the Thames to the open sea are about equal in number.

The Thames merchant ships differ in size and character according to the nature of the trade. The *East India* and *China* trade employs ships of the first-class, well built, and carefully appointed, from 500 to 1000 tons burden, with twenty to forty hands as crew. They bring home tea, sugar, coffee, silk, rice, spices, &c., which the larger vessels land in the East India Docks, and the smaller in the London and the St. Katherine's Docks. The *Australian* trade, which has advanced with remarkable rapidity during the last few years, employs two classes of ships; those which take out emigrants are inferior to those which go for cargo, but both are inferior to those employed in the India trade; the size is smaller, the complement of hands fewer, and the general arrangements less complete: the cargo-ships bring home chiefly wool and copper ore. The *West India* trade is accommodated by ships from 300 to 500 tons burden, with nine to fifteen hands: they generally make two voyages in a year; taking out a few passengers and miscellaneous merchandise, and bringing back sugar, molasses, rum, coffee, &c. The *Honduras* trade is conducted in large vessels, of 600 to 800 tons, with a crew of twenty to thirty hands. They go out in ballast, and return with mahogany and logwood. The *Canadian* trade has vessels from 400 to 1000 tons, with crews of from eighteen to forty men. They start in spring and autumn, mostly in ballast, and return with cargoes of timber. The *Baltic* trade is very similar to the last, except that the vessels are somewhat smaller, and bring home corn, tallow, flax, and hemp, as well as timber. The *South American* trade has vessels from 300 to 800 tons, with crews of from fifteen to thirty men each. They sail at various seasons of the year, and bring home miscellaneous cargoes of sugar, coffee, rice, spices, hides, skins,

tallow, horns, hoofs, bones, guano, &c. The *Hudson's Bay* trade is managed by a small number of ships belonging to the Company, of 350 to 500 tons, well manned and appointed. They take out stores for the Company's servants in their dreary abodes, and bring back furs. The *United States* trade, which includes a considerable amount of passenger-traffic, is conducted in fine vessels, from 500 to 1000 tons burden, with crews of twenty to forty hands. They bring home cotton, tobacco, and large supplies of provisions of various kinds. The *Mediterranean* trade is carried on in smaller vessels, of 300 to 500 tons, which bring home corn, wine, oil, fruits, and spices, in return for British manufactures. The *Peninsula* trade, which consists of passengers and merchandise outwards, and wine and fruits homewards, is conducted in vessels from 200 to 400 tons. The *Cape* trade is managed in small vessels, which take out and bring home passengers and miscellaneous cargoes. The *African* trade, to and from the west coast of that continent, employs ships about the same tonnage as the Cape trade; but the cargoes homewards include gold-dust, ivory, palm-oil, and cocoanuts. The *Whale Fishery*, to Greenland and the South Seas, is conducted in ships from 400 to 600 tons burden. They have a complement of twenty to twenty-five hands, who have not regular wages like other seamen, but receive a kind of percentage on the value of the whales captured.

The rough, uneducated, and somewhat unsophisticated merchant-seamen, while temporarily sojourning in harbour between their several voyages, are sadly exposed to pillage from the land-sharks, who are ever ready to pounce upon them. With a strong tendency towards drink, an absence of the domestic ties which bind other men to their homes, and very little practical acquaintance with the ways of the world on shore, they are no match for the sharp-witted rogues who are ever on the look-out for them. The coasting-vessels, as well as those from foreign ports, have always to remain some little time in the Pool before they set out on their return voyage; and it is in this interval that the seamen's small stock of money is in danger. Seamen, too, out of employment, are exposed to somewhat similar temptations.

The worst class of boarding-houses for seamen are kept by personages who are better known by the name of *Crimps*. They are often *lumpers*, men employed to stow the cargo of ships, who eke out a living by letting lodgings. They infest the docks and the bridges, ready to entice the seamen directly they come on shore. Some of them employ *touters* to bring them lodgers, paying a per-centage according to the richness of the prize captured; *i. e.* the amount of wages which the seaman is supposed to be entitled to. The lodging-houses are mostly in courts and alleys turning out of Wapping, Shadwell, and East Smithfield—dirty and disreputable. The crimps look out for the soft, the stupid, or the simple among a ship's crew, as likely to be better game than those who have their wits about them; and when once a seaman is entrapped, he is seldom allowed to get free until his pockets are pretty well emptied. Whatever vicious habits he may have, they are pandered to—the crimp managing to get his share of the spoil. Many of the touters who bring seamen to the crimps are coal-whippers; others are dock-labourers; and they make up a living by various means, not always the most honest. The 'Morning Chronicle' correspondent, in his account of the crimps and their agents, speaks of these touters as in effect *selling* their prize to the highest bidder; that is, taking a seaman to one house or another according to the amount of fee which he can procure. One of the men themselves spoke as follows:—"They (the touters) will run away with the seaman, if they can, and sell him. They sell him to anybody—to any bad boarding-master. The price of the man depends upon what money he may have. One man was sold the other day by the porters; there was a good power of them, and they took him—he was a black man—to one of

countrymen, but he would not buy him; but Mr. — bought him at 6s. 6d. If take a man to a decent boarding-house, we get 1s. or so for our trouble. A bad rding-master will regulate his price to the porters according to what clothes the man may want, for one thing. We've heard of 1l. being given for a Chinaman. wo-years' voyage man will fetch 1l."

A still worse system is occasionally practised by the crimps—worse, because it is ctised on foreigners, who have no ready means of redress. This is *kidnapping*. en a foreign ship arrives, the crimps watch for an opportunity, and entice one or re of the seamen to leave the ship clandestinely, under a hope of obtaining better ations in some English ship. The men are kept concealed, under various pretences, il the ship is about to depart; and the captain is frequently compelled to offer a ard to obtain his hands back. The crimp contrives means to re-convey the poor ed seaman back to his former ship, receives the reward, and leaves the captain to luct its amount from the wages due to the seaman.

But these dark pictures of rascality are not unrelieved by brighter details. e *Sailors' Homes*, of recent years, are means intended to better the condition of rchant-seamen while on shore. The one which especially goes by this name in rdon is situated in Well Street, near the London Docks. It was opened in 1836, h accommodation for 100 seamen; but it has been enlarged, so as to contain 300. e institution was mainly set on foot by a few benevolent naval officers, with a view shield the seamen from the snares of crimps, slopsellers, and others. The men are rded and lodged in the "Home;" they are recommended where and how best to ke their purchases of clothes and other necessities; they are very frequently paid the ship-owners in the building—a pay-office being established for the purpose; l they are invited to deposit their spare cash in a Savings Bank belonging to the lome." The number of seamen who, for a longer or shorter period, have taken up ir abode within the "Home" during the last ten years, has varied from 3000 to 10 annually. The sum paid by the seamen is not sufficient to defray the expenditure, l the deficiency is made up by voluntary gifts. The late Queen Adelaide bore the urge of fitting up some of the dormitories, and others have been established by other sons.

This Sailors' Home has a good deal of completeness in its arrangements. There is rge hall, with fires and seats, and the walls contain various placards and adver- ments, relating to ships about to sail, seamen's register tickets, and other matters rresting to seamen. There is a dining-hall, with ranges of dining-tables, at which : men take their meals. Around the sides are reading tables, with shelves of books, nprising Bibles and Testaments in almost all known languages, religious tracts and odicals, and nautical books. There is a museum containing numerous knick-knacks h as seamen are wont to pick up in their voyages; together with maps and charts. ere is a school room, where evening education is given to such of the inmates as l avail themselves of it. The dormitories are well-ventilated ranges of oak cabins, either side of long passages. In the Savings Bank department the seamen can est what money they please when they please, and can take all or part out without r previous notice, receiving the usual Savings Bank rate of interest. At the date of : last year's report of the institution there were 235 depositors, with an average of ut £11 each. No less than £25,000 of the seamen's private money passed through : hands of the cashier in the year. For board, lodging, and washing, the men pay : per week, lads 12s., and apprentices 10s. 6d.—about the same as the charges at : low crimps' houses. There are four ample meals a day, and various comforts ich would be looked for in vain in less extensive establishments.

A few persons of reputable character, who are at the same time able to make simple



calculations in £ s. d., have found out that 14s. a week is really sufficient to treat a seaman well, and to yield a profit into the bargain. Hence there have arisen a small number of well-conducted lodging-houses, where seamen are treated justly, pay for all they receive honestly, and are not dependent on donations or subscriptions for any part of their daily support. It is in this way that the Sailors' Home will probably render most service, by showing others how to adopt a *self-paying* system, which will be at the same time just and kind. Mr. Green, the eminent ship-builder and ship-owner, has established a "Home" for the seamen belonging to his own ships, at a somewhat lower rate of payment.

There are particular laws in force with respect to merchant-seamen; and these apply to the seamen of the Thames as to those of other ports. Many statutes were from time to time passed to regulate the bargains between the seamen and their employers; and these were weeded, amended, and consolidated, by the 'Merchant Seamen's Act' of 1835. The provisions of this statute were numerous; they included the establishment of a registry of seamen; a particular form of articles of agreement between shipowners and seamen; a system of penalties and punishments for desertion or misconduct; a mode of recovering wages when overdue; security against the men being abandoned on foreign shores; regulations concerning surgeons and medicines for ships; regulations for apprentices; and the enforcement of a registry of casualties during a voyage. By another act of 1842, most of the above provisions were enforced and a few new ones added, among which is that of providing lime-juice, and other useful vegetable acids, in vessels bound on long voyages; while another relates to the issue of register tickets to all seamen, as a means of carrying out the agreements between masters and men. Merchant-seamen, in the Thames and elsewhere, have always been sadly preyed upon by *crimps*, as just described, and the Legislature has tried whether it could grapple with this evil. In 1845 an act was passed, with a view of remedying these abuses, but it has not been found to work effectively; and hence the 'Mercantile Marine Bill,' introduced early in the session of 1850. This act, among other things, provides for the proper ventilation, and for giving more room in the sleeping berths of vessels, for a sufficient supply of water and provisions of good quality, and also of medicine in cases of need. The formation of Seamen's Homes is also authorised by some of its clauses. As matters are at present arranged, the supply of seamen for merchant-ships leaving the port of London is managed by a small number of licensed *shipping-masters*, who employ the men, send them to the captain for approval, make out the articles of agreement, and deposit the names of the crew at the Seamen's Registry Office. Since the act came into operation it has excited much dissatisfaction among the seamen, and strikes have taken place at many of the ports. It is understood that the act will be modified.

#### GOVERNMENT OF THE THAMES AND THE PORT.

We need feel little surprise that such an amount of commerce as the Thames presents requires stringent regulations on the part of those who hold control over the "silent highway." Whether Victoria be queen of the Thames, or whether his Lordship the Mayor be king of the Thames, certain it is that there ought to be some central source of power, to determine what shall or shall not be done on this mighty stream; and if things go wrong occasionally—if the "Editor of the *Times*" is appealed to to settle some grievance arising out of an over-crowded river—let us withhold our censure until we really see what are the labours to be performed and the difficulties to be overcome.

The *Port of London* is generally recognised as extending from London Bridge to a

little below Blackwall ; but for some purposes, especially in connection with the coal-trade, it is considered to extend below Gravesend. The *Pool* extends from Ratcliffe Cross, near the mouth of the Regent's Canal, to Execution Dock—a distance of about a mile. It is divided into two parts, the Upper and Lower Pool. In the Upper Pool the colliers are arranged on the Surrey side, while in the Lower Pool they are ranged in tiers on the Middlesex side. The control of maritime affairs within the limits of the Port of London rests chiefly with the harbour-masters, of whom there are four—one principal and three subordinate. The Corporation of the City of London receive dues, varying from one halfpenny to three farthings per ton, on every vessel which enters or leaves the port, whether engaged in foreign, colonial, or coasting trade : these dues amount to about £13,000 per annum ; and in return for them the Corporation make arrangements for the orderly reception of the vessels. Out of this sum the Corporation expend about £8000 or £9000 for moorings, salaries to harbour-masters, wages, &c. The Corporation are the conservators of the river, and the Lord Mayor is the chief magistrate of the Thames as well as of the City. The Corporation, under the Charter of Henry VI., claim the right to the banks and soil of the Thames ; subject, however, to the power of the Brethren of the Trinity House to dredge for ballast below bridge. To assist in the conservancy and management of the Thames a "Navigation Committee" is annually appointed, consisting of forty-six members, viz., sixteen aldermen and thirty common councilmen ; the appointment is for four years, and one-fourth of the committee is elected every year. The committee meets once a week, and determines on applications for jetties, driving of piles, and other matters relating to the banks of the river ; and the harbour-master carries out the decisions of the committee. The general duties of the four harbour-masters are to superintend the entering, mooring, unmooring, and moving of the numerous vessels in the river ; to inspect the state of the mooring-chains ; to take soundings of the varying depths of the river ; and to report to the committee any alterations that may have taken place in the state of the navigation.

The ordering of the vessels is regulated in great measure by the nature of the cargo. Every collier, on arriving at Gravesend, sends a boat on shore to the "Collier Office" at that place, to deliver the "certificates of cargo" and "Custom-house papers ;" and these papers are forwarded twice a day to the coal-factors in London. The harbour-master at Gravesend assigns to each collier the spot to be occupied by the vessel, until her turn arrives for proceeding up the river to the Pool, for the purpose of discharging her coal. There are several stations where the colliers are thus temporarily placed,—in Woolwich Reach, in Galleons Reach, in Halfway Reach, in Long Reach, near Greenhithe, near Northfleet, and between Gravesend and the Medway Canal. Some of these stations are under the control of the harbour-master of Gravesend, and some under the harbour-master of Greenwich ; and these harbour-masters give the necessary orders when the colliers are to proceed up the Pool. In the Pool the colliers are ranged in tiers, which tiers will accommodate about 240 at one time when full.

With respect to the coasters and trading steam-vessels, all of them are bound for some definite wharf, dock, or station in the river ; and are so far different from the colliers. The harbour-master has nothing to do with them, beyond seeing that they observe the rules for the navigation of the river.

The chief among these rules are, that there shall be a clear water-passage in the middle of the river, 300 feet across ; that the ferries and in-shore passages shall be kept clear ; and that the dock entrances and public landing-places be left free from interruption. No vessels are allowed to anchor or moor within a certain distance of



the entrances to the several docks, or of the several piers: this distance varies from 75 to 200 yards. The regulation that there shall be a clear water-passage of 300 feet in the middle of the river is one which it is found almost impossible to carry out fully. On a particular day, chosen to make the enumeration, it was found that the number of vessels moored in the Pool was as follows:—On the north side, between London Bridge and Limehouse Reach, 233; on the south side, between London Bridge and the Surrey Canal, 439.

The relation which the Trinity House bears to the Port of London is in many respects an anomalous one. Of this Corporation we have given an account at page 112.

The management of the buoys and lights in the Thames does not call for the employment of many persons; but the operations of the Trinity House in respect to *ballast* have many points of interest. A large and hard-working section of the labouring men who assist in developing the wonderful commerce of the port of London are the *ballast-labourers*. These men provide the means of making an unladen vessel heavy enough to pursue her return voyage; and the routine of duties is such as to give rise to the classification into *ballast-getters*, *ballast-lightermen*, and *ballast-heavers*.

All ships sailing "in ballast" are exempt from many regulations which press upon laden ships; but still the sailing in ballast or with cargoes depends wholly on the exigencies of commerce. Very varied rules are acted upon in different countries, as to the materials employed as ballast, the place whence obtained, and the place where deposited when not of use. All vessels which come into the Thames in ballast must unload their ballast into a lighter, and none must be thrown into the river, under a heavy penalty. Similar regulations are in force in most ports. In order to insure something like order and system, the bed of the river Thames is made over to the Trinity House, so far as regards the obtaining of sand for ballast from that source. An immense quantity of ballast is required by the colliers, to weight them sufficiently for their return voyage northward. When the master of an empty collier is about to sail, he sends an application to the Ballast Office (belonging to the Trinity House) for a certain amount of ballast. This ballast is usually gravel or sand, dredged up from the bed of the Thames near Woolwich Reach. The ballast is sent to the collier in lighters belonging to the Trinity House, the master paying so much per ton for it. An average of about eighty tons of ballast is required for each collier; and it is computed that about 10,000 tons per week are thus raised and sold by the Trinity House. If the master prefers, he may ballast with chalk from any point below Purfleet; but above that point, he must be dependent on the Trinity House regulations. When the colliers reach the Tyne, Wear, or Tees, the ballast is carried on shore, and piled in heaps on the banks of the rivers, or on waste places on the sea-shore; for it is not permitted to discharge it into the rivers.—The bed of the Thames is thus taking daily journeys to the banks of the Tyne.

But colliers are not the only vessels which leave the Thames in ballast. In 1848 the Trinity House provided more than 600,000 tons of ballast; divided into 6480 supplies for colliers, and 4744 supplies for other vessels. There are about seventy craft employed in the Thames in furnishing this supply, on which are engaged several hundred men: some of whom are in the employ of the Trinity House, and some in that of the masters of the vessels.

First we have to notice the *ballast-getters* or *dredgers*. Some of these work by manual power, and some by steam power. Every one who has passed along the Thames in a steamer must have seen both these methods in operation. In the hand-



method, lighters, with six men to each, are employed. They have a long staff, or pole, with an iron ring at one end, beneath which is a leathern bag capable of holding a considerable bulk of gravel or sand. By an ingenious train of operations, the men find where the ballast bed lies, temporarily fasten the lighter at that spot, throw overboard the heavy end of the staff, drag the ring along the ground until the bag is filled with ballast, haul it up, discharge the ballast into the lighter, and trim it or arrange it smoothly. All the men have their respective duties: the *staffsman* manages the staff; the *bagsman* empties the bag; the *chainsman* and the *heelsman* work the winch which raises the load; and the two *trimmers* trim the ballast in the hold of the lighter. This operation is only conducted when the tide is nearly down. The six men generally raise sixty tons in the course of one tide. They receive 8*d.* per ton, which is divided in certain proportions among the six men. These lighters mostly work about the neighbourhood of Woolwich, whence very clean sand is obtained. The dredging which is performed higher up the river, to deepen the bed in shallow places, is wholly distinct from ballast-getting, since the mud so obtained is not fit for ballast.

The ballast-getting by steam power is effected by three steam-dredgers, which are stationed between Woolrich and Erith; they are clumsy-looking vessels, of about 200 tons burden, and twenty-five to thirty horse power; and each has a crew of eight men. Each vessel has two sloping frames, one on each side, to which is connected an endless chain of twenty-nine buckets; each bucket will contain 2½ cwt. of gravel, and has holes through which water can escape. The chain of buckets is set to work by the steam-engine; and each bucket in its turn scrapes or scoops into the ground, and brings up its quota of gravel. When the bucket comes up, it tilts over, and the contents fall into a lighter, moored alongside. So the buckets keep on at their work, filling and emptying in their turn. From 50 to 150 tons are thus raised in an hour by each steam-dredger, the quantity varying according to the depth of the ballast-shoal, and other circumstances.

Next come the *ballast-lighters*, which convey the ballast from the steam-dredgers to the vessels. There are about seventy of these, each capable of containing sixty tons of ballast; and all float up the river, to the station where the empty colliers lie. Fivepence per ton is paid for this service, divided between the five men who work the lighter.

Finally, we trace the chain of operations to the *ballast-heavers*, who are employed in transferring the ballast from the lighters to the vessels. The vessels are at the time either in the Pool or in the Docks; and it is at the Pool and the Docks, consequently, that the ballast-heavers are employed. Here begins a system analogous to that which disgraced the *coal-whipping* employment before the recent changes. The ballast-heavers are wholly in the power of publicans and other small traders: the masters of vessels, in order to save themselves trouble, are accustomed to give into the hands of publicans, grocers, or butchers (who act as contractors), all the arrangements for ballasting a vessel. The contractor makes the necessary application to the Ballast Office, gets the ballast brought to the side of the vessel, pays for it, employs the ballast-heavers to load the vessel, pays them their wages, and charges the master the whole in one sum. How this system affects the poor ballast-heavers may be judged from the description we shall presently give of the coal-whippers. The Trinity House authorities are, we believe, about to introduce improvements in these matters.

## THE COAL-TRADE OF THE THAMES.

That the Coal-Trade of the Port of London requires a large amount of shipping and of commercial machinery for its due management, will appear evident when we consider how much fuel is required for the domestic comfort of the two millions of beings who inhabit the metropolis. The best way to view this is by taking the ratio which the consumption of London bears to the production and the consumption of all England.

It is estimated that there are about 9000 square miles of coal-fields in Great Britain, which yield 32,000,000 tons of coals annually. This produce is thus appropriated (taking the average of the last few years): 2,500,000 tons exported, 10,000,000 tons employed in the iron and other smelting works, 8,500,000 tons shipped coastwise from the coal districts to London and other British ports, and 11,000,000 tons distributed inland by canal and other transit for general consumption. Of the 8,500,000 tons shipped coastwise, no less than 3,000,000 to 3,500,000 tons are brought to London. About eleven-twelfths of all the coals brought coastwise to London are the produce of the Tyne, Wear, and Tees districts; and about two-fifths come from the Tyne alone. One-third of all the produce of those three districts is brought to London. Notwithstanding the efforts, of the Railway Companies to compete for the carriage of coal, the distance of London from the coal districts renders the transit so expensive, that the attempt nearly fails; the quantity of coal brought to London by canal or railway being a very small proportion of the whole.

We may, then, take the great Northumberland and Durham coal-field as the main source of the metropolitan supply: it is estimated that there are 12,000 persons in those two counties wholly employed in digging and shipping coals for London alone. The coal-owners have certain arrangements among themselves, concerning the quantity and price of the coals to be forwarded to London; and there have been many struggles by the coal-owners on the one hand, and the public on the other, for and against the maintenance of these regulations. These ships are subject to numerous dues, which serve greatly to increase the price to the consumer. There are pier dues, light dues, harbour dues, town dues, metage dues, market dues, baillage dues, groundage dues, and many others. Some of these are payable before the ships start; some on their arrival in the Thames. The "Richmond Shilling" is no longer demanded. This enormity had the following origin. Queen Elizabeth granted certain privileges to the *Keelmen* or *Hostmen* of Newcastle; who, in return, granted her one shilling per chaldron on all coals shipped from the Tyne. This remained a royal perquisite; and in the next century it was made over by Charles II. to his children by Louise Querouaille, whence has sprung the ducal house of Richmond. By the early part of the present century the coal-trade of the Tyne had reached such a large amount, that this "Richmond Shilling" was estimated to be worth no less than £19,000 per annum; and it was at this sum that the grant was commuted by an act of Parliament passed for the purpose. By the terms of this act, the Richmond family received nearly half-a-million sterling in purchase of the grant; and since that time the "Richmond Shilling" has disappeared from the list of coal-dues. The dues have been lowered generally within the last few years. It is calculated, that when coals are marked in the wholesale lists at 18s. per ton (before the coals leave the ship), the price is, on an average, made up pretty nearly as follows: 8s., the value of the coals when placed in the hold of the ship in the Tyne; 8s. for the transit from the Tyne to the Thames; and 2s. Thames dues. In 1848 there were 3,418,310 tons of coal



brought coastwise to London: they employed 2717 ships, which brought 12,267 cargoes, of somewhat under 300 tons each on an average.

Once arrived in the Thames, the coals become subjected to the influence of a good deal of legislation. An act of Parliament, passed in 1831, determines the following among many other points. The Coal Exchange was made a free market, belonging to the Corporation of London; who were empowered to appoint officers, to enlarge or rebuild the Exchange when necessary, to raise loans for managing the market, to pay off these loans by a duty of a penny a ton on all coals brought into the Thames westward of Gravesend, to make by-laws for the management of the Coal Exchange, and to regulate the purchase and sale of coals in the Port. Various dues which had been granted from time to time to the Corporation, either by Royal Charter or by act of Parliament, were commuted for a single payment or due of 1s. per ton, which due must be paid before the removal of any coals from the vessel to the wharfs. The vendor must send to the Clerk of the Coal Market, with every cargo of coal, a certificate, stating the date of shipment, the name and owner of the ship, the quantity of coals, the collieries whence brought, and the price paid for the coals; and the certificate so sent is registered at the Coal Market on the arrival of the ship. An act passed in 1838 confirmed most of the provisions of that passed in 1831, and gave additional powers to the Corporation in respect to stringent regulations for controlling the coal ships in the Thames. In 1845 another act was passed, which will remain in force until 1862. The railways had begun somewhat to alarm the Corporation: and it was therefore enacted, that all coals brought within twenty miles of London by conveyance must pay the Corporation dues; but out of *any* of these dues one penny per ton is to be transferred to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, to aid the funds for opening new streets, and making similar improvements in the metropolis—an instance of bargain-making, on the part of the Legislature, about as curious as any we may meet with.

Let the reader suppose a coal-laden ship to have arrived in the Thames; let this ship have gone its proper course of proceeding at Gravesend, and to have made arrangements for paying all the dues demanded thereon. What next follows? The *Coal Exchange* is the scene of the transactions between the buyer and the seller. The *coal-factors* of London are, like the *coal-fitters* of Newcastle, agents or brokers between the buyers and the sellers. The owner of a coal-ship knows little or nothing of the coal-merchant who is about to become the buyer of the cargo—as little, indeed, as a railway shareholder knows to whom his shares are transferred in the event of sale. The coal-factors form a distinct body in themselves, whose headquarters are at the Coal Exchange. The merchants or buyers must conform to the regulations laid down by this body. The factors, acting in conjunction with the coal-owners of the north, agree among themselves as to the number of cargoes which they will offer for sale on any given market-day; this number depends on two circumstances—the number of coal-ships which may have entered the Thames between one market-day and another, and the market price of coals on the day. Although the “limitation of the vend” is not so stringent as it once was, there is still considerable power exerted by the northern coal-owners in controlling the metropolitan supply. On the other hand, the Corporation of London, who have no interest in these restrictions, have certain by-laws which tend somewhat to throw open the trade; so that the actual price is determined by a kind of balance of opposite forces. Under certain states of the market, no less than 400 cargoes of coal have been lying in the Thames at one time, waiting for their turn to be sold, according to the arrangement made by the factors.



The mode of conducting the sale of coal is pretty much as follows :—There are three market-days at the Coal Exchange—Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; on which days the market hours are from twelve to half-past two. Every factor has a list, setting forth the sorts of coal he has for sale each market-day; and when a cargo is sold, an agreement is entered into with the buyer, the price and conditions of payment being stated in detail. All sales are private; that is, they are not by auction. The factor will not take the consignment of coals, unless the owner conforms to all the regulations of the market, as to rotation, &c. The factors are paid by a commission of one half per cent. on the amount of sale, and threepence for the factorage. The factors take the whole risk of payment, being responsible to the owners for the purchase price of the coals.

Such, with perhaps a few minor modifications, is the nature of the dealings carried on at the new Coal Exchange—the opening of which afforded such materials for show and parade a year and a half ago. The old Coal Exchange belonged to private individuals till 1807, when the Corporation purchased it, and made it an open coal market. In the year 1845 the leading firms in the coal-trade petitioned the Corporation to build a new Exchange worthy of the increased importance of the trade; the Corporation assented; and Mr. Bunning, the City Clerk of the Works, made the designs for a new building, which was finished and opened in 1849. Great was the bustle, when, on the 30th of November, the Prince Consort formally opened the new Coal Exchange. How the river barges and steamers were decked out in their best holiday array: how the City barges, with their gilded prows and their red-coated rowers, took rank in the water pageant: how the bridges and the piers and the windows were crowded with spectators: how the guns fired and the music sounded, and the people applauded: how the speeches were made and the luncheon eaten :—all this was duly recorded in the newspapers of the day.

The new Coal Exchange, like all other buildings which deviate from customary rules, has been freely criticised. The sticklers for precedent are not quite satisfied with the tower at the corner, and sundry faults have been hunted out here and there; while many who advocate inventive design, think that if *they* had been consulted, they might have invented something better. Such, however, is architectural criticism in general; and Mr. Bunning, like others in his profession, must go through the ordeal. As seen from the river, behind or beyond Billingsgate, or from Thames Street a little westward of Billingsgate, the Coal Exchange presents to view two flat fronts, south and west, with a peculiar structure of a wholly different kind at the south-west corner. The two fronts—one in Lower Thames Street and the other in St. Mary-at-Hill—are built of Portland stone, in the Italian style. The principal entrance is at the corner, by a semicircular portico of considerable height, with Roman Doric columns and entablature; above the portico, on a plain circular pedestal, is a tower of Portland stone; the lower story having Ionic columns and entablature, supporting a stone pedestal with ornamental scrolls, on which the upper story is erected; this upper story has ornamental pillars and entablature, and is covered with a conical roof surmounted by a gilt ball. Within this tower is the principal staircase, leading to the various rooms and offices, and lighted by large windows. The large hall or merchants' area presents a striking effect. It is a rotunda, sixty feet in diameter, covered in by a glazed dome, the centre of which is seventy-four feet from the floor. Three tiers of projecting galleries run round the rotunda, in front of the doors and windows of the Coal Factors' offices. In twenty-four compartments or panels, immediately beneath the dome, are paintings in encaustic by Mr. Sang, representing various plants and fossil remains found in coal strata. The rotunda is floored

in a beautiful manner with inlaid wood, composed of 4000 pieces—arranged in heraldic and emblematical forms. The cost of the building was about £40,000.

In the Coal Exchange, then, the merchant arranges for the purchase of his coals. Until 1831 there was a Coal Meters' Establishment, connected with the Corporation, for controlling the measuring or weighing of coals, on which a fee was payable; but this establishment is now abolished, and the coal-owners, factors, and merchants, have agreed on a substitute among themselves. A committee of owners and merchants pay for the services of a large number of weighers, the expense being borne in equal proportions by the buyer and seller.

The coal-owners, the coal-factors, the coal-merchant, and the Corporation, all have their interests in these transactions, and all have certain conditions to fulfil. But this is not the end of the Thames coal traffic. The merchant has bought his coals; but how is he to transfer them from the ship to his wharf? This opens to us another scene of Thames industry; we have to take a glance at the hard-working, oft-complaining *coal-whippers*. A whipper is a man who removes the coals from a coal-ship to barges drawn up alongside; he is said to *whip* the coals; but as this is a kind of whipping differing wholly from that to which school-boys or soldiers are subjected, we cannot venture to explain the origin of the term. The expense of this transfer is not borne by the Corporation, by the factors, or by the merchants; it is included in the freightage which the coal-owner pays to the ship-owner. The crews very rarely whip the coals; it is almost always done by hired porters or whippers. These men usually work in gangs, generally of nine each, and the agreement is always so much per ton for the whole gang. The terms are usually about one penny per ton per man. The coal-merchant who has bought the cargo sends his own barges to the side of the ship, and the gang of coal-whippers work on until they have emptied the cargo into the barges. Some of them descend into the hold, and fill baskets or boxes with coals, and others draw up the laden baskets by means of ropes, pulleys, and a stage of steps, and empty the contents into the barges. The work is the coarsest and rudest kind of manual labour. Nine men can *whip* about 80 or 90 tons in a day. It has been calculated that each of these men, in an average day's work, makes about sixteen hundred ascents and descents. "The men can often earn a shilling an hour each while at work, but the number of hours' work obtainable in a week is subject to much fluctuation. It seems plain, however, that the earnings are decidedly above those of labouring men generally." There are from 1600 to 2000 men thus employed on the Thames, and they have often found means to make the position of interlopers into their trade anything but agreeable. "Until within the last few years, these strong and hearty men suffered themselves to be duped in an extraordinary way by publicans and petty shopkeepers on shore. The custom was for the captain of a coal-ship, when he required a cargo to be *whipped*, to apply to one of these publicans for a gang; and the gang was thereupon sent from the public-house. There was no professed or pre-arranged deduction from the price paid for the work; the captain paid the publican, and the publican paid the coal-whippers; but the publican or middleman had his profit in another way. The coal-whipper was expected to come to the public-house in the morning, to drink while waiting for work; to take drink with him to the ship; to drink again when the day's work was done; and to linger about and in the public-house until almost bedtime, before his day's wages were paid. The consequence was, that an enormous ratio of his earnings went every week to the publican. The publicans were wont to rank their dependents into two classes—the 'constant men' and the 'stragglers'; of whom the former were first served whenever a cargo was to be *whipped*: in return for this, they were expected to spend almost the whole of their



spare time in the public-house, and even to take up their lodgings there. As the coal-whippers contrived by intimidation to keep out strangers from their trade, so the publicans and their immediate adherents were able to harass those who wished to escape from this truck system; and the 'penny-a-ton men' used to receive many a drubbing from the 'penny-farthing men.' The captains preferred applying to the publicans rather than engaging the men themselves, because it saved them trouble, and because (as was pretty well understood) the publicans carried favour with them by indirect means. Grocers and small shopkeepers did the same; and the coal-whippers had then to buy bad and dear groceries instead of bad and dear beer and gin."—*Companion to the British Almanac*, 1850.

The Legislature has not thought it beneath its dignity to throw a shield of protection over these strong and hardy men, who with a little more self-reliance would be perfectly able to defend themselves; they have suffered themselves to be duped like children, and then ask the Legislature to protect them like children. Many of the earlier statutes relating to the coal-trade sought to remedy the grievances of the coal-whippers; but the publicans outwitted the legislators. In the year 1834 a benevolent officer, Lieutenant Arnold, determined to try how far an individual could remedy the system; he established a Coal-whipper's Office, in which the men could receive the whole of their earnings, without the necessity of such constant resort to public-houses; but the publicans contrived to render the plan nugatory. The Legislature at length established a stringent system. 'The Coalwhippers' Act of 1843 contains the following provisions:—A Board of Commissioners is appointed for registering and regulating the coal-whippers, consisting of nine Commissioners—four appointed by the Board of Trade, four by the Corporation of London, and one by the Ship-Owner's Society. All coal-whippers are registered by the Board, and receive certificates, for which they pay a small fee. Offices and stations are provided by the Corporation, at the request of the Commissioners. The Commissioners provide all the requisite stages, planks, gins, baskets, shovels, and tackle for whipping the coals; the coal-owner may use apparatus of his own, but if he borrow such, it can only be from the Commissioners, by whom the hire is charged at so much a cargo. The master of every laden coal-ship is to send notice to the Coal-whipper's Office, as to the place, the quantity, and the time of the coals to be whipped. The officers of the Commissioners, upon receipt of this notice, hold a kind of auction among the gangs of coal-whippers there assembled; and the gang which will take the work at the lowest price is selected, subject to the approval of the master of the vessel. Upon the conclusion of the whipping, the master is to pay the wages to a person appointed by the Commissioners, and this money is handed over to the coal-whippers, with a deduction not exceeding a farthing in a shilling. These rules are operative for the whole distance from London Bridge to Gravesend. Another act was passed in 1846, extending the operation of this statute, with a few slight alterations, till 1851.

The *coal-heavers*, sometimes called *coal-backers*, are employed in carrying coals from the barges to the wharfs and waggons. They work in gangs of five men each, two shovelmén and three porters; and are paid by the wharfinger at so much per ton. In winter time the coal-whippers make short days, as they do not work by candle-light; but the coal-backers work both before and after daylight, by the aid of the light of burning coals contained in an open suspended frame or cresset. These men are supposed to number about 1500, and to earn about £1 per week each all the year round. Their work is among the most laborious known on the Thames. Besides the portering of the coals from the barges to the wharfs and waggons, the coal-backers often bring up the coals from the holds of the colliers; for, as has been before ex-



ained, coal-merchants are permitted to *whip* their coals by men in their own employ; and the collier is in that case often brought up so close to the wharf, that the coal-backers can carry the coals from the vessels, across three or four barges, to the wharf.

The reader will possibly think that we shall never have done with these coal-perpages, these fuel-providers; but we must entreat a little attention to the *coal-sifters*, the *coal-fillers*, the *coal-waggoners*, and the *coal-trimmers*. We have followed the commercial history of the coals on the water; let us now trace them on land. The four classes we have just named are the servants of the coal-merchant. When the coal-beckers have deposited the coals at the various wharfs, the finest qualities of coal are ordered still more choice by a process of sifting or screening; and this is done by the *coal-sifters*. Then comes the work of the *coal-fillers*, by whom the sacks are laden, and deposited in the waggons to be conveyed to the houses of the consumers. Next are required the services of the *coal-waggoners* or *carmen*, who understand the management of horses, and contrive to worm their way through the crowded streets of London; and these men are accompanied by the *coal-trimmers*, who assist in depositing and trimming the cargo in the purchasers' cellars. All these classes of men form collectively the body of *coal-porters*.

Calculations have been made which tend to show, that besides the 36,000 miners, filers, and whippers, who are always engaged in supplying London with coals, there are about 1000 coal-dealers, 3000 coal-porters, and 2000 waggoners and trimmers, 400 harfs, and 5000 horses, employed in a similar direction,—a black army of more than 10,000 strong besides the dumb creatures.

#### THE CORN-TRADE OF THE THAMES.

Of all the various departments of commerce on the Thames, that of *Corn* employs the greatest number of ships, after *Coal*. What with the foreign vessels and the masters, the river and the docks often exhibit a very busy scene, in corn-ships alone. The most important article of food, to a population of upwards of two millions, must indeed be a matter of high concern; and as the immediate vicinity of the metropolis exhibits vegetable gardens rather than corn-fields, we are all the more dependent on distant supply.

It has taken society many ages to learn the truth, that the supply of a large town with food may pretty safely be left to the every-day interests of buyers and sellers, without any intricate legislation. Kings and Parliaments, mayors and magistrates, were wont to think that the people would be exposed to occasional starvation, unless both quantity and price of provisions were determined authoritatively. The commercial history of England is a running commentary on this principle, and on the steps by which it has gradually given way to a sounder view.

At early periods London received its supply of corn almost wholly from Kent and Sussex. Sussex, Suffolk, and Norfolk were afterwards added to the list. About three centuries ago a proclamation was issued, prohibiting corn-dealers from having more than ten quarters in stock at one time; and the substance of this proclamation was soon afterwards embodied in a statute, which provided that no persons should buy corn for the sake of selling again. The object here seems to have been, that by having no parties between the grower and the consumer, the price to the consumer might be lower,—a fallacy which the general history of trade easily refutes. In London the corporation and the Livery Companies were accustomed to provide a store of corn to guard against scarcity. Sir Stephen Brown, Lord Mayor in 1438, established a public granary; and such granaries became frequent in later years: the main purpose being

to supply corn to the poor at cheap rates when the market-price became high. But the operations of the regular dealers became disarranged by these artificial proceedings; and there is now little question that the market-price of corn suffered more fluctuation from these causes than if the sale and purchase had been left to settle themselves. By about the year 1521 the City was regularly provisioned with corn by the Corporation and the Companies; a large store being always kept at the Bridgehouse. After a time it was determined that each of the twelve great Companies should buy their own corn, and store it up at the Bridgehouse, there to be sold from time to time. The garners at the Bridgehouse were divided into twelve parts, each for one Company. Baking-ovens also were built, some at the Bridgehouse and some at the Companies' halls. At length the Great Fire destroyed the granaries, mills, and ovens; and as it was found by this time that this corporate mode of buying and selling corn was not so effectual as the operations of private trade, the system died out. The corn at that time was landed at Queenhithe and Billingsgate, whence it was meted and carried on the backs of horses to various parts of London. There were two corn-markets, one in Cornhill, and one at the west end of Cheapside. Bread Street was for many centuries the chief market for baked bread; the bakers were compelled to sell their bread in open market, at fixed prices; and they were subjected to many penalties and punishments for deviating from the rules. In one instance a baker, for giving deficient weight, "was drawn on a hurdle through the streets of the city, with a fool's cap on his head, and about his neck were suspended his loaves of deficient weight." The *Assize* of bread was determined first by the City authorities, and afterwards by act of Parliament: its object was to compel the bakers to increase the size of the loaves in proportion to the fall in the price of wheat. The bakers of Stratford, in the fifteenth century, used to bring much bread up to London; the corn came to Stratford by the river Lea, and the bread was brought to London in carts, which took up their station in Cornhill and Cheapside, where the bread-carts soon became surrounded by the buyers.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Corn-market was at Bear Quay in Thames Street; and there were flour and meal markets at Queenhithe, and near Holborn Bridge. It was at this period that the commercial system of *factorage*—now employed in so many branches of trade—was first applied to the corn-trade. The change is said to have been brought about in the following way. A number of Essex farmers used to frequent an inn at Whitechapel, and leave with the landlord samples of corn, with a commission to sell for them, so as to avoid the necessity of the farmers attending the next market. The next stage was for persons to establish themselves as factors or agents for different farmers, and to establish stands in different places. These stands increased so much in number, that a Corn Exchange was built to accommodate the factors, in Mark Lane, in 1747. Eighty years afterwards the New Corn Exchange was built. Before describing the market operations at these places, we must speak of the corn-ships in the river and the docks.

The corn arrives in the port of London in various sized vessels, containing from 200 to 3000 quarters; those from Essex and Kent bring from 300 to 500 quarters; those from Norfolk and Suffolk, 500 to 600 quarters; those from Ireland, 700 to 1200; while those from foreign countries bring yet larger quantities. To make a ton in weight, there are about 37 bushels of wheat, 40 of beans or peas, 45 of barley, or 56 of oats. When a corn-laden ship arrives in the Thames, whether from British or foreign parts, it is subjected to numerous dues and corporate charges. There are water-baillage, groundage, Lord Mayor's dues, cocket dues, and others. The City claims the right of measuring the corn, which is done by sworn meters and fellowship-porters. The meters



are appointed by the City Corn and Coal Committee; whereas the porters are appointed by the Alderman of Billingsgate Ward, *ex-officio* Governor of the Fellowship-porters. There are meeting-places for both bodies, where they receive instructions as to the work to be done. The corn brought from the counties near London is mostly in sacks; but that which is brought from more distant places is in most cases stowed in loose bulk in the ships; and the metage arrangements vary slightly in the two cases. At the appointed time and place, a sworn meter, accompanied by seven or eight fellow-ship-porters, board the ship, and proceed to measure the corn. If the corn is in loose bulk, two of the porters lade the corn into the measure with concave wooden shovels, pass the "strike" over the surface, and empty the contents of the measure into a sack held by a third porter; when filled, the sack is hoisted up by three porters on deck, and shot by one of them over the ship's side; it falls into a lighter, in loose bulk. If the corn is in sacks, the sacks are emptied on board into the measures, and turned over the ship's side. When the lighter arrives at the granary, the corn is again measured, and is carried in sacks to the floor where it is to be stored, where it is again shot loose. When the corn is sold, the buyer sends sacks for it to the granary, and another measuring takes place. The meter and his gang of porters can measure from 400 to 800 quarters in a day, according to circumstances.

We follow the corn to the granaries, which are large lofty buildings, studding both banks of the river for many miles; but the chief of them are about the neighbourhood of Bermondsey and Shad Thames. There are also warehouses for corn at most of the docks. The duty on imported corn is now so small (1s. per quarter on all kinds of grain, and 4½d. per cwt. on all kinds of flour and meal), that the speculative calculations of the bonding system are nearly abandoned; but in the days of the "sliding scale," the rush of corn into the market on particular days was enormous. So long as the corn was in the bonding warehouses or granaries, it paid no duty; but the duty had to be paid before the corn could be removed. The duty fell lower as the price rose; and the corn-merchant, with a granary well stored, looked out for a period when the market price was as high, and the duty as low, as possible; if such a favourable time arrived, he instantly paid the duty, liberated his corn, and threw it upon the market. But as other dealers were as sharp as he, they all did more or less alike; and the market received a very flood of corn. This sudden and large supply speedily lowered the market price, and thereby raised the duty; so that another merchant, three or four days afterwards, would perhaps be unable to take his corn out of bond without actual loss. Such is the mode of explaining the enormous fortunes and the enormous failures which marked the progress of the corn-trade. Occasions have been known in which many thousand quarters of corn have been thrown into the Thames; it was actually worth less than nothing, owing to a glutted market, a very low price, a very high duty, and a constant outlay for granary rent. The granary rent, fire-insurance, and wages for tending and screening, amount to about 7s. per week for 100 quarters of corn.

The present Corn Exchange, we have said, was built about eighty years after the first—that is, in 1828. The old building was not destroyed, but remains as a kind of adjunct to the new one; both were, however, much endangered, and the older one considerably damaged, by a destructive fire, which burnt down some adjoining premises, on Sept. 19, 1850. The Exchange stands on the east side of Mark Lane. It presents a front in the Grecian Doric style with six columns, surmounted by an entablature and cornice, and having side buildings in the form of wings. The interior is chiefly occupied by a large open hall, lighted by a central lantern. Around this hall are the stands belonging to corn-factors, corn-merchants, millers, granary keepers,



and lightermen; but chiefly to the corn-factors. The samples of grain are displayed in small bags and wooden bowls; and every purchaser places undoubted reliance on the honour of the factor, that the bulk of the corn shall correspond with the sample. There is a seed-market held in another part of the building. The market-days are Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of ten and three. The Kentish and Essex dealers have certain privileges of long standing, in the Corn Exchange, and generally transact their sales for ready money; but nearly all other corn is paid for by bills at one or two months.

#### THE TIMBER AND FISH TRADES OF THE THAMES.

From *Corn*, we pass on to say a word or two concerning *Timber*, so far as regards the commerce of the Thames. That the timber docks of the Port of London, and the arrangements for importing and unshipping timber, are matters of considerable importance to the comfort of the metropolis, may be shown in many ways. It has been estimated that the houses built *every year* in the metropolis, if placed in a row, would reach from London to Windsor; and that the wood employed in building these houses would amount to 150,000 forest trees—mostly pine or fir. Then there is the timber, for the most part of a superior quality, used in making the furniture for these houses; the elm for making coffins for the 50,000 persons who die every year in the metropolis; the oak for the large amount of ships yearly built; and the large quantity of wood consumed for the countless minor purposes to which this material is applied. How much of the timber imported into the Thames is sent for use into the country, it is quite impossible to determine; but it is certain that this must form a large addition to that which is actually applied to use within the metropolis. About 1,000,000 timber-trees are supposed to be used annually in house-building in Great Britain; 160,000 in making furniture; 240,000 in building ships; 40,000 in making coffins. Without reckoning minor uses, we have here a million and a half of timber-trees annually consumed,—the produce of perhaps fifteen thousand acres of forest; and the Thames has to accommodate much more of this timber than is equivalent to the metropolitan population.

How much of this timber is grown in Great Britain, and how much imported, cannot be known. All that can be determined is, the amount of imported timber on which Customs duties are paid. The timber is divided into various classes as a means of determining the rate of duty. Trees hewn and squared into logs are termed *timber*; but when sawn into thinner pieces they become *deals*. Timber consists chiefly of pine, elm, oak, ash, and birch; mahogany and dye-woods do not receive the name of timber. But the sawn logs have themselves different names, according to the sizes into which they are cut—such as battens, batten ends, deals, deal ends, planks, boards, and firewood. The quantity of all kinds imported into Great Britain yearly varies from one million and three-quarters to two millions of loads—a load being equal to fifty cubic feet. It is calculated that the surprisingly large number of 67,000 seamen are employed in bringing timber from the Colonies and foreign countries into British ports.

Omitting all other ports, and confining our attention to the Thames, it is found that about 800 timber-laden ships enter the Thames annually, of an average burden of about 350 tons each. By following these 800 ships to their destination we gain an insight into the timber-trade of the port of London. They take up their station in one or other of five docks—the West India and the Regent's Docks, on the Middlesex side; and the Commercial, the Surrey Canal, and the East Country

Docks, on the Surrey side. The Commercial Dock receives more timber-laden ships than any other in the Thames.

About 1000 men are employed at the timber docks as porters and rafters; a small number of them permanently, but the majority earning a precarious living. In some cases the dock authorities and the timber-merchants employ their own men to clear the cargoes; but in others it is customary to give the work to a contractor, called a *lumper*, who undertakes to get it executed for a certain definite sum. These lumpers are often publicans: and, like most middlemen, they are accused of grinding down the wages of the regular hands, by employing any worthless or reckless fellows whom they can obtain at low wages. They can even underbid the Dock Companies themselves, where allowed so to do; because they make a portion of their profit by inducing the men to spend the greater part of their earnings at the public-houses. At the West India Docks the mahogany and fancy woods are taken from the ships and piled in heaps, by men who work six or eight in a gang. They have a few simple machines to assist them in raising the logs from the hold, dragging them along the quays, and stowing them in the warehouses.

In the more extensive timber-trade of the southern docks various systems are acted on, according to circumstances. Some foreign timber-ships are unladen by their own crews, but all others by the timber-porters. Some are unladen in the docks, but others (when having heavy cargoes) in the river. Some of the cargoes are termed *rafted goods*, and some *landed goods*. The rafted goods are hewn timber; the landed goods comprise deals, battens, sleepers, &c. When a vessel is unladen in the river the landed goods are discharged by lumpers, who also load the lighters; but when small vessels go alongside a quay, the lumpers discharge directly to the shore, where the wood is received by the dock-porters. The lumpers do not work on shore. The dock-porters are divided into two classes—deal-porters and stave-porters, who receive the landed goods, and sort and pile them. The hewn timbers or rafted goods are thrust by the lumpers through the port-holes of the vessel into the water; here they are received by the rafters, who put them into lengths and sizes, and arrange them into floats of eighteen pieces each. If the ship is discharged in the river, the rafter floats the timber to the pond of one of the docks; but if the ship is discharged in the dock, the rafter floats the timber only from the main docks to the pond. The rafter has much demand on his skill, in gauging and sorting the timber, according to size, quality, and ownership, and making it up into floats. The rafters are all freemen of the Watermen's Company, to enable them to navigate their rafts in the river. There is an inferior class of rafters, called *pokers*, who are only allowed to work in the docks, not in the river. Rafters and pokers work directly for the Dock Companies, but deal and stave porters work under contractors or middlemen. The rafters are generally paid by the day, but the porters are paid by the piece, receiving so much for carrying and stacking a hundred deals or staves, &c.

Much of the timber thus brought into the Thames is cut up into veneers and other forms on the spot. There are about twenty saw-mills on the Thames, between London Bridge and Stangate, applied to this purpose. Altogether in the metropolis there are about seventy timber saw-mills, some owned by timber-merchants, but the majority by persons who merely cut timber for the trade.

The *Fish* traffic of the Thames has a history of its own, wholly distinct from others.

Billingsgate had a long struggle with Queenhithe, in respect to precedence as a fish-market. Billingsgate is below bridge, Queenhithe above; and this alone would have given a superiority to the former; but in the time of Henry III., and for many generations afterwards, the customs or dues of Queenhithe were the perquisite of the Queen-



Consort; and royal influence was not slow in enforcing such regulations as would bring the fish to that market which best suited the exchequer of the royal ladies. Hence there was often a struggle between the fish-dealers and the court party, between whom the Corporation held its way as best it could. Queenhithe never did and never could extinguish its rival; on the contrary, as freedom of commerce gradually arose, the fish-dealers gradually brought into a regular system the location of the fish-market just below the bridge. When Queenhithe was the chief landing-place for fish, the fishmongers congregated in the neighbouring streets; and Old Fish Street, Fish Street Hill, &c., thus acquired their names. Old Fish Street first had mere fish-boards, then stalls, then sheds, then shops, and lastly houses, for the accommodation of the fishmongers. There was in the 15th century a considerable space occupied as a fish-market, a little to the north-west of Old London Bridge, where now narrow streets abound. Fish were also sold at Stocks' Market, on the site of which the Mansion House now stands; and many of the principal fishmongers established themselves in the street directly in a line with the bridge, then called Bridge Street, but now New Fish Street and Fish Street Hill. The fishmongers and dealers in these places made strenuous efforts at different times to suppress the sale of fish by humbler dealers or by hawkers; but this they could not effect. The Fishmongers' Company was a powerful corporation from a very early period: at one time an offshoot from it existed, comprising the *stock*-fishmongers, or those who dealt only in dried and salted fish. The Company had halls in Old Fish Street, New Fish Street, and Thames Street.

In 1699 an Act of Parliament was passed, which made Billingsgate a free market for fish, and established certain regulations which somewhat curtailed the monopolizing powers of the more wealthy fishmongers. Among the strangest statutes passed in bygone times are two or three having for their object to induce the people to eat more fish; and at different times within the last century associations and projects were framed, having the same object in view. It was sometimes urged that fish would be cheaper to the people than meat; at others, that by eating the fatness of the sea instead of the fatness of the land, our national wealth would be husbanded; and at others, again, that by encouraging the fisheries we should raise up a goodly number of hardy fishermen, and at the same time form a nursery for seamen.

Billingsgate, we need hardly say, occupies an open nook westward of the Custom House. It comprises a dock for the ships, and an open market for the fish dealers. The fishing vessels come from various stations—Feversham, Maldon, Rochester, Colchester, Dover, &c. The vessels arrive in the evening and during the night, and take up their moorings alongside of each other in regular order, the oyster-boats being placed by themselves. A floating-barge or platform lies within these tiers of boats, and to this platform flights of steps descend from the market. But fish is now received also by railway at Billingsgate from Liverpool, Bristol, Hartlepool, and from other quarters, which were precluded from profitable communication with it when the means of transit were not sufficiently rapid for so perishable an article. The railways from London to the southern coast, especially, have greatly increased the facility of supply. On the other hand, if a larger supply be received, the quantity taken off by the railways is quite as great.

The very extraordinary change which has taken place in the supply of salmon for Billingsgate market, since it has been brought by steam-vessels from Scotland in forty-eight hours, may to some extent indicate the effect which the railways will have in extending the consumption of fish of all kinds in those parts of the country where hitherto it has been scarce and dear. Perhaps as many as ten salmon are now taken in a year in the Thames: and Sir Humphry Davy, in his '*Salmonia*,' says that a skil-



ful angler may take about one in a week at Christchurch. If the supply from Scotland were stopped, salmon, instead of being three or four shillings the pound, as they were when three thousand were taken in a year in the Thames, would be as dear as turtle. A commission agent for the sale of salmon at Billingsgate, who was examined before a Parliamentary Committee in 1800, and who had been in the trade ever since 1750, said "There have been several changes in the mode of doing business in my time. We brought salmon on horseback about thirty years ago; since that, in light carts and other carriages; and now, by water, packed in ice." Previous to the last change the supply was inconsiderable, and a large proportion of it was derived from the rivers in England. The fish were then packed in straw. Pennant, in his 'British Zoology,' written seventy-five years ago, gives the following account of the salmon-trade at Berwick: "Most of the salmon taken before April, or the setting in of the warm weather, is sent fresh to London in baskets, unless now and then the vessel is disappointed by contrary winds of sailing immediately. In that case the fish is brought ashore again to the cooper's offices, and boiled, pickled, and kitted, and sent to the London markets by the same ship, and fresh salmon put in the baskets in lieu of the stale ones. At the beginning of the season, when a ship is on the point of sailing, a fresh clean salmon will sell from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per lb.; and most of the time that this part of the trade is carried on, the prices are from 5s. to 9s. per stone of 18lbs., the value rising and falling according to the plenty of fish, or the prospect of a fair or foul wind. The price of fresh fish in the month of July, when they are most plentiful, has been known to be as low as 8d. per stone; but last year (1768) never less than 1s. 4d., and from that to 2s. 6d." The trade in fresh salmon ceased by the end of April, as the increasing temperature of the season rendered it impossible to bring the fish to market in a proper state. In case the voyage from Berwick to London proved longer than usual, the vessel near run into the nearest port, and the cargo, which would have been spoiled had it been brought to London, was disposed of. The trade had nearly ceased at the time when it is now the most active, as the heat of the water spoiled the fish during a long voyage. In the Correspondence of the late Sir George Sinclair there is a letter from Mr. George Dempster, which relates the following history of the present mode of packing salmon in ice:—"One day, about the year 1784 or 1785, Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, a faithful servant to the East India Company, and I were shown into one of the waiting-rooms of the East India House. During our stay there, among other interesting matters respecting his voyages, Mr. Dalrymple told me the coasts of China abounded with snow-houses; that the fishers of China carried snow in their boats, and, by means thereof, were able in the heat of summer to convey fresh fish into the very interior parts of China. I took pen and ink, and on the spot wrote an account of this conversation to Mr. Richardson, who, as well as others, has been in the practice of conveying salmon in ice from the river Tay to London, and from Aberdeen, Montrose, and Inverness, places of five, six, and seven hundred miles. In Mr. Richardson I found a very grateful correspondent, for soon afterwards I received, on a New Year's Day, a letter from him, containing a draft on his banker for £200 to purchase a piece of plate for Mrs. Dempster." Packed in boxes as soon as caught, and covered with pounded ice which froze into a solid mass, salmon could be preserved in an excellent state for six days, and the smacks were exclusively freighted with them. There were previously two branches of salmon-traders in London, one depending upon land-carriage, and the other on the supplies by sea; but the former soon found their occupation gone after this discovery. Steam navigation has rendered the improvement perfect. The arrivals of salmon at Billingsgate average about 30 boxes per day in February and March, each box weighing about

1 cwt. ; 50 boxes in April ; from 80 to 100 in May ; beginning of June from 200 to 300, and at the latter end of the month 500 boxes per day ; which number gradually increases until it amounts during the end of July and the early part of August to 1000 boxes, and frequently more. The average price for the season is about 10*d.*, and is occasionally as low as 5*d.* and 6*d.* : it is lowest when the fish is in the greatest perfection. The quantity brought to Billingsgate in a year is probably more than 2500 tons. It is sent on commission to agents, who charge 5 per cent. and take the risk of bad debts. This business is in few hands, and those engaged in it are the most wealthy of all the dealers in fish.

Billingsgate Market is divided into avenues, lined with stalls, each of which is occupied by a fish salesman ; and there are fish-porters, who form the means of communication between the vessels and the stalls. A visitor who wishes to see Billingsgate in all its life should rise betimes, and reach the market by five in the morning. At a few minutes before five the salesmen take their seats, each at his respective stall ; but before this time the porters have all got their loads ready for instant transmission to the stalls ; for there is a rapidity in the operations at Billingsgate not paralleled in any of the other markets. Fish is so precious when of fine quality, so worthless when stale, that fluctuations in its value may be almost measured by minutes ; and as the west-end fishmongers are willing to pay a higher price for the privilege of first choice, both fishermen and salesmen are eager to have their fish displayed as early as possible. Hence, as impartiality is strictly enforced by the clerk of the market, each dealer is left to make the best of his time when the proper hour arrives. At the striking of the hour the porters, who have been standing in a row at the lower end of the market, with their laden fish-baskets on their heads, run forward, deposit their fish at the stalls of the respective salesmen to whom they are consigned, and run as nimbly back to bring fresh supplies. So uncertain is the supply at the hour of commencement, that there is no knowing what price the fish will command, until the salesmen have fairly displayed their stores and the dealers have assembled. The salesman names a price, high or low, according to his judgment of the relation between supply and demand at the moment. In most cases the dealer offers a lower price, and an actual purchase price soon establishes itself between them. Oysters are sold in a different way ; the dealers go on board the oyster-boats, and there make their purchases. During the first hour the market is wholly in the hands of the higher class of fishmongers, those who select the best fish and pay the highest price ; then come the fishmongers of humbler rank, and afterwards the street hawkers, who buy up everything that is left. Fish, unlike corn, cannot be kept back until the price rises : it must go for whatever it will fetch ; hence, towards the close of the market, hawkers can sometimes buy fish at remarkably low prices. The wholesale market is over at nine o'clock.

There are in addition a few miscellaneous branches of import, which, though small in reference to the general trade of London, would appear large almost anywhere else. The import of *Potatoes*, for instance, which is chiefly carried on along the Southwark shore, employs many coasting vessels, and numerous men as porters, &c. *Hay* and *Straw* are brought both up and down the river, and a great portion of the import is landed at the lower part of Hungerford Market ; to this spot also are brought great quantities of *Fresh Vegetables* in small wherries, from the market-gardens higher up the river, but only for transit thence to Covent Garden Market.

The Custom House system has been already noticed in No. 6.

The *Bridges* and *Docks* will form the subject of our next papers.



LONDON AND SOUTHWARK BRIDGES



BLACKFRIARS AND WAT



WESTMINSTER AND VAUXHALL



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXII. THE BRIDGES, ETC.





## XXII. THE BRIDGES.

In treating of the Bridges, although Hammersmith is now almost a part of London, and its elegant suspension bridge deserves a passing mention, we shall go no farther east than Chelsea, from which the ugly wooden bridge gives a passage to the semirural parish of Battersea with its marsh, now about to be converted into a park for the recreation of the inhabitants of the metropolis. Taking our departure in the steam-boat, we first perceive the preparations for the new bridge about to be constructed in order to afford a more convenient and direct passage to the new park, the first piles of which were driven early in January of the present year. We pass in our way many a place or building of literary or historical interest. There on our left, just beyond the pier, you see, in that handsome row of lofty aristocratical-looking houses facing the river, the building once occupied by the famous Don Saltero, and where you may still take a cup of coffee or a glass of wine, and muse over all the old memories of the famous Museum of Curiosities. On the same side, within the walls of that ancient church with its brick tower, lie buried the mutilated remains of the great Chancellor More (a fine monument marks the spot); and it was there that, whilst Lord Chancellor, he was accustomed to put on a surplice, and sing in the choir with the other choristers. We look in vain for any traces of More's house; that house which Henry at one time so loved to visit, and where More introduced Holbein to his notice; that house at which Erasmus too was a frequent visitor whilst in England, and of which he speaks in such delightful terms. "With him" (More), he says, "you might imagine yourself in the academy of Plato. But I should do injustice to his house by comparing it to the academy of Plato, where numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes moral virtues, were the subjects of discussion: it would be more just to call it a school and an exercise of the Christian religion. All its inhabitants, male and female, applied their leisure to liberal studies and profitable reading, although piety was their first care. No wrangling, no angry word, was heard in it; no one was idle; every one did his duty with alacrity, and not without a temperate cheerfulness." The great court of Chelsea Hospital here too extends its front to the water, with its porticoes and piazzas, reminding us of the poor orange girl, Nell Gwynn, who, according to the tradition, lived to influence a king's mind to the accomplishment of such a work; and where those trees, with their intensely-black foliage expanded horizontally on the air, attract the eye, is the botanical garden of the Apothecaries' Company; and the trees are cedars of Lebanon, grown, we believe, from slips of the original Syrian trees of Scripture, presented to Sir Hans Sloane, the founder of the garden. On the other side of the river the white stones of the "marge," and the bright green of the sward of the embankment above, show what is to be the park. The steam-boat here stops for an instant nearly opposite a place famous in the annals of Cockney diversions, the Red House; from whence there is little to attract attention till we reach Vauxhall, except the large factories, and the modern houses recently built on what were the Neat-house vegetable gardens and where the old Pest-houses formerly stood.

This structure was at first called Regent Bridge, we presume from the circumstance

that the first stone was laid by Lord Dundas, as proxy for the Prince Regent (George IV.); but one chief advantage of the proposed structure having in all probability been the facility it would afford to the visitors of the famous gardens, the name of Vauxhall was eventually given to it. Vauxhall Bridge is of iron, and, it is said, the lightest structure of the kind in Europe. It has been supposed that we are the inventors of iron bridges, but the nation that lays claim to so many other wonders undoubtedly has the best right to this, as may be seen from a reference to Du Halde's work on *China*. Vauxhall, like Putney and Westminster, was opposed by the City—the event shows with what success. The work was carried on by a body of shareholders, who were to be repaid by tolls. The original proposer was a gentleman, the projector of tunnels, Mr. Ralph Dodd, who certainly seems to have had the misfortune of constantly witnessing other men reaping the honours he had sown. The managers of Vauxhall seem to have been particularly difficult to please. Not only Mr. Dodd, but Sir J. Bentham and Mr. Rennie were for a short time employed by them, whilst, after all, the design of the existing bridge belongs to Mr. James Walker. The work was commenced on the 9th of May, 1811, the weather that day being so bad that, although the coins, &c., were deposited by the Regent's proxy, the stone was left for the time uncovered. In September, 1813, Prince Charles, eldest son of the Duke of Brunswick (so soon after killed at Waterloo), laid the first stone of the abutments on the Surrey side. The entire work was finished in 1816, at an expense of about £300,000, and opened in the month of July. The iron superstructure with its nine arches is supported on rusticated stone piers. The arches are equal, each 78 feet in span; the roadway measures 36 feet across; and the entire length of the bridge is 809 feet. From the bridge roadway a staircase descends by one of the piers to a steam-boat landing-pier.

We are again on our way, and some of the passengers are wondering what that strange-looking building can be, with so many angular wings and small extinguisher-capped towers or buttresses on the left: that is the Penitentiary, where Bentham had hoped to have seen his views on prison discipline carried out, but was thwarted by the personal influence of King George III., in opposition to his own ministry; and although the building was erected according to his designs, the plan pursued with regard to discipline was not Bentham's. As we pass the Horseferry, where, prior to the erection of the bridge we are fast approaching (Westminster), passengers were accustomed to cross, we are reminded of one proposal that has never yet been carried into effect—a proposal for another metropolitan bridge, to extend from the Horseferry to Lambeth stairs, beside the gateway of Lambeth Palace. It was to be called the Royal Clarence Bridge, and an Act was brought into Parliament. But there the matter seems to have stopped, and is likely to remain; so we must content ourselves, if we desire to cross the Thames here, with the same mode of conveyance which prevailed so far back as the seventh century; when, according to the old legend, St. Peter descended to perform himself the act of dedication to himself of the new church which Sebert, King of the East Saxons, had just built on the site of the ruins of a temple of Apollo, flung down by an earthquake. St. Peter, it appears, descended on the Surrey side, with a host of heavenly choristers, but, the night being stormy, had great difficulty in finding any one to carry him over. Eddic, a fisherman, at length crossed with him in his wherry, beheld the illumination which streamed forth from the church windows, and then took the saint back to the Surrey shore; being rewarded on his way by a miraculous draught of salmon, and the promise that if he gave a tenth to the church, he should never want plenty of that fish. Such is the relation of the circumstances attending the earliest erection of a church on the site of the



abbey whose beautiful towers yet appear above the line of the unfinished Houses of Parliament.

Those who may have occasion to cross the river by a wherry from the stairs at the foot of the fine old gateway of Lambeth Palace to Millbank on the opposite side, are landed on a shelving slope directly opposite the end of Market Street, and a little southward of the church of St. John the Evangelist. At the top of the slope stands a little wooden house; that is the old ferry-house, and the place is that of the old horse-ferry. Directly opposite, some hundred yards or so from Lambeth Palace, is an opening to an obscure street, still known as Ferry Street; and one, if not both, of the houses, which then formed considerable inns, still stand there, where travellers were accustomed to wait for the return of the boat, or for better weather than prevailed at the moment of their arrival, or to stay all night and sleep there if the day were far spent and themselves somewhat timid. How primitive all this seems! One can hardly be satisfied that we are really speaking of the Thames at Westminster, and a time so little removed. The horse-ferry, it appears, belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury from time immemorial, by whom it was leased at a rent of £20 at the time of its suppression on the opening of the bridge. Both the archbishop and the lessee received compensation.

A strenuous opposition was long shown to the project of a better mode of transit over the river, one more in accordance with the skill and enterprise and capital of the eighteenth century, as well as with the demands of industry, trade, and commerce. The obstinacy of the principles which actuated the opposers may be judged from the long duration of the contest which our local reformers had had to maintain. Their first movements took place so early as the reign of Elizabeth, and were followed up during almost every succeeding reign, and particularly during the periods of James I., the two Charleses, and George I., in each of which the matter was brought before Parliament. On one of the latest of these unsuccessful attempts the petition presented to the House was met by a counter-petition from the Londoners, who exhibited great alarm and anxiety on all such occasions, and now remonstrated in language that might imply they felt the very existence of the trade and welfare of London depended on keeping Westminster without a bridge for ever. The Company of Watermen also warmly opposed the project, saying it would be highly prejudicial to its members, by greatly lessening, if not totally destroying, several ferries between Vauxhall and the Temple, which they had power to work on Sunday, and which produced a very considerable sum yearly, for the benefit of poor, aged, decayed, and maimed watermen and their widows. This opposition was somewhat more rational, and was rationally set aside by compensation. It excites a smile to read of some of the other enemies of the proposed bridge: side by side with the petitions of the City of London, the Borough of Southwark, and the Watermen's Company, was the petition of the *West Country Bargemen*. On the third reading of the Bill in the House of Commons the petitions from all these parties came pouring in together, and the similarity of their language shows that their unanimity was indeed wonderful. It "will be a great prejudice to the navigation of the river of Thames, so as to render it dangerous, if not impracticable," says the City; it "will tend to obstruct the navigation of the river Thames," says the Company of Watermen; it "will greatly obstruct the navigation of the said river," say the lightermen and bargemen: but these last had an additional horror in store. It "will," they add gravely, "endanger the *lives of the petitioners* and the *loss of goods or merchandise* by them carried." "How, in the name of common sense?" might have been well asked; but the thing was too farcical to be worthy of any serious notice. Assured, however, of compensation, as all the parties were who had

the slightest right to it, before the bill was passed, there seems to have been an intense bitterness of feeling excited; and if we may judge from a clause in the Act, some danger was apprehended that, in the failure of all fair means, foul would be resorted to. The clause in question provides that persons wilfully destroying or damaging the said bridge should suffer *death*. The act passed, after counsel had been heard for and against the measure, on the 31st of March, 1736, by a vote of 117 to 12. It was odd enough that, whilst the first debate was going on, the Thames, as if anxious to know what was determined in a matter so nearly affecting its interests, came up almost to the very doors of the Parliament House, and left the lawyers in Westminster Hall a foot deep of water to wade through. The site chosen for the bridge, after much consideration, was from the Woolstaple or thereabouts, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, to the opposite shore in Lambeth. The erasure of the last vestige of the once-celebrated market for wool, to which generally, in common with a few other places, all staple commodities were obliged to be brought and weighed for the payment of the customs, now followed.

The mode of raising the money required was by lottery, that ever-ready resource of the last century, when new works had to be built, or old ones that had failed in their object to be paid for, and which statesmen did not hesitate, as in the present instance, to adopt as the readiest mode of obtaining finances for extraordinary occasions. The act authorised the raising of £625,000; from which the prizes having been paid, the residue, calculated at £100,000, was for the new work. There were altogether three lotteries, and the funds were placed in the hands of the Bridge Commissioners. This body consisted of two hundred peers and members of the House of Commons, to whom was intrusted the direction of affairs, "and who," says Labelye, the architect of the bridge (writing at the period of its erection), "notwithstanding their great trouble, care, and wearisome attendance in the discharge of the several important trusts reposed in them by the Legislature, have absolutely no kind of salaries, perquisites, fees, rewards, or consideration whatsoever, except, as a nobleman among them nobly expresses it, *the honour of doing what was thought impossible*." Why the erection of a bridge over the Thames should be thought a work of such great difficulty as to be spoken of in these terms, we can now hardly understand; we have grown familiar with this kind of architectural greatness. But when Westminster Bridge was undertaken England had seen no work of corresponding magnitude performed since the building of Old London Bridge, six centuries before, and that structure, making every allowance for the difference between ancient and modern engineering, was a work, by comparison, as easy to build, as it was awkward and dangerous when accomplished. Having referred to the architect of the bridge, we may here say a few words on him and his publication. He was by birth a Swiss, who appears to have been patronised, if he was not brought over to England, by the Earl of Pembroke, the chief of the acting commissioners, but who became a naturalised subject of England, and proud of his adopted land. He was a man highly esteemed, it is said, for his honour and probity. On the completion of the bridge he retired to spend his latter days in the more congenial atmosphere of France, where he died in 1762. Such is the entire amount of the biography of this able man that we have met with. Neither Horace Walpole nor Mr. Allan Cunningham mention him among their other notices and lives of architects, in their respective works on the subject.

On looking at the spot chosen, Labelye found the width of the river to be about 1220 feet, or 300 feet wider than London Bridge. The line across the water was almost due east and west. Most people are aware that the general mode of erecting piers of bridges is by the cofferdam, a kind of wall of wood formed of piles separately



driven in, enclosing the space required, from which the water may then be drawn ; but Labelye's method was different, and in England, we believe, at the time, new. He proposed to the commissioners that the foundation of every pier should be laid on a strong grating of timber planked underneath ; that this grating of timber should be made the bottom of a vessel, such as is called *caisson* by the French ; that the sides of this caisson should be so contrived as to be taken away after the pier should be finished ; that the bed of the river should be dug to a sufficient depth and made level, in order to lay thereon the bottom of the caisson ; that wherever the ground under the excavation or pit should prove good, there would be no necessity for piling it ; but that, in case the ground under the foundation-pit should not prove of a sufficient consistence, it should be piled all over as closely as necessary ; the heads of these piles then to be sawn level, close to the bottom of the pit, and on their tops the grating and foundation of the pier be laid, as is usual in such cases. And this description accurately explains the method followed. The caissons used by Labelye were the largest ever known, containing each one hundred and fifty loads of fir timber. The piers also he proposed should be built in an uncommon manner. Instead of an outward shell of hard stones, filled in the inside with rubble or brick-work, he determined to build them quite solid, and of large blocks of Portland stone. The first stone of the first pier was laid by the Earl of Pembroke, January, 1739. It was on the 23rd of April, he tells us, "the festival of St. George, the first pier was entirely completed, having been executed with all the success that could be desired." By the time they got to the fourth pier the work proceeded with great celerity, and that part of the bridge was finished in twenty days.

Up to this period the intention of the commissioners was to erect a timber superstructure of very peculiar and ingenious construction. But an accident gave Labelye the power of carrying out his entire design, and the metropolis a bridge worthy of it. This was the great *frost*, which, commencing on Christmas-day, 1739, continued with extraordinary severity for several weeks. The Thames soon began to be impassable on account of the floating masses of ice, which, gradually becoming fixed, gave a strangely wild and picturesque character to the scene. The river appeared like a far-stretching snowy field, covered with huge icy rocks. People began to pass to and fro, then booths were erected, until the whole became a kind of continued fair, and the printing-presses scattered about were busily employed in diffusing records of so novel an occurrence. The frost was as extensive in its sphere of operations as it was severe. In Ireland persons passed across the fresh-water lake Lough Neagh on the ice, a distance of twenty miles. In Poland and Lithuania the very bears and wolves were driven from their hiding-places into the open country, and became a new calamity to the inhabitants. Trees were split, bread and most other eatables had to be thawed by the fire before they could be cut, water still liquid froze in the very act of pouring it from one vessel into another, and stood up in the glass like an icicle ; the warm blood stiffened in the veins ; persons were found dead on the highways, and some of the poor even in their houses. The damage to the shipping, &c., on the Thames was very great ; vessels with valuable ladings sunk, and others, with lighters and boats innumerable, were greatly injured. The works of the bridge were not destined to escape. All the piles then standing, one hundred and forty in number, were torn away from their strong fastenings, and above half of them snapped in two, and other mischief of less importance was done. But the apparent evil was in this case a great good. It set the minds of the commissioners to work to re-consider their purpose. Whilst the frost continued no advance could be made, and, says Labelye, "during that interruption some commissioners observed at the Board that the goodness of the



method made use of in building the piers was then sufficiently tested; that the public in general was highly disgusted at the thoughts of having a wooden bridge," and spoke freely of its disadvantages, among which was the liability of "being carried away or greatly damaged by any future heaps of ice such as was then on the frozen Thames." The subject of the repairs of a wooden bridge was now agitated, and that soon decided the question. Its contractors declined undertaking to keep it in repair at any fixed price; and before the labourers were able to recommence the work, on the discontinuance of the frost in February, 1740, Labelye had obtained the sanction of the commissioners to a bridge of stone, with fifteen arches, and abutments, all on what was then esteemed a peculiarly grand scale; the former, for instance, increasing from a span of 52 feet (excluding the small abutment arches) on each side, to one of 76 for the centre arch, and the piers from 12 feet broad to 17. The entire length of the bridge was to be 1220 feet, its breadth 40. The work was finally completed in November, 1750.

Recent circumstances enable us to add a useful appendix to this narration. An extensive reparation of the bridge has been for some time going on, having for its object to strengthen the foundations of the pier undermined by the flow of the Thames since the removal of Old London Bridge; to lower the roadway in the centre, to raise the approaches, and, by removing the balustrades, to lessen the weight upon the arches. But the reparation has not been completely effectual, and the bridge must doubtless within a short time come down. A bill for this purpose, and for erecting a new one, is now before the House of Commons.

From Westminster we approach the elegant suspension bridge, called at first Charing Cross Bridge, and now known as Hungerford Bridge. It extends from Hungerford Market, on the Middlesex shore, to Pedlar's Acre, on the Surrey shore. It was begun in 1841, and opened to the public in 1845, at a total cost of £110,000. The architect was Mr. I. K. Brunel. The chains, which support the roadway, four in number, run over two towers built in the Italian style, which rest on inverted arches, placed without piles on the natural bed of the river. They are built of brick, and are 90 feet high from high-water mark, while the roadway in the centre is 32 feet from the same point. Down one of these towers, each of which is 22 feet square, is a staircase leading to a steam-boat pier. It forms three arches or openings, of which the centre one has a span of 676 feet 6 inches; the two others have openings of 333 feet each. The width of the roadway is 14 feet. It is only intended for foot-passengers, and the toll is a halfpenny. The main arch has a wider span than any other in the country, that of the Menai Bridge, the next largest, being only 560 feet.

From Hungerford to Waterloo there is little on either side of individual interest to attract the attention, unless the scientific mysteries of the shot-towers on one side, or the grave respectability of many of the old houses yet remaining on the other, with their projecting bow windows—those not unworthy-looking descendants of the old palatial mansions of the place—be considered exceptions. There is the fine water-gate, too, of Inigo Jones, the last remnant of the mansion of the haughty Duke of Buckingham. Waterloo Bridge is now immediately before us; and, as we gaze long and earnestly on that exquisite combination of all that is most valuable in bridge architecture with all that is most beautiful,—the broad and level roadway, and the light and elegant balustrade, the almost indestructible foundations, and the airy sweep of the arches they support,—we feel the justice of Canova's opinion, that this is the finest bridge in Europe, and can appreciate the great artist's enthusiasm when he added that it was alone worth coming from Rome to London to see. And in Canova's words the opinion of professional men, English and foreign, as well as of the most

enlightened connoisseurs, has found voice. It was at first intended to have erected a wooden bridge; but after much opposition and enormous expense an Act for a stone bridge was obtained, in 1809. The proprietors were incorporated under the title of the "Strand Bridge Company," with power to raise £500,000, but which was subsequently increased from time to time, and ultimately above a million was expended on the work. The man whose name is so indissolubly connected with some of the mightiest outward manifestations of the greatness of London, her bridges and docks (we refer to the late Mr. John Rennie), was applied to for designs. In London one-half the bridges, and those the finest, may be said to belong to him; for whilst Waterloo and Southwark were built under his direct superintendence, he also furnished the designs for London, which, after his death in 1821, were acted upon by his son, the present Sir John Rennie. Two designs were furnished for the proposed Strand Bridge, one with seven, the other with nine arches: the last was adopted. The site chosen was the space extending from a little to the west of Somerset Place, on the Middlesex shore, to a part close by Cuper's Bridge, on that of Surrey. The road from the bridge to the Obelisk in St. George's Fields was formed at the same time, and the splendid approaches on the other side also date from the erection of the bridge. During the progress of the latter, the site of Waterloo Place was partly occupied by remains of the Savoy Palace, its fine Gothic windows and buttressed walls exciting the grief of many an antiquary who came to look on them for the last time. With these was also swept away the chapel of the German Reformed Protestants.

The first stone of the bridge was laid on the 11th of October, 1811, when a block of Cornish granite was lowered over an excavation containing gold and silver coins of the reign, and a plate with a suitable inscription. The foundations, unlike those of Blackfriars and Westminster Bridges, were laid in coffer-dams. This was the most expensive, but the most certain and durable mode. The ground was found to consist mainly of a stratum of gravel over a stratum of clay, into which piles of beech and elm, twenty feet long and twelve thick, were driven in three concentric rows. The whole was then strengthened by masonry. The surface of the piers, as well as of the abutments and entire superstructure, were built of blocks of Craigleith and Derbyshire granite. In building the arches the stones were rammed together with great force; so that when the centres were removed, not one of them sunk more than an inch and a half. It has been well said that the accuracy of the work is as extraordinary as its beauty. Not the least noticeable part of the bridge are the series of arches on each side, which raise the road to the level of the bridge. There are no less than thirty-nine of these semicircular brick arches on the Surrey side, each of sixteen feet span, in addition to one of larger dimensions, that crosses the road now lying buried, as it were, in the hollow beneath, and sixteen on the Strand side. Over these arches is carried a magnificent roadway of 70 feet in width. If to the length of the bridge, 1326 feet, we add the abutments, 54, and the range of brick arches, 1076, we have a total length of 2456 feet! A writer in the 'Edinburgh Review' some years ago, speaking of the pride of the Parisians in their three new bridges (for they, like us, added that number to their capital in the early part of the present century), says that even in surface and mass alone Waterloo would surpass the three bridges united. Certainly the dimensions we have given divest the remark of any appearance of exaggeration.

As the work advanced towards completion, the name (Strand Bridge) was altered, for reasons thus expressed in the Act of Parliament of 1816, relating to the structure:—"Whereas the said bridge, when completed, will be a work of great stability and magnificence, and such works are adapted to transmit to posterity the remembrance of



great and glorious achievements, and whereas the company of proprietors are desirous that a designation shall be given to the said bridge which shall be a lasting record of the brilliant and decisive victory [Waterloo], achieved by His Majesty's forces, in conjunction with those of his allies, on the 18th day of June, 1815." The bridge thus received the appellation it now bears. Similar considerations fixed the date of the public opening. June 18 (1817).—This day, the anniversary of the glorious victory of Waterloo, the magnificent new bridge which crosses the Thames from the Strand, was opened with appropriate ceremonies by the Prince Regent himself. A toll is taken on this bridge for horses, carriages, and foot-passengers. For foot-passengers it was originally a penny, but has been reduced to a halfpenny.

Between Waterloo and Blackfriars Bridges, the magnificent façade of Somerset House, and the fresh-looking gardens of the Temple, are the chief objects of attraction—each calling up a long train of historical memories. Before the building of Blackfriars Bridge the neighbourhood on the City side of the river was of a very low and disreputable character. Bridewell, the Fleet Prison, and Newgate, with Fleet Market, and the Fleet River open in Bridge Street, and a parcel of miserable ruinous houses at the back of Fleet Street, proved a nuisance, that the City authorities thought might be well got rid of, and at a comparatively low price. They therefore determined here to build their new bridge.

On the other side of the river the aspect of affairs was still more favourable. On the Surrey shore extended one long line of houses, with handsomely laid-out gardens at the back. The first step taken by the committee, to whom the direction of the new work was entrusted, was that of advertising for plans, and there was no lack of communications. After much discussion, in which Dr. Johnson took an active part against the successful candidate, the work was entrusted to Mr. Mylne, a native of Edinburgh, and the first pile was driven in the middle of the Thames on the 7th of May, 1760, and was broken in the course of the ensuing week by a west-country bargeman. The foundations of every pier were to be piled, in order to guard against the recurrence of such accidents as the sinking of the pier at Westminster Bridge a few years before. Mylne, like Labeledye, built his piers with caissons. There is lying in the British Museum (the gift of the architect himself) a model of a part of his bridge, representing the plan of his centre frames (the wood-work on which the stone is laid during the formation of the arch), which shows that in this part of his work he was original and eminently happy. The first caisson was "launched with great dexterity" on the 19th of May, but the tide was not high enough to float it off to its destined station, and the populace assembled were greatly disappointed. On the 2nd of June it was conveyed to its moorings within the piles, and duly descended to its place. The first stone was laid on the 31st of October by the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Chitty, attended by the members of the committee, and a brilliant assemblage of other personages, when various coins were deposited in the proper place, and certain large plates, of pure tin, with an inscription in Latin, stating that the work was undertaken "amidst the rage of an extensive war," and ending with the following glowing eulogy on the minister: "And that there might remain to posterity a monument of this city's affection to the man who, by the strength of his genius, the steadiness of his mind, and a certain kind of happy contagion of his probity and spirit (under the Divine favour, and fortunate auspices of George II.), recovered, augmented, and secured the British Empire in Asia, Africa, and America, and restored the ancient reputation and influence of his country amongst the nations of Europe, the citizens of London have unanimously voted this bridge to be inscribed with the name of William Pitt." Among the other medals deposited in the stone was a silver one, which had been cherished as the memorial of



the young architect's first triumph, the medal given him by the Academy at Rome. Should some future antiquary, say in the year of Our Lord 5851, have the rummaging of these stores, we may imagine the delight with which he would arrive at this.

We have little more to say concerning the erection of the bridge. It appears, from the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' that on the 1st of October, 1764, the great arch was opened, and that the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, &c., in the City barge, "with her oars in full play, passed through it. The workmen ranged themselves round the rim of the arch, one man to each stone, on the occasion, which had a very pretty effect in showing the magnificence of the arch, by a comparative view of the men and the stones." It was opened for foot-passengers in 1766, a temporary footway having been made across the arches; for horses in 1768; and completely on the 19th of November, 1769. The embankments and approaches, which were works of considerable difficulty, occupied some years longer. The funds for the work had been raised by loan, on the security of the City, the loan to be repaid by tolls levied on the bridge. These were very successful, producing, in the first twelve weeks, £758, and in a subsequent year (from Lady-day, 1782, to Lady-day, 1783) above £8000: ultimately Government bought the tolls, and made the bridge free. The entire expense was nearly £300,000; but it is greatly to the credit of the architect that he built the bridge itself for some £180 less than his estimate; he said the expense should not exceed £163,000; it was just £152,840 3s. 10d. Our readers, after this statement, will be surprised to hear how shabbily he was treated. He had been engaged during the progress of the work at a salary of £300 a-year, with the promise of a further remuneration of 5 per cent. on the money laid out. Some honest gentlemen, however, objected to the payment of the per-centage; and Mylne was obliged to assume a hostile position before he could obtain it in 1776.

The repair of Blackfriars, like that of Westminster Bridge, has been of late years a most expensive and laborious business. This partly arises from the soft nature of the Portland stone of which both bridges are erected, and its peculiar unfitness to resist the action of water. Blackfriars being examined in 1833 by Messrs. Walker and Burgess (the foundations by means of Deane's patent helmet), it was found that almost every part of the work required reparation—new piling, for which cofferdams had to be made, new cutwaters, new arch-stones, &c. The extent of the repair needed may be best understood from the estimated expense, £90,000! But it was inevitable, so an Act of Parliament was obtained, and the work proceeded with. The foundations of the piers were first rendered secure by a casing of sheet piling covered with granite masonry. The cutwaters were then raised as well as repaired, so as to shorten the Ionic columns above, which is considered to be an improvement in the general appearance of the bridge, and the balustrade was replaced by a solid stone parapet. The increased current of the river, however, occasioned by the removal of the impediment of old London Bridge, has so scoured the bed as to occasion the subsidence of one of the piers, and the cracking of one of the arches, in 1850. The damage was not very severe, and is now almost wholly remedied, though it has been found necessary to strengthen the arch which had yielded, with an iron arch, and to protect the piers by shooting chalk into the river at their feet, which forms a concrete.

Not the least interesting part of the river is that now lying on our right between the bridges of Blackfriars and Southwark, and known generally from a very remote period as the Bankside. The stairs towards which yonder wherry with its somewhat heavy load is gliding are called Paris Garden Stairs, the last relic of the once popular place of amusement when bear-baiting was not only a fashionable but a queenly sport.

Paris Garden was also a regular playhouse at one period, for one of Ben Jonson's critics, Dekker, reproaches him with his ill success on the stage generally, and in particular with his performance of 'Zuliman' at the Paris Garden. In 1582 the scaffolding supporting the spectators fell during a performance, and great numbers were killed or severely injured. This was looked on as a judgment by many. Beyond Paris Garden were the two chief Bear Gardens, properly so called, as they seem to have been used for such purposes only, and not for dramatic entertainments: the name is yet preserved in that of a street opening from Bankside. Stow describes them as places wherein were kept "bears, bulls, and other beasts to be bayed; as also mastiffs in several kennels nourished to bait them. These bears and other beasts are there baited in plots of ground, scaffolded about, for the beholders to stand safe." Farther on still were the stews or brothels, licensed, as they are to this day in Paris. Their very antiquity imparts a certain degree of interest and respectability to a revolting subject. It appears that "In a Parliament holden at Westminster, the eighth of Henry II., it was ordained by the Commons, and confirmed by the King and Lords, that divers constitutions (or rules) for ever should be kept within that lordship or franchise according to the old customs that had been there used time out of mind." "Old customs" in force "time out of mind" before the reign of Henry II., must be indeed old. There is a curious historical passage connected with these houses. Till the time of Wat Tyler's insurrection they belonged to no less a person than William Walworth, mayor of London; and although we do not exactly wish to insinuate that the worthy mayor was roused by the spoil of this part of his property which ensued at the instance of the rebels, yet it may have done something towards sharpening his zeal, and made him bestir himself so effectually as he did at the critical moment. The original number of houses was eighteen, which were reduced to twelve in the reign of Henry VII. They must have presented a strange-looking aspect from the river, with their signs, "not hanged out, but painted on the walls, as a Boar's Head, the Cross Keys, the Gun, the Castle, the Crane, the Cardinal's Hat, the Bell, the Swan, &c." Stow, the writer of the foregoing quotation, goes on to say, "I have heard ancient men of good credit report that these single women were forbidden the rites of the church so long as they continued that sinful life, and were excluded from Christian burial if they were not reconciled before their death. And therefore there was a plot of ground called 'Single Women's Churchyard,' appointed for them, not far from the parish church."—Stow's 'Survey,' p. 449. The nuisance was at last abolished by "sound of trumpet" towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII. And here, too, on the Bankside, was the Globe Theatre, Shakspeare's theatre, situated very nearly in a line with the approach to the present Southwark Bridge, which now bestrides with its colossal arches about the same part of the river as that through which the courtiers of Elizabeth and James's reigns, in all their bravery of costume, were wont to pass to and fro, to welcome some fresh novelty from the world's master mind, and learn, if they were capable of it, some new lessons in that wondrous school of humanity.

Southwark Bridge was erected at an expense of about £800,000, by a company of proprietors, who obtained the necessary Act of Parliament in 1811. On the third reading of the bill in the House of Commons, Sir T. Turton, in answer to the opposition offered by Sirs W. Curtis and C. Price, of civic fame, remarked that Mr. Rennie had given it as his opinion that London Bridge after one hard frost might not last one year: an excellent reason certainly for expediting the erection of a new bridge in the vicinity. The spot selected was from Bankside on the Surrey shore to a place close by the Three Cranes Wharf, and between that and Queenhithe, on the opposite

or Middlesex bank ; a part of some note even from the very remotest periods of metropolitan history. It forms a portion of the Vintry Ward, so called from the vintners or wine-merchants of Bordeaux, who, from a very early period, were accustomed to bring their lighters and other vessels laden with wine to this part, and there land it by means of cranes (whence the name of Three Cranes Wharf), for sale during the next forty days. But in the reign of Edward I. the vintners complained that they could neither "sell their wines, although paying poundage, neither hire houses nor cellars to lay them in." In consequence, that monarch ordered redress to be given, and houses were built for the merchants' accommodation, with vaults, &c., for the stowage of their wines. The original name of Queenhithe was Edred's hithe (i. e., Edred's harbour). Formerly ships were brought up thus far to discharge their cargoes, London Bridge having a drawbridge which opened to allow them to pass. The name *Queen's hithe* is supposed to be derived from Henry III. having given its profits to his spouse, and at the same time the ships of the cinque ports were compelled to bring their corn thenceforward only to this place.

The bridge was begun on the 23rd of September, 1814, and the first stone of the south pier laid by Lord Keith on the 23rd of May, 1815, who, with the other gentlemen of the committee of management, partook of a cold collation on a temporary bridge erected on the works. The whole was finished in less than five years, and was opened, without any particular ceremony, at midnight (the bridge being brilliantly lighted with gas), in April, 1819. As an iron bridge this is, confessedly without a rival. The arches are, for instance, the largest in existence, the centre one having a span of 240 feet, and each of the two side ones measuring 210 feet. The arch of the famous bridge at Sunderland has a span very nearly equal to this centre arch, but still it is less. As we now pass beneath this gigantic semicircle, and gaze upward upon the great iron-ribbed framework which supports it, one feels half unconsciously inclined to fancy Cyclopean hands must have been here at work. But the engineer, in the sublimity of his views, smiles at our wonder, and reminds us that Telford had previously proposed to erect a bridge at this spot with *one* arch only: "the force of wonder can no farther go;" we do not know, in these days, what we may venture to disbelieve. With the exception of the piers and the abutments, the whole of Southwark Bridge is of cast-iron. The preparing the foundations was a work of unusual magnitude and expense, on account of the extraordinary dimensions of the arches ; of still greater difficulty and importance was the business of casting the superstructure, which took place at the iron-works of Messrs. Walker and Co., Rotherham, Yorkshire. Many of the solid pieces of casting weighed ten tons. There are eight great ribs, from six to eight feet deep, riveted to diagonal braces, in each arch ; and the height of the centre arch above low water is 55 feet. The entire weight of iron is about 5780 tons. In building the bridge a mistake was committed that might have been attended with serious consequences, if timely discovery had not been made. To prevent the natural expansion of the metal with heat, some of the most important joinings of different parts of the work were tightly wedged with iron wedges. But as, in fact, nothing could prevent expansion under the operation of heat, it was found that a very unequal strain was produced, tending to the fracture of the entire bridge. The masons were accordingly employed night and day till the wedges were removed. Having mentioned this oversight, it is but proper to state that the accuracy of the work generally was most surprising. The centre arch sunk at the vortex, on removing the timber framework, just one inch seven-eighths, and that was all. A steam-boat landing-pier is attached to this bridge also.

In the annals of the metropolis at least, if not of the kingdom, London Bridge



has been one of the most famous of our public monuments for not much short of a thousand years. The Thames at London is now crossed by no fewer than eight bridges ; but it is only a century ago since London Bridge afforded the only passage from the one bank of the river to the other, and the only entrance into the town from the south, as it had done for eight centuries previous. Whoever, therefore, went out or came in, to or from the wealthiest, the most populous, and in every sense the most important, parts of the country, or to or from almost any one of the ports of communication with other countries, passed, from the days of the Saxons to near the end of the reign of George II., either over this great thoroughfare or under it. There it stood, looking down, upon the ever-flowing river, and coursed itself by almost as unresting a living tide, of the multitudes of one generation pursuing those of another, amid "the masques and mummeries and triumphs" wherewith each successively sought to gild its mortality. But the bridge itself also underwent various transformations in this long course of ages,

There appears to have been a bridge here at least as early as 1008, for the old Icelandic historian, Snorro Sturleson, gives an account of its being pulled down by the fleet of King Anlaf, or Olave, of Norway, when assisting Ethelred against the Danes. The bridge which King Olave thus pulled down with his ships and their strong cables was no doubt constructed only of wood ; and it appears to have been soon rebuilt of the same material ; for there certainly was once more a bridge over the Thames at London, when the Danish king, Canute, invaded the country in 1016. His fleet, the Saxon chronicler informs us, after stopping for a short time at Greenwich, proceeded up the river to London ; "where," it is added, "they sank a deep ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge."

Old Stow gives the following account of the original foundation of London Bridge, from the report of Bartholomew Linsted, *alias* Fowle, last prior of the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark ;—"A ferry being kept in the place where now the bridge is builded, at length the ferryman and his wife deceasing, left the same ferry to their only daughter, a maiden named Mary, which, with the goods left her by her parents, as also with the profits rising of the said ferry, builded an house of sisters in place where now standeth the east part of St. Mary Overy's church, above the quire, where she was buried, unto which house she gave the oversight and profits of the ferry. But afterwards the said house of sisters being converted into a college of priests, the priests builded the bridge of timber, as all other the great bridges of this land were, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations ; till at length, considering the great charges which were bestowed in the repairing the same, there was, by aid of the citizens and others, a bridge builded with stone." The legend has acquired a prescriptive right to a place in any account of London Bridge, and pity indeed it were that any of those poetical transfigurations of old events, such as this story or that other of Whittington and his cat, should be discarded from the page of history, merely as not being an absolutely literal record of the fact ; such touches or flourishes in the inventive line are part of that privilege of antiquity of which we have here, if not a true narrative, at least a true picture, which is quite as good.

London Bridge is mentioned in a charter of the Conqueror's granted to the monks of Westminster Abbey in 1067 ; but the earliest historic notice we have of it, after that of the device by which Canute got his ships past it, is the account several of our old chroniclers give us of its destruction on the 16th of November, 1091, on which day a furious south-east wind threw down six hundred private houses in the City, besides several churches, and the tide in the river came rushing up with a violence which probably a much stronger fabric than the bridge then was would have been

unable to resist. It was, we are told, entirely swept away. That it was rebuilt, however, soon after its destruction in 1091, is sufficiently probable; and if we may trust a charter of Henry I., quoted by Stow, exempting a certain manor, belonging to the monks of Battle Abbey, from "shires and hundreds, and all other customs of earthly servitude, and namely, from the work of London Bridge and the work of the Castle at Pevensey," it would seem that the expense of the restoration of the bridge, or of maintaining it in repair, was at this time provided for—not, perhaps, as Maitland assumes, by contributions exacted from all the civil bodies and incorporations throughout the kingdom, but—by an assessment levied upon all lands in the county of Surrey (where this manor was), and, no doubt, also in that of Middlesex. Indeed, this would be only conformable to the ancient rule of the common law in regard to bridges. In another charter of the 22nd of Henry I. (A.D. 1122), a grant is made to the monks of Bermondsey of five shillings a year out of the lands pertaining to London Bridge; the small beginning of those endowments of landed property now forming what are called the Bridgehouse Estates, and yielding a revenue, we believe, of between twenty and thirty thousand pounds a year. London Bridge was burnt down in 1136 by a fire, which began in the house of one Ailward, near London Stone, and laid the City in ruins from St. Paul's to Aldgate. Fitzstephen, however, who wrote his curious 'Description' within forty years from this date, speaks of the people as being accustomed in his day to throng the Bridge, all brimful of laughter, when the boat-tilting was exhibited at Easter on the river. Stow asserts, without quoting his authority, that the bridge had been wholly rebuilt, in the year 1163, "by Peter Colechurch, priest and chaplain." It was, no doubt, this erection—like all the preceding ones, still only of timber—that Fitzstephen had in his eye; and this fact, by-the-by, may help to fix, a little more nearly than has yet been done, the era of that writer, or rather of his account of London; which Pegge, his last editor, has shown must have been written some time between 1170 and 1182, but which surely cannot be supposed to have been drawn up after the first stone bridge over the Thames at London had been begun to be built, since, even while expressly noticing the bridge, it makes no mention of any other than one which, from what is said of it, must have been at that time a structure, not in the course of building, but completed and in use. Now the first London Bridge of stone was begun to be built in the year 1176, and was not finished till the year 1209. The architect was the same who had built the last wooden fabric, Peter, Curate of St. Mary Colechurch at the south end of Conyhoop Lane (now Grocers' Alley), on the north side of the Poultry, a chapel distinguished as that in which Thomas à Becket had been baptized. Stow notes that the stone bridge was founded somewhat to the west of the old timber one, which, as appears from the charter of the Conqueror mentioned above, was, at least in that king's time, close to St. Botolph's wharf, still marked by St. Botolph's Lane. Stow contends that it was raised upon strong frames of piles driven into the bed of the river, the first layer of stones being in this way only about three feet under low-water mark. On the outside of the wooden foundations on which the stone piers were thus built, were driven other piles, rising up to low-water mark, and forming the cumbrous trowel-shaped masses about each pier, known, as long as the old bridge existed, by the name of the Starlings. It is doubted, however, whether the starlings were coeval with the erection of the bridge, or were subsequently added to protect and strengthen the original foundations of the piers. Peter of Colechurch died in 1205; so that he had not the satisfaction of seeing his bridge in its finished state. But in the space of nearly thirty years, during which the work had been proceeding under his superintendence, it may



be presumed to have advanced to its last stage: and we are particularly informed that the original architect was buried within the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket, which was erected on the central pier of the bridge. The bridge consisted of twenty arches supported upon nineteen piers; the roadway being 926 feet in length, 60 feet in height from the river, and 40 feet wide from parapet to parapet. But if all this space was originally left as a free passage, it was afterwards reduced to a much narrower thoroughfare. In a patent roll of the 9th year of Edward I., A.D. 1280, mention is made of "innumerable people dwelling upon" the bridge; and as this was only about seventy years after it had been finished, it seems most probable that there were some houses upon it from the first. In course of time it became a continued street built on both sides, with the exception of only three openings at unequal distances, from which there was a view of the river in each direction. Besides the private houses, however, there were some other erections which might be considered as forming properly a part of the bridge. Of these the most famous was the chapel, already mentioned, dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, which stood upon the east side of the street, over the tenth or central pier, which on that account was carried a long way farther out towards the east than the other piers. Its front to the street, which was thirty feet in length, was divided by four buttresses, crowned with crocketed spires, into three compartments; of which the central one contained a large arched window, and the two others the entrances into the chapel from the street. The interior consisted of an upper chapel and a crypt—the latter, which was about twenty feet in height, and the vaulted roof of which was supported by clustered columns of great elegance, having an entrance from the river by means of a flight of stairs leading from the starling of the pier, as well as others from the upper room and from the street. Both apartments were lighted by rows of arched windows, looking out upon the water. This chapel continued to be used for divine worship down to the Reformation. Between the chapel and the Southwark end of the bridge, one of the arches, or junctions of the piers (the eleventh from the Southwark end), was formed by a drawbridge; and at the north end of this opening was a tower, which Stow tells us was begun to be built as it stood in his time in the year 1426. But probably a similar building had stood there from the first erection of the bridge. On the top of the front of this tower the heads of persons executed for high treason used to be stuck, till it was replaced in the latter part of the sixteenth century by a very singular edifice of wood, called Nonsuch House, which is said to have been constructed in Holland, and brought over in pieces, when it was set up here without the assistance of either mortar or iron, only wooden pegs being used to hold it together. It extended across the bridge by means of an archway, and was a very gay and fantastic structure, elaborately carved both on its principal front towards Southwark, and on its east and west gables, which protruded a considerable way beyond the line of the bridge, while the square towers at each of its four corners, crowned by short domes, or Kremlin spires, and their gilded vanes, were seen from all directions ascending above all the surrounding buildings. When the old tower which had occupied this site was taken down in 1577, the exposed heads were removed to the tower over the gate at the Southwark end, or the foot of the bridge, as it was commonly called; and that gate now received the name of Traitors' Gate. The tower here was also rebuilt about the same time, and with its four circular turrets, connected by curtains and surmounted by battlements, all likewise carved in wood, formed another conspicuous and imposing ornament of this great highway reared on the bosom of the Thames. But, although London Bridge remained substantially what its first architect made it till it was taken down, there was no part of it, not excepting even the arches and the



piers themselves, that had not been, probably in most cases more than once, modified and transformed in the long interval between the years 1205 and 1832. Not only had the mere lapse of time done its usual work, but visitations of a more violent character had, on several occasions, threatened it with destruction, and necessitated the most extensive repairs. It had scarcely been well finished, when on the night of the 10th of July, 1212, it was greatly injured by a fire, which, having first enveloped the church of St. Mary Overy's (then called Our Lady of the Canons), caught the Southwark gate, and thence was carried by the wind to the London end of the bridge, after a vast crowd of people had collected upon it, who were thus hemmed in between the two advancing masses of flame, and perished miserably, to the number, Stow relates, of "above three thousand persons, whose bodies were found in part or half burned, beside those that were wholly burned to ashes, and could not be found." Perhaps the newly-built bridge, in the confusions of the time, was allowed to remain without any effectual measures being taken to restore what this calamity had laid waste : for sixty-eight years after it is represented as in a ruinous condition, and as threatening to fall down altogether unless it should be speedily repaired. This is the language of Edward I.'s patent roll of 1280 already quoted. In the very next year, 1281, five of the arches of the bridge were carried away by the ice or a swell in the river succeeding a severe snow-storm and frost. In 1437, on the 14th of January, at noon, Stow records in his 'Annals,' "the great stone gate at London Bridge, with the tower upon it, next to Southwark, fell down, and two of the farthest arches of the same bridge, and yet no man perished in body, which was a great work of God." On the 13th of February, 1633, between eleven and twelve at night, a fire broke out in the house of one Briggs, a needle-maker, near St. Magnus Church, occasioned by the carelessness of a maid-servant in placing some hot coals under a flight of stairs, which raged till eight in the morning, and consumed all the houses on the bridge, forty-three in number, from the north end to the first opening on both sides. The houses thus destroyed do not appear to have been all rebuilt when the great fire of 1666 occurred ; which, although it did not make its way across the bridge, reduced again to a heap of ruins as much of both sides of the street between the City end and the first vacant space, as had been restored since the preceding conflagration. The stone-work of the bridge was so much shaken and weakened on this occasion, that it cost an expenditure of fifteen hundred pounds to make good the damage. After the piers and arches were repaired, however, building leases were eagerly taken, and in about five years the line of houses was once more complete on both sides of the street. Again, on the night of Wednesday, the 8th of September, 1725, a fire broke out, through the carelessness of a servant, in the house of a brush-maker, near St. Olave's, Tooley Street, (another account says, of a haberdasher of hats, on the bridge foot,) which consumed about sixty houses in all, among which were several on the first and second arches of that end of the bridge, and so greatly damaged the bridge gate—the old Traitors' Gate—that it had to be taken down and rebuilt from the foundation. Various alterations were also made in later times, with the view of warding off the gradual decay of the structure, or improving both the roadway over it and the navigation under it, and accommodating it to the demands of a constantly-increasing traffic both by land and water. In 1582 was first erected at the London end the famous engine for raising water for the supply of the City—the invention of Peter Morris, "a Dutchman, but a free denizen"—which was originally moved only by the tide flowing through the first arch ; but for the support of which several more of the watercourses at that end of the bridge were afterwards successively converted into cataracts or rapids, to the no small inconvenience of the naviga-



tion. The lease of the proprietors, which ran for five hundred years from the first grant to Morris, at last comprehended all the stream of the river to the fifth arch inclusive; and the water-works, which had by various improvements become one of the most curious and powerful systems of hydraulic mechanism ever constructed, continued in operation till an act of parliament was obtained for their removal in 1822. Latterly there were water-works also, though on a smaller scale, at the other end of the bridge, for the supply of the inhabitants of the Borough; they occupied two of the arches. Here were anciently several corn mills, for the use of the citizens of both divisions of the metropolis, which were erected, Stow tells us, about the year 1508.

The true old historic character of the bridge was destroyed, however greatly it might be improved as a thoroughfare and means of communication, when the dwelling-houses and other buildings upon it were removed. This was begun to be done in 1757, though the operations appear to have proceeded slowly, and were not completed till some years later. The gate at the Southwark end was left standing till 1766.

But old age, with its infirmities that no art can cure, was now fast coming upon Peter of Colechurch's venerable structure, as it comes alike surely, sooner or later, upon man himself, and upon all the works of his hands; and for more than a century the ancient pile was only sustained in a serviceable condition by incessant propping and tinkering. The less service, too, it was able to render, the more was required from it; for, while it was growing old and crazy, mighty London was becoming every day more extensive, more populous, more alive with the spirit of traffic and industry of all kinds; and the progress of refinement and luxury was also making people discontented with accommodations which had satisfied earlier times. It was slowly and reluctantly, however, that the Londoners gave up the notion of still repairing their old bridge. In their eyes, indeed, it seemed to be looked upon as a sort of counterpart to the shepherd's boy in the 'Arcadia,' "piping as if he should never grow old." Yet the Corporation, so early as the year 1685, found itself compelled to make the thoroughfare over it in some degree more suitable to the demands of a state of society very different from that for which it had been originally contrived: an inscription of that date upon the north side of Nonsuch House recorded that the street had then been widened from the breadth of twelve feet to that of twenty. Again, in 1697, an Act of Parliament was procured for widening the street at the south end of the bridge; and, in 1722, another for the establishment of certain regulations with the object of keeping the passage free, and securing both the easier transit of carriages and the greater safety of foot-passengers. At last, after the opening of Westminster Bridge in 1749, a loud demand arose from the public for the erection of a new bridge in the City also; and in 1754, the subject was forced upon the Common Council. After much violent debate and controversy, it was conceded that a new bridge should be built at Blackfriars; but it was resolved that London Bridge should still be left standing, and only be repaired, and have the houses upon it pulled down. This was done; and the bridge, as a means of communication, was thereby rendered greatly more commodious; but, architecturally, it was probably rather weakened than strengthened by the operations that were at the same time resorted to with the view of improving the navigation. In 1761 Smeaton, the engineer, who had been hastily called in upon some alarming appearances presenting themselves, found, besides other dilapidations that were in progress, one of the piers undermined to the extent of six feet, and in such a state that it must have sunk and fallen down in a few days. Fortunately the city gates had just been taken down, and the stones, having been sold to a builder, lay ready in Moorfields; they were instantly purchased, and, on a Sunday morning, brought as fast

ts could carry them, and thrown under the tottering pier, which was the one next to north or city end of the bridge.

The work of paring and patching the old bridge went on for sixty years longer ; at length, in 1822, notwithstanding the continued resistance of the Corporation, a committee of the House of Commons, to which the subject had been referred, recommended the erection of a new bridge, on which an Act of Parliament for that purpose was passed the following year. The new bridge was built after the designs of the late John Rennie, Esq., who died, however, before the work was begun ; it was intended throughout by his son, the present Sir John Rennie. The first pile of the first coffer-dam, being that for the south pier, was driven on Monday, the 15th of Feb., 1824 ; the foundation-stone was laid by the Lord Mayor, John Garratt, Esq., in the presence of the Duke of York, and many other distinguished personages, on the 1st of June, 1825 ; and the finished bridge was opened by his late Majesty King George IV. and Queen Adelaide, on the 1st of August, 1831. The cost of the bridge, the approaches, amounted to not much short of two millions. It stands about 100 feet and eighty feet higher up the river than the old bridge, which was left standing till its successor was built, nor was its last arch pulled down till towards the end of the year 1832. It is needless to say that the new London Bridge, bestriding the river with its five vast elliptical arches, is a far more magnificent, and in every respect more perfect work, than Peter of Colechurch's structure ever was in its best days ; looking there, in its firm and massive strength, as if it might last a thousand years, one is tempted to the imagination, if we may so speak, as expressive and impressive a monument for the far future as the old bridge was of the past.

In the following document we are mainly indebted to Messrs. Britton and Pugin's work on the Public Buildings of London :—

#### TABULAR VIEW OF THE BRIDGES OF LONDON,

showing their extreme Length from bank to bank, their extreme Width, their Height from the level of the top of the parapet, their number of Arches and Span of Central Arch, their date, times of Commencement and Completion, the Names of their Architects, the surface area between the piers, and the extent of Space occupied by the piers in the width of the river.

	Length.		Width.		Height.	Arches.	Span of Centre.	Materials.	Commenced.	Finished.	Architects.	Waterway.	Solids.
	ft.	ft.	ft.	ft.	ft.	ft.	ft.						
Old ..	930	20	40	19	—	—	70	Stone & rubble	1176	1209	{ Peter of Colechurch }	{ Above starlings 540 Below 373 }	396 657
Rebuilt by Rennie and Telford.	—	48	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New ..	920	56	55	5	150	—	—	Granite, &c.	Mar. 15, 1824	1831	J. Rennie ....	600	92
.....	700	42	55	3	240	—	—	Iron .....	Sept. 23, 1814	1819	" "	660	48
.....	905	42	62	9	100	—	—	Portland stone	June, 1790 ..	1769	R. Mylne ....	793	207
.....	1326	42	54	9	120	—	—	Cornish granite	October, 1811	{ Opened June 18, 1817 }	{ J. Rennie .... }	1000	160
.....	1386	14	32	3	676	—	—	{ Brick & iron chain }	1841	April 18, 1845	I. K. Brunel ..	1332	—
.....	1220	40	50	15	76	—	—	Portland stone	January, 1739	1750	Labelye .....	820	246
.....	809	36	—	9	78	—	—	Iron .....	May, 1811 ..	July, 1816 ..	Jas. Walker ..	—	—



## THE RIVER.

WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN, who died in 1191, in his 'Description of London,' says, "the wall of the city is high and great, continued with seven gates, which are made double, and on the north distinguished with turrets by spaces: likewise on the south London hath been enclosed with walls and towers, but the large river of Thames, well stored with fish, and in which the tide ebbs and flows, by continuance of time hath washed, worn away, and cast down those walls." Here, then, six hundred and sixty years ago, we find the river-bank of London in the same state as described by Sir Thomas More in his imaginary capital of Amaurote:—"The city is compassed about with a high and thick stone wall, full of turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, but deep and broad, and over-grown with bushes, briars, and thorns, goeth about three sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river itself serveth as a ditch." The Saxon chronicle tells us that in the year 1052 Earl Godwin, with his navy, passed along the southern side of the river, and so assailed the walls. A hundred and fifty years after, in the time of Fitz-Stephen, the walls were gone. About the same period arose the stone bridge of London; but that has perished before the eyes of our own generation.

From the time of Fitz-Stephen to that of Gower we may readily conceive that the water-communication between one part of London and another, and between London and Westminster, was constantly increasing. A portion of London Bridge was moveable, which enabled vessels of burden to pass up the river to unload at Queenhithe and other wharfs. Stairs (called bridges) and Water-gates studded the shores of both cities. Palaces arose, such as the Savoy, where the powerful nobles kept almost regal state. The Courts of Law were fixed at Westminster; and thither the citizens and strangers from the country daily resorted, preferring the easy highway of the Thames to the almost impassable road that led from Westminster to the village of Charing, and onward to London.

The watermen of London, like every other class of the people, were once musical; and their "oars kept time" to many a harmony, which, if not so poetical as the song of the gondoliers, was full of the heart of merry England. The old city chronicler, Fabyan, tells us that John Norman, Mayor of London (he held this dignity in 1454), was "the first of all mayors who brake that ancient and old-continued custom of *riding* to Westminster upon the morrow of Simon and Jude's day." John Norman "*was rowed thither by water*, for the which the watermen made of him a roundel, or song, to his great praise.

Between Westminster and the Tower, and the Tower and Greenwich, the Thames was especially the royal road. When Henry VII. willed the coronation of his Queen Elizabeth, she came from Greenwich attended by "barges freshly furnished with banners and streamers of silk." When Henry VIII. avowed his marriage with Anne Boleyn, she was brought by "all the crafts of London" from Greenwich to the Tower, "trumpets, shawms, and other divers instruments, all the way playing and making great melody." The river was not only the festival highway, but the more convenient one, for kings as well as subjects. Hall tells us, "This year (1536), in December, was

mes of London all frozen over, *wherefore* the king's majesty, with his beautiful Queen Jane, rode throughout the city of London to Greenwich."

The time of Elizabeth and the First James, and onward to very recent days, the bank of the Thames was studded with the palaces of the nobles; and each had its landing-place, and its private retinue of barges and wherries; and the freight of the brave and beautiful has been borne, amidst song and merriment from house to house, to join the masque and the dance; and many a wily statesman, clothed in his cloak, has glided along unseen in his boat to some dark conference with his ambitious neighbour. Nothing could then have been more picturesque than the river itself, busy as it was, fleets of swans were ever sailing; and the river was studded with unmoored boats, which were now and then drifted into that channel which is now narrowed by vessels from the river.

Paulus Jovius, who died in 1552, describing the Thames, says, "This river is full of swans, swimming in flocks; the sight of whom, and their noise, are vastly more pleasing to the fleets that meet them in their course." Shakspeare must have seen this, when he made York compare the struggle of his followers at the battle of Marston to a swan encountering a tidal stream:—

"As I have seen a swan,  
With bootless labour swim against the tide,  
And spend her strength with over-matching waves."

There were those, during three centuries, to whom the beauties of the silent river could have offered no pleasure. The Thames was the road by which the power of despotism came from the Tower to Westminster Hall, in most cases to reach his barge with the edge of the axe towards his face. One example is enough to suggest many painful recollections. When the Duke of Buckingham was condemned from his trial to the barge, "Sir Thomas Lovel desired him to sit on the deck and carpet ordained for him. He said, 'Nay; for when I went to Westminster I was Duke of Buckingham; now I am but Edward Bohun, the most caitiff fellow in the world.'"

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the river was at the height of its glory and the great thoroughfare of London. Howel maintains that the river of Thames was then her fellow, "if regard be had to those forests of masts which are perpetually rising; the variety of smaller wooden bottoms playing up and down; the stately ships that are built upon both sides of her banks so thick; which made divers ambassadors affirm that the most glorious sight in the world, take water and land together, was to come upon a high tide from Gravesend, and shoot the bridge to London." Of the "smaller wooden bottoms," Stow computes that there were in the river as many as two thousand; and he makes the very extraordinary statement, that there were forty thousand watermen upon the rolls of the company, and that they could furnish twenty thousand men for the fleet. The private watermen of the nobility were doubtless included in this large number. It is evident, from the representations of a royal procession in the early times of James I., that, on common occasions, the sovereign moved upon the Thames with regal pomp, attended with many boats of guards and musicians. The Inns of Court, too, filled with students, were, not only with the great practitioners of the law, but with thousands of students, gave ample employment to the watermen.

There is a goodly folio volume of some six or seven hundred pages, closely printed, containing about seventy thousand lines, for the most part of heroic verse, entitled the Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet, being sixty and three in number,



collected into one volume by the Author." John Taylor, who made this collection of his tracts in 1630, was literally a Thames waterman, working daily for his bread. Taylor had taken his waterman's position in a spot where there was a thriving trade. The Bankside was the landing-place to which the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the Strand, and of London west of Paul's, would daily throng in the days of the Drama's glory; when the Globe could boast of the highest of the land amongst its visitors; when Essex and Southampton, out of favour at court, repaired thither to listen, unsatiated, to the lessons of the great master of philosophy; when crowds of earnest people, not intent only upon amusement, went there to study their country's history, or learn the "humanities" in a school where the poet could dare to proclaim universal truths in an age of individual dissimulation; and when even the idle profligate might for a moment forget his habits of self-indulgence, and be roused into sympathy with his fellows, by the art which then triumphed, and still triumphs, over all competition. Other places of amusement were on the Bankside—The Paris Garden, the Rose, and the Hope playhouses; and in earlier times, and even when the drama had reached its highest point of popular attraction, on the same spot were the "Bear-houses"—places of resort, not only for the rude multitude, but to which Elizabeth carried the French ambassador to exhibit the courage of English bull-dogs. Imagine Southwark, the peculiar ground of summer theatres and *circi*, with no bridge but that of London, and we may easily understand that John Taylor sang the praises of the river with his whole heart:—

" But noble Thames, whilst I can hold a pen,  
I will divulge thy glory unto men:  
Thou in the morning, when my coin is scant,  
Before the evening doth supply my want."

But the empire of the watermen was destined to be invaded; and its enemies approached to its conquest, after the Tartarian fashion, with mighty chariots crowded with multitudes.

The revolutions of half a century made wonderful changes in the aspect of the Thames. The Restoration found the famous old theatres swept away, and the ancient mansions towards the east invaded by the traders. Wharfs took the place of trim gardens; and if the nobleman still kept his state-boat, the dirty coal-barge was anchored by its side. D'Avenant has given a description of this state of things, which he puts into the mouth of a Frenchman:—

" You would think me a malicious traveller if I should still gaze on your misshapen streets and take no notice of the beauty of your river; therefore I will pass the importunate noise of your watermen (who snatch at fares as if they were to catch prisoners, plying the gentry so uncivilly, as if they never had rowed any other passengers but bear-wards), and now step into one of your peas-cod boats, whose tilts are not so sumptuous as the roofs of *gondolas*, nor, when you are within, are you at the ease of *chaise à bras*. The commodity and trade of your river belongs to yourselves; but give a stranger leave to share in the pleasure of it, which will hardly be in the prospect or freedom of air; unless prospect, consisting of variety, be made up with here a palace, there a wood-yard, here a garden, there a brewhouse; here dwells a lord, there a dyer, and between both *duomo comune*. If freedom of air be inferred in the liberty of the subject, where every private man hath authority, for his own profit, to smoke up a magistrate, then the air of your Thames is open enough, because 't is equally free."

It is easy to perceive that during the progress of these changes—all indicating the advance of the middle classes, and the general extension of public accommodation



and individual comfort—the river was every day becoming less and less a general highway for passengers. The streets from Westminster to St. Paul's were paved, after a fashion; the foot-passenger could make his way, though with some danger and difficulty; and the coach, though sometimes stuck in a hole, and sometimes rudely jostled by the brewer's cart, *did* progress through the Strand and Holborn. But the time was approaching when the great capital would find out that one bridge was somewhat insufficient, and that ferries and wherries were uncertain and inconvenient modes of passage from one shore to another. Westminster Bridge was finished about 1750. In sixty or seventy years later, London could number six bridges, the noblest structures of the modern world. Alas, for the watermen! They were a cheerful race, and Dogget did a wise thing when he endowed the river with his annual coat and badge. But they have gradually dwindled—and where are they now? They are not even wanted for the small commerce of the Thames. Steam-vessels bring every possible variety of lading up the river, where formerly the little hoys had their share of a coasting-trade; and the market cart has entirely appropriated to itself the vegetable burthens of Covent Garden. Steele has given us a lively description of a boat-trip from Richmond in an early summer-morning, when he “fell in with a fleet of gardeners.” . . . “Nothing remarkable happened in our voyage; but I landed with ten sail of apricock-boats at Strand Bridge, after having put in at Nine Elms, and taken in melons.” Things are changed.

Howel, amongst his enumeration of the attractions of the city, says, “What variety of bowling-alleys there are!” And when the idler was tired of this sport, and would turn his back even upon shuffle-board and cock-fighting, he had nothing to do but to step down to Queenhithe or the Temple, and have an afternoon of such recreation as can now only be found at a distance of five miles from London Bridge. “Go to the river,” continues Howel; “what a pleasure it is to go thereon in the summer-time, in boat or barge! or to go a floundering among the fishermen!” Imagine a waterman, in these our days of his decay, tired of waiting for a fare at Westminster, strike out into the mid-stream with his draw-net! What a hooting would there be from Blackwall to Chelsea! Or conceive an angler, stuck under one of the piers of Waterloo Bridge, patiently expecting to be rewarded with a salmon, or at least a barbel. Yet such things were a century ago. There are minute regulations of the “Company of Free Fishermen” to be observed in the western parts of the Thames, which clearly show that the preservation of the fish, even in the highway between London and Westminster, was a matter of importance; and very stringent, therefore, are the restrictions against using eel-spears, and wheels, and “angle-rods with more than two hooks.” There is a distinct provision that fishermen were not to come nearer London Bridge than the Old Swan on the north bank, and St. Mary Overies on the south. Especially was enactment made that no person should “bend over any net, during the time of flood, whereby both *salmons*, and other kind of fish, may be hindered from swimming upwards.” Woe for the anglers! The *salmons* and the swans have both quitted the bills of mortality; and they are gone where there are clear runnels, and pebbly bottoms, and quiet nooks under shadowing osiers, and where the water-lily spreads its broad leaf and its snowy flower, and the sewer empties not itself to pollute every tide, and the never-ceasing din of human life is heard not, and the paddle of the steam-boat dashes no wave upon the shore.

But if the watermen are gone—and the chariot wheels crowd the streets more than ever—the river is more busy than ever with the throng of life. Our readers will kindly accompany us on a quarter of an hour's voyage from the Shades Pier to Hungerford Market.

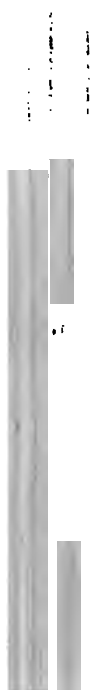
We have stood for a few minutes on the eastern side of London Bridge, looking upon the sight which arrests even the dullest imagination—mast upon mast, stretching farther than the eye can reach, the individual objects constantly shifting, but the aggregate ever the same. We pass to the western side, and descend the steps of the bridge. We are in a narrow and dirty street, and we look up to the magnificent land-arch which crosses it. A turn to the left brings us to the river. A bell is ringing; we pass through a toll-gate, paying a penny, and in a few seconds are on board one of the little steam-boats, bearing the poetical name of some flower, or planet, or precious gem. The pilot goes to the helm; the broad plank over which the passengers have passed into the boat is removed; the cable by which it is attached to the pier, or to some other boat, is cast off. The steam is up. For a minute we appear as if we were passing down the river; but, threading its way through a dozen other steam-winged vessels, the boat darts towards the Surrey shore; and her prow is breasting the ebbing tide. What a gorgeous scene is now before us! The evening sun is painting the waters with glancing flames; the cross upon the summit of that mighty dome of St. Paul's shines like another sun; churches, warehouses, steam-chimneys, shot-towers, wharfs, bridges—the noblest and the humblest things—all are picturesque; and the eye, looking upon the mass, sees nothing of that meanness with which our Thames banks have been reproached. In truth, this juxtaposition of the magnificent and the common fills the mind with as much food for thought as if from London Bridge to Westminster there was one splendid quay, curtaining the sheds, and coal-barges, and time-worn landings which meet us at every glance. The ceaseless activity with which these objects are associated renders them even separately interesting. We see the goings-on of that enormous traffic which makes London what it is: and whilst we rush under the mighty arches of the iron bridge, and behold another, and another, and another spanning the river, looking as vast and solid as if they defied time and the elements; and also see the wharfs on the one bank, although the light be waning, still populous and busy,—and the foundries, and glass-houses, and printing-offices, on the other bank, still sending out their dense smoke,—we know that without this never-tiring energy, disagreeable as are some of its outward forms, the splendour which is around us could not have been. But the boat stops. Without bustle, some twenty passengers leave us at Blackfriars Bridge, and as many come on board. The operation is finished in a minute or two. We are again on our way. We still see the admixture of the beautiful and the mean, but in another form. The dirty Whitefriars is the neighbour of the trim Temple. Praised be the venerable Law which has left us one green spot, where trees still grow by our river side, and which still preserves some relics of the days that are gone! Another bridge, perhaps the noblest, is again passed; and the turrets and pinnacles of Westminster are spread before us, with the smart modern mansions that have succeeded the old palatial grandeur of the seventeenth century. The sight is not displeasing, when we reflect that the ground upon which once stood some dozen vast piles, half house and half fortress, is now covered with hundreds of moderate-sized dwellings, filled with comforts and even luxuries unknown to the days of rushes and tapestry, into whose true sanctuaries no force can intrude, and where, if there be peace within, there is no danger of happiness being disturbed by violence without. But we are at Hungerford-wharf. The greater portion of the freight is discharged, ourselves amongst the number. The boat darts through Westminster Bridge, and farther onward to Chelsea. We are in the Strand as the gas-lights are peeping; and we are thinking of what the Strand is, and what it was.





KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XXIII. THE DOCKS, AND THAMES TUNNEL.





## XXIII. THE DOCKS.

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WE may trace the vastness of London, the varied character of its external features, and the wonderful diversity which its social aspects present, to three distinct causes. First, its official supremacy, as the residence of the sovereign, the seat of the government and legislature, and all the most important departments of the state ; secondly, its manufacturing industry ; and, thirdly, its commercial importance as a port. Any one of these elements would nourish a large amount of population ; but without the two latter it would be kept within moderate limits, and it is chiefly in consequence of their influence that London is twice as large as Paris.

That portion of London connected with the port and shipping differs so much from the districts appropriated to manufactures, and from all others possessing a special character of their own, as to constitute one of the most distinct divisions of the metropolis. It embraces, on the northern side of the river, a district extending eastward from Tower Hill, and comprising Wapping and Ratcliffe Highway, Shadwell, Limehouse, Poplar, and Blackwall ; and, on the other side, commences with Tooley Street, and comprehends Rotherhithe and all along the river to Deptford. The general characteristics of the district have already been noticed (No. 20). We therefore devote the present number to an account of one of its great features—the Docks.

The stranger, especially from an inland county, who takes a passage by one of the steamers which leave London Bridge every quarter of an hour for Greenwich, will be astonished at the apparently interminable forests of masts which extend on both sides of the channel, where a width of three hundred feet *should* be kept for the purposes of safe navigation, but which the crowd of ships from all quarters of the globe, of colliers, coasters, steam-boats, and river-craft, renders it difficult for the harbour-masters to maintain. If the tide be running upward, laden coal-barges are thronging the channel, proceeding to the wharfs in the upper part of the river ; and colliers at their moorings are at all times discharging their cargoes into barges alongside. By the regulations of the coal trade only a certain number of coal-ships are allowed to unload at the same time, the others remaining lower down the river until their turn arrives ; and the coal-meters, who are appointed by the City, are also limited in number. But for these restrictions, the river would present a still more crowded appearance, as it has happened that above three hundred colliers have arrived in the Lower Pool in one day ; and even now a very large portion of the river is occupied by this one branch of commerce. Forty years ago, not only coal-ships, but vessels of every other kind, discharged their cargoes into lighters while at anchor in the stream ; but such a practice would now be impossible, so great has been the increase of commerce. East Indiamen generally only came as far as Blackwall, where they discharged their cargoes into decked lighters of from fifty to one hundred tons, and, the hatchways being secured under lock and key, they proceeded to the wharfs. West India ships discharged in the river, and the cargoes were also conveyed in lighters to the legal quays. All other vessels, except they were of small size, were in like manner compelled to use lighters in discharging their cargoes. At the present time six-sevenths of the barges and river-craft are solely employed in transporting the cargoes of coal, corn, and timber ships, so small a proportion as one-seventh only being required for

the conveyance of all other commodities, the chief of which are of a bulky kind, and do not offer any great temptation to pilferers. In 1792 the number of barges and craft required for the traffic between the ships in the river and the quays was 500 for timber and 1180 for coal, each averaging thirty-three tons; 402 lighters of thirty-nine tons; 338 punts of twenty tons; 57 lugger-boats of twenty-four tons; 6 sloops of twenty-seven tons; 10 cutters of seventy-one tons; and 10 hoys of fifty-eight tons; making a total of 2503 craft. Property of the most costly and valuable description, and every kind of merchandise, was daily exposed to plunder in these open boats, for only the lighters of the East India Company were decked, and it was considered that even they afforded a very insufficient protection. The temptation to pilfer was almost irresistible, those who were honestly disposed taking their share under the plea that wastage and leakage were perquisites. So many persons were engaged in the work of depredation on the river, that it was carried on in the most daring and open manner—lightermen, watermen, labourers, the crews of ships, the mates and officers in some instances, and to a great extent the officers of the revenue, being combined in this nefarious system; while on each side of the river there was a host of receivers, some of them persons of opulence, who carried on an extensive business in stolen property. In 1798 the Thames Police, called then the Marine Police, was instituted for the repression of these offences, but the source of the evil was still untouched, the temptation remaining undiminished so long as the exposure of property was rendered unavoidable by the absence of sufficient accommodation in quays and warehouses.

In 1558 certain wharfs, afterwards known as the "legal quays," were appointed to be the sole landing-places for goods in the port of London. They were situated between Billingsgate and the Tower, and had a frontage of 1464 feet by 40 wide, and of this space 300 feet were taken up by landing-stairs and by the coasting-trade, leaving, in the year 1796, only 1164 feet for the use of the foreign trade. Other wharfs had, it is true, been added from time to time, five of these, "sufferance wharfs," as they were called, being on the northern side of the river, and sixteen on the opposite side, comprising altogether a frontage of 3676 feet. The warehouses belonging to the sufferance wharfs were capable of containing 125,000 tons of merchandise, and 78,800 tons could be stowed in the yards. The want of warehouse-room was so great that sugars were deposited in warehouses on Snow Hill, and even in Oxford Street. Wine, spirits, and the great majority of articles of foreign produce, especially those on which the higher rate of duties was charged, could be landed only at the legal quays. In 1793 sugars were allowed to be landed at the sufferance wharfs, but the charges were higher than at the legal quays; extra fees had to be paid to the revenue officers for attendance at them, though at the same time they were inconveniently situated, and at too great a distance from the centre of business. The above concession to the sufferance wharfs was demanded by common sense and necessity, for the ships entered with sugar increased from 203, in 1756, to 433, of larger dimensions, in 1794. Generally speaking, the sufferance wharfs were used chiefly by vessels in the coasting-trade, and for such departments of the foreign trade as could not by any possibility be accommodated at the legal quays. Even in 1765, commissions appointed by the Court of Exchequer had reported that the latter were "not of sufficient extent, from which delays and many extraordinary expenses occur, and obstructions to the due collection of the revenue." But the commerce of London had wonderfully increased since that time, its progress in the twenty-five years from 1770 to 1795 having been as great as in the first seventy years of the century. The value of the exports and imports of London in 1700 was about ten millions sterling, and in 1794 about thirty-one



millions ; and the shipping engaged in foreign trade had increased in tonnage still more than in value. For the accommodation of this vastly-increased trade scarcely an effort had been made, and the mercantile interests experienced in consequence impediments and losses which it is wonderful did not arouse them earlier to provide a remedy. Merchandise was kept afloat in barges, as we now see coal, from want of room to discharge it at the legal quays, where sugar-hogsheads piled six and eight high, bales, boxes, barrels, bags, and packages of every description were heaped together. These quays were converted into a market for spirits, oil, fruits, and other commodities, and the export and import trades were confounded together on the same limited and inconvenient spot. At one time the stripping and cutting of tobacco was performed on quays, and the sugar-hogsheads were put to rights by the coopers on the decks of the loaded ships, while spirits were landed at one wharf and gauged at another. The Custom-house authorities might have done much to have remedied these inconveniences, but the service of this department appears to have been very inefficiently performed. The number of holidays was far too great ; the officers were not very punctual in their attendance : and there was a general want of classification and arrangement amongst them, so that, while some had too much to do, others had too little. Instances are on record of above a thousand tons of goods lying for several days in lighters at a sufferance wharf, during which only two officers were on duty. Goods were allowed to remain on board ship a certain time after they were reported, but, in consequence of the crowded state of the quays, this time was not unfrequently overstepped, and penalties were incurred in consequence. The delays and obstructions of all kinds were profitable enough to the depredators on the river, but ruinous to the merchants.

About the year 1793 the complaints of the merchants began to attract more attention than they had hitherto received, and they held meetings, at which various remedies were proposed, but no substantial improvement was the result. At length, in 1796, Parliament took up the subject, and instituted a formal inquiry. After the war had commenced the evils complained of had enormously increased. The commerce of other countries flowed towards London, and merchant-ships, instead of arriving and departing singly, were compelled to sail in large fleets under the convoy of men-of-war, and thus the operations of a more extended trade were concentrated into irregular periods, which demanded the most extraordinary activity and every possible facility which tended to promote dispatch and economy of time and labour. This was a most flourishing era for the river plunderers, but the difficulties and inconvenience of the mercantile interest had now become so pressing as to render improvement inevitable, however difficult it might be to devise the most appropriate remedy. The Parliamentary Committee had under its consideration eight different plans for giving greater accommodation to the trading and shipping interests, and it had also to listen to the representations of various classes whose interests were involved in maintaining matters in their existing state ; and amongst those who would be benefited by almost any change there was not as yet that concurrence which was desirable, and which would at once have led to a decisive result. It was not until 1799, three years after the Committee above mentioned had been appointed, that the West India merchants, a very influential and wealthy body, attained their object ; and, but for the inquiry conducted by the Committee of 1796, the delay would have been still greater. Liverpool and Hull had long experienced the benefits of wet docks, and, in 1789, a private individual, Mr. Perry, a ship-builder, had constructed a dock called the Brunswick Dock, adjoining his building-yard at Blackwall, capable of containing at one time twenty-eight East Indiamen, and fifty or sixty ships of smaller burden. But even in

1799 the Greenland Dock was not allowed to be used by vessels discharging their cargoes, in consequence of objections on the part of the Commissioners of Customs.

The obstacles overcome by the generation which is now passing away, in the attempt to provide wet docks in the port of London, are comparatively so little known by the generation which is enjoying the fruit of their efforts, as to render a brief recapitulation of the various plans of 1796 not altogether uninteresting.

The first plan which we shall notice was intended to provide accommodation for the increased trade and shipping by deepening and improving the river, and extending the legal quays, at an estimated expense of £565,000. Its author, who was chairman of the wharfingers of these quays, proposed that, from London Bridge to Deptford, the depth of the river at low water should be increased to sixteen and twenty feet, and, calculating that, in 1795, the number of ships (exclusive of all coasters except colliers) in the port of London at any one time did not exceed 750, he would, in the space already mentioned, have provided mooring-tiers for 1200 colliers, coasters, and foreign traders, with a ballast-wharf, 1140 yards in length, fronting the King's Yard at Deptford. To each species of trade, and the shipping employed in it, a distinct portion of the river was to be assigned; the space between London Bridge and the Tower on one side being for craft employed at the legal quays; the station for the coasting-trade commencing at the southern foot of the bridge and on the northern side at Tower Dock. Lower down, on each side of the river, were to be the stations for the foreign shipping, the colliers being removed entirely out of the upper Pool. Harbour-masters were to be appointed to enforce the berthing of ships in their proper places. This plan also comprised the widening of the legal quays from forty to seventy feet, by platforms so as not to obstruct the current; the taking down of houses on each side of Thames Street, at the back of the legal quays, where spacious warehouses were to be erected; the avenues leading to Thames Street to be widened, and here also additional warehouses were to be built. The authorities at the Custom-house were also to be called upon to enforce stricter regulations for the dispatch of business. The object of this temporising scheme would not have alleviated one of the most prominent causes of complaint—the plunder of merchandise from lighters and barges on their passage from the ships to the quays, as it would still have been necessary for shipping to discharge their cargoes while lying in the river; and the accumulation of warehouses in the rear of the legal quays would have afforded very inferior accommodation in comparison with the commodious arrangements which the docks now present.

The "Merchants' Plan" is also deserving of attention. They proposed purchasing eighty acres of land in Wapping, east of Nightingale Lane, and to excavate and form wet docks of thirty-nine acres, capable of containing 350 ships, and one other of about two acres for lighters. One of the entrances of the larger dock was to be by a canal two miles and three-quarters in length, navigable for ships of 350 tons, and communicating with the river at Blackwall. The whole area of eighty acres was to be surrounded by a high wall, enclosing warehouses, wharfs, and quays. The Commissioners of Customs and the Corporation of the Trinity House each approved of this plan so far as related to the construction of docks, and it will be seen that it was nearly followed in the formation of the London Docks. The canal was objected to by the authorities at the Custom-House, on the ground that, while shipping were towed along it, there would be great facilities for smuggling and plundering—an apprehension which, in that day, haunted all who had property afloat on the river. The Brethren of the Trinity House remarked, in their report on the plan, that contiguity to the metropolis was one of the essential points to be insisted upon in every project



for wet docks, as long and tedious lighterage, fraught with so many evils both to property and revenue, would be at once diminished. The estimated expense of the Merchants' Plan was £993,000.

The authorities of the City had also their plan, or rather plans, the chief feature of which was a dock, of 102 acres, in the Isle of Dogs, to contain above 400 ships, and another at Rotherhithe, of the same extent, for colliers. They moreover proposed to extend the frontage and area of the legal quays to 4150 feet in length, and 60 in depth, by making five indented quays (and, including Billingsgate, six), each capable of accommodating twenty-nine lighters. The existing approaches to the quays, which were very narrow and incommodious, and caused great obstruction, were also to be widened. It was also proposed to arch over quays and to construct warehouses on them, with special reference to the security of the revenue. The erection of warehouses at the proposed docks does not appear to have been contemplated, and they would, therefore, have merely relieved the river without obviating the necessity of lighterage. The cost of carrying these extensive plans into effect was estimated at £1,109,352.

The fourth plan, described as Mr. Wyatt's, was a project for constructing three docks in the Isle of Dogs, with a basin, common to them all, at Blackwall, capable of receiving 160 ships, and having three entrances; the corresponding western basin at Limehouse to accommodate 800 lighters. The three docks were to be of oblong form, extending east to west: the northern dock to contain 200 ships; the middle dock, 250, for ships with the most valuable cargoes of foreign produce; and the southern dock to contain 300 colliers. The whole area comprising the three docks was to be surrounded by a wall sixteen feet high. Landing wharfs and warehouses, the most prominent features of the existing docks, were not contemplated in this plan; but ships were to discharge their cargoes on a floating wharf, the Custom-house duties to be ascertained at the time. Lighterage would therefore still have been necessary; and there would have been a waste of time in craning goods from the ship to the floating-wharf, and then into the lighter; whence they would require to be a third time moved at the quay before they finally reached the warehouse. The estimated expenses of the plan were £840,252; and it was partly followed in the construction of the West India Docks.

The Southwark Plan, as it was called, which was estimated to cost only £300,000, was calculated for local rather than general convenience. Docks for colliers, timber-ships, and vessels for sale, were to be formed at Rotherhithe; and a canal (in which we perceive the idea of the Surrey Canal) was to open an outlet from the western extremity of the dock through Southwark, and after nearly touching the King's Bench Prison, would have entered the Thames nearly opposite St. Paul's.

A plan was submitted by Mr. Spence for arranging all the shipping frequenting the river into twelve classes, according to their respective employments, for each of which it was proposed to erect a separate dock, either on the Isle of Dogs or between the Tower and Limehouse; six of these docks to be 600 feet square, and the remaining six one-third less. The estimated expense was £500,000; but the general opinion was that a single spacious dock would be more convenient and less expensive.

Mr. Walker's plan for docks, quays, and warehouses at Wapping, though not differing greatly from the Merchants' Plan, was favourably regarded, on account of the site being contiguous to the City. He proposed to excavate fifty-five acres for docks; thirty-five acres additional being intended for quays, wharfs, and warehouses. One of the entrances was to be by a canal intersecting the Isle of Dogs at a point nearer the

southern shore than the proposed canal in the Merchants' Plan. The cost was estimated at £880,000.

The last of these plans was Mr. Reaveley's, which displayed considerable ingenuity, and consisted in fact of four distinct projects: 1. To form a new channel for the river in a straight line from Limehouse to Blackwall; the Long Reach round the Isle of Dogs thus constituting a dock, with flood-gates at each entrance. 2. To continue the new channel below Blackwall towards Woolwich Reach, so as to convert another bend of the old channel into a dock. 3. To make a new channel from Wapping, and to form three docks out of the three bends, to be called Ratcliffe Dock, Blackwall Dock, and Greenwich Dock. The Trinity House objected that the King's Dock at Deptford would be injured by the latter plan; on which Mr. Reaveley proposed:—4. To make a new channel from Wapping to the old channel between Greenland Dock (now the Commercial Docks) and Deptford, thence inclining to the northward until it opened into Woolwich Reach, thus forming two spacious docks out of the bends of the river (above and below) at Blackwall. The estimated cost of these various plans was not given.

These projects brought forward the interests which depended upon the continuance of things as they were. The Tackle House and City porters complained that, if the import and export business were removed beyond the City limits, their right to the exclusive privilege of unloading and delivering all merchandise imported into the City would be worthless; the carmen, who enjoyed a similar monopoly, made the same complaint, and they stated that Christ's Hospital derived an income of £400 a year from the licences under which they exercised their privilege; the watermen foretold that the establishment of docks would deprive one-half of them of bread; the lightermen stated that they had a capital of £120,000 invested in tackle and craft employed in the transport of merchandise, which capital would be annihilated if shipping were enabled to discharge their cargoes on quays within docks; the proprietors of the legal quays endeavoured to prove that, if only the West India trade were allowed to use docks, the value of their interests would be diminished two-thirds, and that it would be totally annihilated if the foreign trade were to be altogether withdrawn from the river; and, lastly, the proprietors of the sufferance wharfs raised their voices against the proposed docks.

Some of the objections were not directly founded on a probable loss to the individuals who urged them; but it was contended that unloading ships in docks would be more expensive than discharging them into lighters in the river. Here, however, experience could be adduced to show that the case would be quite otherwise. Excluding details which were not common to the respective circumstances of Liverpool and London, it was shown that the expense in the discharge of 500 hogsheads of sugar would be £52 less in docks than in the river. Others scarcely hoped to see an end put to the system of plunder, which had existed so long, and with such impunity, as to be regarded almost in the nature of a port-charge—as an evil which there was little hope of removing. They feared that articles would be conveyed over the dock-walls, or that the docks would be the resort of depredators and smugglers, who would convey property out at the gates; and it was in order to allay these apprehensions that the Parliamentary Committee observed in their Report that “the walls may be built too high to convey articles over, the gates be kept by revenue officers, and no extraordinary concourse be permitted.” The Commissioners of Customs, with the same object, also gave it as their opinion that the revenue “may be as effectually guarded by their officers within docks as in the open river;” and they alleged, fur-

ther, that with wet docks the delay in the payment of duties occasioned by the detention of cargoes for want of accommodation at the quays and warehouses would be altogether avoided. Only one witness examined before the Parliamentary Committee thought that docks would not "pay." So little, however, did even the Committee see their way distinctly as to observe in their Report, that "wet docks do not necessarily imply quays, and still less the delivery of cargoes on quays;" so that at this date (April, 1796) there was no clear apprehension of the plans which would eventually be adopted even if docks were constructed.

Three years afterwards, in 1799, not a single Bill had been passed for the construction of docks, but several had been introduced into Parliament for the still desiderated improvements of the port, and a Committee was appointed to report on their merits. Of the plans of 1796 only that of the merchants, for docks at Wapping, and that of the City, for docks on the Isle of Dogs, appear to have been now entertained; but there was one new plan, the object of which was to rebuild London Bridge, and to admit ships of 500 tons burthen up to Blackfriars Bridge, either by a large central arch of 300 feet span and 90 feet high, or by a double roadway in the middle of the bridge with a drawbridge on each side admitting ships into a basin, from which they were to pass either up or down the river, only one of the drawbridges to be opened at the same time, to prevent impediment to passengers and vehicles. This plan also comprised a range of quays and warehouses on both sides of the river from London Bridge to Blackfriars Bridge. A drawing of the substantial and lofty warehouses which it was proposed to erect is given in the Parliamentary Report; and, as they admitted of no architectural embellishment, this long and dreary line of uniform buildings enlosing the river has an aspect little short of appalling, and it cannot be regretted that its banks are left with meaner buildings of more picturesque variety. The question respecting the advantages of docks had now, however, made such progress that the Committee, in reference to the last-mentioned project, were inclined to consider "any plan for the improvement of the port imperfect, of which wet docks did not make a part." There remained, therefore, only two plans under consideration; and though, as observed in the Report, docks might be advantageously established in each of the places proposed, yet, considering the inconvenience resulting from further delay, the Committee gave a preference to those intended to be constructed in the Isle of Dogs, as they could be formed in the shortest time and at the least expense. The Bill for the West India Docks was therefore passed in 1799, and on the 21st of August, 1802, they were opened for business. A compulsory clause was introduced into the Act requiring all ships laden with West India produce to make use of these docks for the space of twenty-one years. In the following year (1800) the Act for the construction of the London Docks (or rather Dock, for the smaller dock was not made until many years afterwards) was passed; and it also obtained exclusive privileges, vessels laden with certain produce, as wine, brandy, tobacco, rice, being required to enter. The London Dock was opened on the 30th of January, 1805. In 1803 the Act for making the East India Docks at Blackwall was passed, and they were opened on the 4th of August, 1806. This terminates the first period in the history of these useful establishments.

The interest of the proprietors of the legal quays was bought by Government for £486,087, and compensation amounting to £138,791 was granted to persons having vested interests in the mooring-chains in the river. The amount paid out of the Consolidated Fund by virtue of the several Acts for improving the port of London was £1,681,685, including the purchase of the legal quays. The sum demanded as compensation (without reckoning the purchase of houses and land, which cost the



London Dock proprietors especially an enormous sum) was little short of £4,000,000 sterling, of which only £677,382 was awarded and paid. The Docks did not contribute towards such compensation.

Besides the West India, London, and East India Docks, there were constructed in the course of a few years afterwards the Commercial Docks, the East Country Docks, the Surrey Canal Dock, and the Regent's Canal Dock, which we shall notice presently.

The second period in the history of these works commences with the St. Katherine's Docks, the projectors of which stood pretty much in the same relation to the old Dock Companies as these latter did to the proprietors of the legal quays in 1796. In 1822, the government refused to renew the privileges of the West India Docks, which were on the point of expiring, when ships with West India produce would be at liberty to enter any other dock. The privileges of the London Dock, to which allusion has already been made, would also expire in January, 1826; and in 1827 the East India Dock would cease to be the only place for the admission of East India produce, thus liberating the private trade. It was clear that a considerable portion of the business which had hitherto been forced into channels which were remote from the centre of trade would in future be directed to the dock nearest London, and that it would in consequence possess a virtual monopoly, as it already enjoyed great advantages from its situation, and was overflowing with business, although the dues were high. The merchants felt that it would be desirable to have another dock, possessing equal advantages in point of contiguity and convenience, and which would prevent their being dependent on a single establishment; and besides this consideration, it appeared to them that the addition of a new dock was required for the accommodation of an increased trade. Among the projectors of the St. Katherine's Docks were therefore to be found many of the principal merchants of the port of London; and in 1824 they carried a bill into Parliament to effect their object. It was strenuously opposed; but a strong case was made out in its favour, and the Committee of the House of Commons reported that "they were strongly impressed with the important benefits that would result if the sanction of Parliament were given to the application for the construction of the St. Katherine's Docks." The site selected was regarded as a favourable situation for commercial purposes when it was proposed to extend the legal quays. At that time (thirty years previously) the district chiefly consisted of "mean and wretched alleys and courts, and some vacant ground: the houses are in general old and ruinous, and the inhabitants low and poor." In 1763, also, St. Katherine's was actually constituted a legal quay; but from some cause the proceeding was informal, and it had never been used as such; and in 1799 its eligibility for wet docks was also pointed out. The bill for converting the site here spoken of into wet docks received the royal assent in 1825. Upwards of eight hundred houses were taken down, with St. Katherine's Hospital, founded in 1148 by Matilda of Boulogne, wife of King Stephen, together with the house of the master, a valuable appointment in the gift of the queen, or of the queen-dowager, if there be one. The hospital and master's residence have been rebuilt in the Regent's Park (No. I.). The first stone of the new docks was laid 3rd of May, 1827: and they were opened 25th of October, 1828, having been constructed with unexampled rapidity. Two other bills for the construction of docks passed in the same year, one on the south side of the river, and another, for colliers, on the Isle of Dogs; but the project was abandoned in both cases.

We may now commence a tour of the different docks; and, beginning with those nearest London, we first visit St. Katherine's, which are just below the Tower. The lofty walls which constitute it, in the language of the Custom-House, a place



of "special security," surround an area of twenty-three acres, of which eleven are water, capable of accommodating 120 ships, besides barges and other craft. The frontage of the quays is 4600 feet, or nearly three times the extent of the legal quays of 1796; and the warehouses, vaults, sheds, and covered ways will contain 110,000 tons of goods. The warehouses are massive and spacious, five stories high. The vaults below, for wine and spirits, are admirably constructed; and where a range of vaults turns off to the right and left, the arches are by no means destitute of architectural beauty; and, seen by the dim illumination of a lamp (in the spirit vaults the Davy lamp is used), the visitor is reminded of the solemn gloom of the crypts in some of our most ancient ecclesiastical edifices. All the arrangements connected with the St. Katherine's Docks were directed to secure the two great desiderata of commercial success—economy and dispatch, which are attained by ingenious and skilful contrivances, both in the general plan and in the application of mechanical resources. The defects which experience had detected in the older docks were, of course, avoided. The ground-floors of the warehouses present an opening towards the basin eighteen feet high; and cargoes are raised into them out of the hold of a ship without the goods being deposited on the quay. A cargo which could not be placed in the warehouse in less than fifteen days in one of the earlier-constructed docks, can be raised from the ship's hold into the warehouses at St. Katherine's in one-fifth of the time; but, before there were any docks at all, an East Indiaman of 800 tons was not usually delivered of her cargo in less than a month; or if of 1200 tons, six weeks were required; and then the goods were to be taken in lighters from Blackwall nearly to London Bridge, where they were placed on the quay, and thence transferred to the warehouses. Another calculation was, that for the delivery of a ship of 350 tons eight days were necessary in summer and fourteen in winter, which the projectors of docks in 1796 contended could be accomplished in wet docks in exactly one-half of the time for each season. At St. Katherine's, the average time occupied in discharging a ship of 250 tons is twelve hours, and for one of 500 tons two or three days, the goods being placed at the same time in the warehouse. Indeed, there have been occasions when still greater dispatch has been used, and a cargo of 1100 casks of tallow, averaging from nine to ten cwt. each, has been discharged in seven hours. This would have been considered little short of a miracle on the legal quays less than fifty years ago. One of the cranes in these docks cost about £2000, and will raise from thirty to forty tons. It is worked by ten or a dozen men, and is chiefly used in raising large blocks of marble, &c. The height of the warehouses, and their being close to the water, renders the appearance of the St. Katherine's Docks very compact; and, though the water room is small as compared with other docks, a larger amount of business may be transacted in an equal space than at any other. Before the construction of docks so high up the river, vessels of about 250 tons were scarcely ever seen so near the bridge; but ships of 800 and 900 tons have been safely towed into St. Katherine's. The lock leading from the river to the dock is 185 feet long and 45 feet broad; and the depth of water at spring tides is about 28 feet. During the year 1850 the ships entering cargoes amounted to 703, with a tonnage of 152,046; the goods received amounted to 119,149 tons: the goods warehoused in 1850 were 68,121 tons; the vessels which entered to load were 259.

The London Docks are separated from St. Katherine's by Nightingale Lane. This magnificent establishment comprises an area of above one hundred acres, and cost about £4,000,000 sterling. The two docks can accommodate 500 ships, and the warehouses will contain 232,000 tons of goods. The tobacco warehouses alone cover five acres of ground, and are rented by government at £14,000 a year. They will contain about 24,000 hogsheads, averaging 1200 lbs. each, and equal to 30,000 tons of general

merchandise. Passages and alleys, each several hundred feet long, are bordered on both sides by close and compact ranges of hogsheads, generally two in height, or eight feet, with here and there a small space for the counting-house of the officers of customs, under whose inspection all the arrangements are conducted. Near the north-east corner of the warehouses is a door inscribed, "To the kiln," where damaged tobacco is burnt, the long chimney which carries off the smoke being jocularly called "the Queen's pipe." There is a small dock of one acre exclusively appropriated to ships laden with tobacco. Still more bewildering for their extent and the immense quantity and value of the property which they contain are the wine and spirit vaults, which can accommodate 60,000 pipes of wine. One of the vaults has an area of seven acres. The warehouses around the wharfs are imposing from their extent, but are nothing near so lofty as those at St. Katherine's; and, being situated at some distance from the dock, goods cannot be craned out of the ship's hold and stowed away at one operation. The walls surrounding the docks cost £65,000. The total amount of capital of the company is £2,000,000; in the half year, from June to November, 1850, the laden ships which entered the docks from foreign countries were 685, measuring 186,517 tons; the stock of goods in warehouses in November 30th of that year amounted to 124,825 tons. A new stack of warehouses has just been constructed by the Company on the western quay.

The West India Docks are about a mile and a half from the London Docks, and they may be most conveniently visited from the City by taking the Blackwall Railway from Fenchurch Street. Their extent is nearly three times that of the London Docks, the entire ground which they cover (including the canal made to avoid the bend of the river at the Isle of Dogs) being 295 acres. The canal is nearly three-quarters of a mile long, and was constructed at the expense of the City, but was afterwards sold to the Dock Company, who make use of it as a dock for timber ships. The northern or import dock is 170 yards long by 166 wide, and the export dock is of the same length, and 135 yards wide. These two docks, with the warehouses, are enclosed by a lofty wall five feet in thickness. The warehouses will contain above 180,000 tons of merchandise, and there has been at one time, on the quays and in the sheds, vaults, and warehouses, colonial produce worth £20,000,000 sterling, comprising 148,563 casks of sugar, 70,875 barrels and 433,648 bags of coffee, 35,158 pipes of rum and Madeira, 14,000 logs of mahogany, and 21,000 tons of logwood, besides other articles. Since the privileges of the Company expired the docks have been used by every kind of shipping.

The East India Docks at Blackwall may also be most conveniently reached by the railway. They were at one time under the management of a certain number of the East India Directors; but, since the opening of the trade to India, these docks have been purchased by the West India Dock Company. The import dock has an area of nineteen acres, the export dock of ten acres, and the basin three; and as they were constructed for vessels of the largest size, they have never less than twenty-three feet of water in depth. The warehouses for East India produce are chiefly in the City, and those at the docks will not contain more than 15,000 tons.

Neither the East nor West India Docks are open to strangers without permission being first obtained, but at all the other docks the gates are freely open during the hours of business. The system of exclusion was at one period so rigid that the crews were discharged on the ship entering the dock. They are now allowed to remain on board, subject, of course, to strict regulations respecting the use of fires. The number of persons employed in each of the docks is very great, and a large proportion of the labourers are taken on only by the day. The other classes employed comprise revenue



officers, for whom small offices are fitted up, clerks, warehousemen, engineers, coopers, and various others. The number of persons employed on an average at the four docks already described is, perhaps, about five thousand. At the entrance of the St. Katherine's and the London Docks are "stands" of carts and wagons waiting to be employed by whoever has merchandise to be removed from the warehouses.

The advantage of bonded goods being warehoused at a convenient distance for the wholesale dealers is so important that cargoes which have been discharged in the docks farthest from the metropolis have been brought up in lighters to those nearest the City. The Blackwall Railway will enable the former to retain some of their advantages, as a few minutes will take a purchaser from the heart of the City. St. Katherine's Docks are about fifteen minutes' walk from the Royal Exchange; the West India Docks are three miles from the Exchange, and the East India Docks three miles and a half. The East India Dock Road and the Commercial Road were made for the purpose of facilitating the communication between the City and the different docks. The charge for cartage from Blackwall to the City is 5s. per ton.

The docks in London which have the privilege of legal quays, and are places of special security," are capable of receiving in their warehouses and other places for stores about 600,000 tons of merchandise, which are placed in bond under the inspection and care of officers of the revenue, and the duty need not be paid until the goods are taken out for home consumption. These advantages render London a free port, and, without them, its character as a great entrepôt for the produce of the world could not be maintained. The gradual extension of the warehousing system is one of the most important commercial reforms of the present century. Previous to 1804, that is, before there were any docks, the duties on almost every species of merchandise were paid when imported, a drawback to the amount being allowed on re-exportation. Besides raising prices, this system encouraged frauds on the revenue, by which fortunes were dishonestly realised. On the opening of the West India Docks the produce of the West Indies was admitted at those docks without the payment of duty being required at the time; and, when the London Docks were opened, rice, tobacco, wine, and spirits were admitted there also on the same terms. Until the outports obtained warehouses of equal security, London enjoyed advantages which have since been partially extended to all the ports of any consideration.

Before passing to the other side of the river, we must notice the Regent's Canal Dock, between Shadwell and Limehouse; and, though it is a place for bonding timber and deals only, it affords great accommodation to the trade of the port by withdrawing shipping from the river.

The docks on the southern banks of the Thames are—1. The Grand Surrey Canal Dock at Rotherhithe, about two miles from London Bridge by water. 2. The Commercial Docks and Timber Ponds. 3. The East Country Dock. These have only the privilege of sufferance wharfs. At the two latter docks timber, corn, hemp, flax, tallow, and other articles, which pay a small duty and are of a bulky nature, remain in bond, and the surrounding warehouses are chiefly used as granaries, the timber remaining afloat in the dock until it is conveyed to the yards of the wholesale dealer and the builder. The Surrey Dock, like the Regent's Dock, is merely an entrance basin to a canal, and can accommodate 300 vessels: the warehouses, chiefly granaries, will not contain more than 4000 tons of goods. The Commercial Docks, a little lower down the river, occupy an area of about forty-nine acres, of which four-fifths are water; and there is accommodation for 350 ships, and in the warehouses for 50,000 tons of merchandise. They were used originally for the shipping employed in the Greenland fishery, and provided with the necessary apparatus for boiling blubber;

but, the whale fishery being given up, the docks were, about the year 1807, appropriated to vessels engaged in the European timber and corn trades, and ranges of granaries were built. The East Country Dock, which adjoins the Commercial Docks on the south, is capable of receiving twenty-eight timber ships, and was constructed about the same period for like purposes. It has an area of six acres and a half, and warehouse-room for 3700 tons. The Commercial Dock Company propose, in 1851, to purchase the East Country or Greenland Dock, and to expend £200,000 in enlargements and improvements.

Notwithstanding this ample dock accommodation, it will probably at some time be still further extended by the formation of collier docks, as none of the existing docks admit colliers to discharge their cargoes, in consequence of the injury which would be done to most articles of merchandise by coal-dust. The number of colliers which entered the river in 1790 was 3897; in 1841, 10,311, and, in 1848, 12,267, of 3,418,310 tons, so that their increase has more than filled up the vacancies occasioned by the operation of the docks in withdrawing shipping from the overcrowded river, besides which steam navigation has been greatly extended, demanding a larger space for free and unobstructed passage. The formation of a harbour on the Essex side of the river, with a railway for the conveyance of coal to London, is one mode by which it is proposed to prevent the resort of colliers into the most crowded parts of the river. Again, steam navigation was so comparatively unimportant even at the time of the construction of the St. Katherine's Docks, that none of the docks are calculated for steamers of the largest class without the paddle-wheels being taken off; and yet vessels of this description are gradually obtaining possession of a trade formerly employing sailing vessels of comparatively small burthen. Between London and Hamburgh, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Ostend, Calais, Boulogne, Havre, Oporto, Lisbon, and even the Mediterranean, they already are large carriers of every kind of merchandise, and, as they do not enter docks, but discharge their cargoes while lying in the river, they necessarily occupy a large part of the stream.



## THE THAMES TUNNEL.

Were we to estimate the merits of engineering works by their success in a commercial sense, the Thames Tunnel would have many brethren in misfortune—its youngest brother, the Britannia Tubular Bridge, being one of the most notable of the number. But as we have no right to suppose that either public companies or engineers have the gift of prophecy more powerfully than other persons, so we must not deem the engineers morally or commercially responsible, if the speculation does not always yield its expected fruit.

The Thames Tunnel, however, is not merely noticeable as a work of art. There was really, at one time, reason to believe that such a work would be valuable. We must not view everything with the railway eyes of the present day; nor censure a project—which had its origin when railways were not, and when steamers were in the infancy of their history—for being unsuited to the present wants of the community. Towards the close of the last century, Mr. Ralph Dodd, the engineer, proposed the formation of a tunnel under the Thames from Gravesend to Tilbury; but the scheme fell to nothing. A few years later, a similar tunnel was proposed at Rotherhithe, by Mr. Vesey, and carried forward to some extent, but subsequently abandoned.

It was under the remembrance of these discouraging circumstances that Mr. (afterwards Sir M. I.) Brunel appeared before the public with a new proposal in 1823, which it was stated had received the sanction of many eminent persons, in particular of the Duke of Wellington and Dr. Wollaston. The mere idea of a tunnel below rivers is of course a matter of little moment, whoever the originator—the doing it everything. The novelty of Mr. Brunel's proposed mode of operation, therefore, was rightly judged of great importance. That gentleman has himself explained the origin of his idea. The writer of the article 'Tunnel' in the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' states that he was informed by Mr. Brunel "that the idea upon which his new plan of tunnelling is founded was suggested to him by the operations of the teredo, a testaceous worm, covered with a cylindrical shell, which eats its way through the hardest wood; and has on this account been called by Linnaeus *Calamitas navium*. The same happy observation of the wisdom of nature led our celebrated countryman Mr. Watt to deduce the construction of the flexible water-main from the mechanism of a lobster's tail." To the practical form which the idea thus given assumed we shall revert presently.

Rotherhithe in this, as in the preceding instance, was chosen as the starting-place of the Tunnel, though the precise spot was a mile nearer to the city. Unlike Wapping, Rotherhithe (or Redriff, as it is often corruptly called) is of great antiquity. Rotherhithe, like Wapping, has its numerous docks, a similar population, and presents generally the same features. But there are some circumstances which distinguish the Surrey from the Middlesex side: we may instance its numerous flour-mills, the various manufactories, and the wharfs for the coasting-trade of England, which are all to be found between the Tunnel and London Bridge. The importance of a new mode of communication between two such places, only some twelve hundred feet apart geographically, but four miles by the way of London Bridge, will be at once apparent. But it is still more so, if we consider for a moment the peculiar connection between the two great interests which belong to the different sides of the river. An immense amount of the foreign goods brought into the West India, the London, and St. Katherine's Docks, on the north side, is absorbed by this coasting-

trade on the south ; and, it appears, is almost entirely conveyed from one to the other by land carriage.

In the beginning of 1824 Mr. Brunel had the satisfaction to see the first and least arduous, but still indispensable, step secured, the formation of a Company with the express object of carrying his designs into execution, and by whom an Act of Parliament was obtained. The Company took the preliminary precaution of having three parallel borings made beneath the bed of the Thames in the direction of the proposed Tunnel, when the report was so very favourable that, in consequence, Mr. Brunel went to work in a somewhat bolder way than he had otherwise intended. The soil was the great object of deliberation, for upon it depended at what level the Tunnel should be commenced. The assistance of some eminent geologists was here of great moment. These informed the engineer that below a certain depth the soil would be a kind of quicksand, and therefore advised him to keep above it, and as close as possible to the stratum of clay forming the bed of the river. We shall presently see that the geologists were right.

We are not about to give a technical description of the progress of the works of the Tunnel, which could be interesting alone to the professional or scientific man ; but we must notice at some length two or three of their chief points, not only because the success of the work depended upon them, but because in their admirable simplicity, as well as their wonderful fitness to the purposes designed, they cannot fail to be universally understood and appreciated.

And first, of the construction of the shaft with which the Tunnel was commenced in March, 1825. This seems to our eyes, uninitiated in the wonders of engineering, not one of the least marvels of this altogether marvellous work. A space being marked out a hundred and fifty feet distant from the river, the bricklayers began raising a round frame, or cylinder, three feet thick and one hundred and fifty feet in circumference. This was strengthened in various ways, by iron rods, &c., passing up the centre of the thickness ; and was continued to the height of forty-two feet. The excavators now commenced their work on the inside, cutting away the ground, which was raised to the top of the shaft by a steam-engine there placed, and which also relieved them from the water that occasionally impeded their descent. We may imagine the wonder with which a person unacquainted with the object of these preparations must have beheld that enormous mass of masonry at last beginning to descend regularly and peacefully after the busy pigmies who were carving the way for it, and at the same time, as it were, accommodating itself to the convenience of the bricklayers, who, in order to give it the additional height required, had merely to keep adding to the top as it descended. This is the history of the great circular opening into which the visitor passes from the little lobby, and where he beholds, in the centre, an elaborate machinery of pumps, connected with a steam-engine, raising its four hundred gallons per minute. We must not omit to observe, with regard to the shaft, that by its means the bed of gravel and sand twenty-six feet deep, full of land-water, in which the drift-makers of the earlier attempt had been compelled to narrow the dimensions of their already small shaft, was passed without inconvenience. We may add also that, when the shaft was sunk to its present depth of sixty-five feet, another shaft, of twenty-five feet diameter, was sunk still lower, till, at the depth of eighty feet, the ground suddenly gave way, sinking several feet, whilst sand and water were blown up with some violence. This confirmed the statement of the geologists, and satisfied the engineer as to the propriety of the level he had chosen.

The shaft accomplished, the Tunnel itself was begun at the depth of sixty-three feet. The excavation Mr. Brunel proposed to make from bank to bank was to be

bout thirty-eight feet broad and twenty-two and a half high, which, being defended by strong walls, was to leave room within for a double archway, each fifteen feet high, and wide enough for a single carriage-way and a footpath. The mode in which this great excavation was accomplished has been the wonder and admiration of the most experienced engineers, and will for ever remain a monument of the genius of its author. The principal instrument employed by him was a huge frame or *shield*, by means of which the weight of the superincumbent bottom of the river was supported, whilst the men who were undermining the river were sheltered in the little cells of the shield below. This mighty instrument—one in idea and object, but consisting of twelve separate parts or divisions, each containing three cells, one above the other—was thus used. We will suppose that, the work being finished in its rear, an advance is desired, and that the divisions are in their usual position—the alternate ones a little before the others. These last have now to be moved. The men in their cells pull down the top poling-board, one of those small defences with which the entire front of the shield is covered, and immediately cut away the ground for about six inches. That done, the poling-board is replaced, and the one below removed, and so on till the entire space in front of these divisions has been excavated to the depth of six inches. Each of the divisions is now advanced by the application of two crews—one at its head, and one at its foot—which, resting against the finished brick-work, and turned, impel it forward into the vacant space. The other set of divisions then advance. As the miners are at work at one end of the cells, so the bricklayers are no less actively employed at the other, forming the brick walls of the top, sides, and bottom—the superincumbent earth of the top being still held up by the shield till the bricklayers have finished. This is but a rude description of an engine almost as remarkable for its elaborate organization as for its vast strength. Beneath those great iron ribs a kind of mechanical soul really seemed to have been created. It had its shoes and its legs, and used them too with good effect. It raised and depressed its head at pleasure; it presented invincible buttresses in its front to whatever danger might there threaten, and, when the danger was past, again opened its breast for the further advances of the indefatigable host. In a word, to the shield the successful formation of the Tunnel was entirely owing. We may add that following the shield was a stage in each archway for the assistance of the men in the upper cells.

But, great as was the confidence of Mr. Brunel in his shield, and the resources which he must have felt he had within himself, ready for every difficulty, it is impossible that he could have ever anticipated the all but overwhelming amount of obstacles that he actually experienced, principally from the character of the soil, and the extraordinary influence which the tides exercised even at the Tunnel's depth. The first nine feet of the Tunnel (commenced with the new year, 1826) were passed through firm clay; then came a loose watery sand, where every movement was made with imminent hazard. Thirty-two anxious days passed in this part. Substantial ground again reached about the 14th of March, matters went on prosperously till September following, by which time two hundred and sixty feet had been completed. On the 14th of that month the engineer startled the Directors with the information that he expected the bottom of the river, just beyond the shield, would break down with the coming tide. It appears he had discovered a cavity above the top of the shield. Exactly at high tide the miners heard the uproar of the falling soil upon the head of their good shield, and saw bursts of water follow; but so complete were the precautions taken that no injury ensued, and the cavity was soon filled by the river itself. Another month, and a similar occurrence took place. By the 2nd of January,



1827, three hundred and fifty feet were accomplished, when the tide, during the removal of one of the poling-boards, forced through the shield a quantity of loose clay; but still no irruption of the river itself followed—the fear of which, from the commencement to the termination of the work, was continually upon every one's mind. From January to April the Tunnel proceeded at an excellent rate, although the ground continued so very moist that, in the latter month, an inspection, by means of a diving-bell, of the bed of the river became necessary. Some depressions were observed, and filled up by the usual means—bags of clay. A shovel and hammer, being accidentally left on this occasion in the river, were afterwards found during an influx of loose ground through the shield, having descended some eighteen feet. This little circumstance shows the nature of the ground above, and the all but invincible difficulties through which the engineer had to make his way. But the more important incidents of the work—those which were to put Mr. Brunel's ability and fortitude to the severest tests—were now coming on. About the middle of May, some vessels, coming in at a late tide, moored just over the head of the Tunnel. The consequence was, that the obstruction they presented to the water caused a great washing away of the soil beneath. What followed may be best described in the words of Mr. Beamish, the then resident assistant-engineer, with whose Report of this, the first irruption of the river, we have been favoured among other interesting matter, and which we give as a perfectly dramatic view of the scene, the actors, and the event.

“May 18, 1827. Some of the faces cut down without difficulty. As the water rose with the tide, it increased in the frames very considerably between Nos. 5 and 6, forcing its way at the front, then at the back: Ball and Compton (the occupants) most active. About a quarter before six o'clock No. 11 (division) went forward. Clay appeared at the back. Had it closed up immediately. While this was going forward my attention was again drawn to No. 6, where I found gravel forcing itself with the water. It was with the utmost difficulty that Ball could keep anything against the opening. Fearing that the pumpers would now become alarmed, as they had been once or twice before, and leave their post, I went upon the east stage to encourage them, and to chase more shoring for Ball. Goodwin, who was engaged at No. 11, where indications of a run appeared, called to Rogers, who was in the act of working down No. 9, to come to his assistance. But Rogers, having his second poling (board) down, could not. Goodwin again called. I then said to Rogers, ‘Don't you hear!’ Upon which he left his poling for the purpose of assisting Goodwin; but before he could get to him, and before I could get fairly into the frames, there poured such an overwhelming volume of water and sludge as to force them out of the frames. William Carps, a bricklayer, who had gone to Goodwin's assistance, was knocked down, and literally rolled out of the frames on the stage as though he had come through a mill-sludge; and would undoubtedly have fallen off the stage had I not caught hold of him, and with Rogers's assistance helped him down the ladder. I again made an attempt to get into the frames, calling upon the miners to follow; but all was dark (the lights at the frames and stage being all blown out), and I was only answered by the hoarse and angry sounds of Father Thames's roarings. Rogers (an old sergeant of the Guards), the only man left upon the stage, now caught my arm, and, gently drawing me from the frames, said, ‘Come away, pray sir, come away; 't is no use, the water is rising fast.’ I turned once more; but hearing an increased rush at No. 6, and finding the column of water at Nos. 11 and 12 to be augmenting, I reluctantly descended. The cement-casks, compo-boxes, pieces of timber, were floating around me. I turned into the west arch, where the enemy had not yet advanced so rapidly, and again looked towards the frames, lest some one might have been over-

taken ; but the cement-casks, &c., striking my legs, threatened seriously to obstruct my retreat, and it was with some difficulty that I reached the visitors' bar, where Mayo, Bertram, and others, were anxiously waiting to receive me. . . . I was glad of their assistance ; indeed, Mayo fairly dragged me over it. Not bearing the idea of so precipitate a retreat, I turned once more ; but vain was the hope ! The wave rolled onward and onward. The men retreated, and I followed. Met Gravatt coming down. Short was the question, and brief was the answer. As we approached I met I. Brunel. We turned round : the effect was splendid beyond description. The water as it rose became more and more vivid, from the reflected lights of the gas. . . . As we reached the staircase a crash was heard, and then a rush of air at once extinguished all the lights. . . . Now it was that I experienced something like dread. I looked up the shaft and saw both stairs crowded ; I looked below, and beheld the overwhelming wave appearing to move with accumulated velocity. Dreading the effect of the reaction of this wave from the back of the shaft upon our staircase, I exclaimed to Mr. Gravatt, 'The staircase will blow up !' I. Brunel ordered the men to get up with all expedition ; and our feet were scarcely off the bottom stairs, when the first flight, which we had just left, was swept away. Upon our reaching the top, a bustling noise assailed our ears, some calling for a raft, others a boat, and others again a rope ; from which it was evident that some unfortunate individual was in the water. I. Brunel instantly, with that presence of mind to which I have been more than once witness, slid down one of the iron ties, and after him Mr. Gravatt, each making a rope fast to old Tillet's waist, who, having been looking after the packing of the pumps below the shaft, was overtaken by the flood. He was soon placed out of danger. The roll was immediately called—*not one absent !*"

The diving-bell being again employed, and the hole or chasm discovered, some three thousand bags of clay, armed with small hazel rods, were expended before it was effectually closed. On the 21st of the next month the water in the Tunnel was got under ; but it was not till the middle of August that the soil forced in was completely cleared away, and the engineer able to examine the effect of the irruption on his work. The structure was found perfectly sound, even whilst a part of the brick-work close to the shield was reduced to nearly half its original thickness by the tremendous violence of the rushing waters, whilst the chain which held the divisions of the shield together had been snapped like a twig, and various heavy pieces of iron belonging to the shield were found driven into the ground as if by a battering-ram. Progress was now recommenced ; and here we would pause a moment to pay a just tribute of admiration to the men, as well as to their directors, for the courage which they so constantly evinced. Even now, as they resumed their labours with the impression of the recent event fresh upon their minds, something or other was constantly occurring to excite fresh alarm. Now a report would take place in the frames like a cannon-shot, some part having been suddenly ruptured ; now alarming cries were heard, as some irruption of earth or water impetuously poured in. With the bursts of soil and water would be felt large quantities of carburetted and sulphuretted hydrogen, which, presently igniting with an explosion, would wrap the place in a sheet of flame. Beautiful at such times, to those who had coolness to admire it, was the appearance of the mingling fire and water, the flame appearing to dance along the surface of the liquid. And to what may we not get accustomed ? Those philosophers, the miners and bricklayers, used to look quietly on at the cry of "Fire and water ;" or, if they did make any observation, it was nothing more important than a prudent piece of advice, such as "Light your pipes, my boys." But perhaps, of all



the difficulties overcome or endured, none were more serious to the men than the impurity of the air; especially in summer, when the most powerful labourers had frequently to be carried out in a state of insensibility. Headaches, sickness, eruptions on the skin, were matters of too common occurrence to be noticed. Such a combination of circumstances must have given a strange colour to the lives of these labourers. An accurate description of the feelings and thoughts of the more imaginative would no doubt be as interesting as a romance. Doubtless they felt, and rightly, that a part of the true glory which belongs to such a work was theirs; and such feelings elevate even ordinary men. They served also a kind and thoughtful master. It was touching to hear the terms in which one of the miners spoke to us of him. As in their waking hours these men could have had no thought but of the Tunnel, so no doubt did the eternal subject constantly mingle with their dreams, and harass them with unreal dangers. One amusing instance may be mentioned. Whilst Mr. Brunel, junior, was engaged one midnight superintending the progress of the work, he and those with him were alarmed by a sudden cry of "The water! the water! Wedges and straw here!" followed by an appalling silence. Mr. Brunel hastened to the spot, where the men were found perfectly safe. They had fallen fast asleep from fatigue; and one of them had evidently been dreaming of a new irruption.

By January, 1828, the middle of the river had been reached; and, whatever the dangers and difficulties experienced up to that time, there was the gratification arising from their having been completely overcome without the loss of a single life. That gratification was to exist no longer. Even the very completion of the Tunnel was now to become a grave matter of doubt, and its projector to be left for long years in the sickening suspense of hope deferred on a matter wherein he had risked his professional reputation, and to which he devoted his entire energies—we might almost say, without exaggeration, his life. "I had been in the frames," says Mr. Brunel, junior, in a letter written to the Directors on the fatal Saturday, August 12, 1828, "with the workmen throughout the whole night, having taken my station there at ten o'clock. During the workings through the night no symptoms of insecurity appeared. At six o'clock this morning (the usual time for shifting the men) a fresh set came on to work. We began to work the ground at the west top corner of the frame. The tide had just then begun to flow; and, finding the ground tolerably quiet, we proceeded by beginning at the top, and had worked about a foot downwards, when, on exposing the next six inches, the ground swelled suddenly, and a large quantity burst through the opening thus made. This was followed instantly by a large body of water. The rush was so violent as to force the man on the spot where the burst took place out of the frame (or cell) on to the timber stage behind the frames. I was in the frame with the man; but upon the rush of the water I went into the next box, in order to command a better view of the irruption, and, seeing there was no possibility of their opposing the water, I ordered all the men in the frames to retire. All were retiring, except the three men who were with me, and they retreated with me. I did not leave the stage until those three men were down the ladder of the frames, when they and I proceeded about twenty feet along the west arch of the Tunnel. At this moment the agitation of the air by the rush of the water was such as to extinguish all the lights, and the water had gained the height of the middle of our waists. I was at that moment giving directions to the three men in what manner they ought to proceed in the dark to effect their escape, when they and I were knocked down and covered by a part of the timber stage. I struggled under water for some time, and at length extricated myself from the stage; and by



swimming, and being forced by the water, I gained the eastern arch, where I got a better footing, and was enabled, by laying hold of the railway rope, to pause a little, in the hope of encouraging the men who had been knocked down at the same time with myself. This I endeavoured to do by calling to them. Before I reached the shaft the water had risen so rapidly that I was out of my depth, and therefore swam to the visitors' stairs—the stairs of the workmen being occupied by those who had so far escaped. My knee was so injured by the timber stage that I could scarcely swim or get up the stairs, but *the rush of the water carried me up the shaft*. The three men who had been knocked down with me were unable to extricate themselves, and I am grieved to say they are lost; and, I believe, also two old men and one young man in other parts of the work." The scene at the shaft was truly deplorable. At one period there were no less than eighteen men immersed, all of whom, with the exception of the unfortunates who perished, were taken out in an exhausted state, and some of them fainting. The noise in the shaft, created by the influx of the water, is described as having been absolutely deafening. The news rapidly spread about the neighbourhood of the Tunnel; and before it was known who were lost and who saved, the wives and relations of the workmen were rushing in, and adding to the confusion and distress of the scene by their wild gestures and exclamations. The water, as we have seen, actually bore Mr. Brunel up to the top of the shaft, and then still rising, flowed over even to the visitors' lodge. It was then evident that all who were still below had perished.

This calamity occurred at a critical time. The funds of the Company were exhausted: their confidence, in some measure, now failed too. After two descents in the bell, the rent was discovered, and most formidable were its dimensions. It was of oblong shape, quite perpendicular, and measuring about seven feet in its longest direction, from east to west. The measures so often before and afterwards resorted to with success were adopted. *Four thousand tons* of soil, principally clay in bags, were laid in the place. When they re-entered the Tunnel there was the melancholy satisfaction of seeing the work as substantial as ever, but there was but too much reason to fear it was of little consequence—the completion might now never take place. What with the accident, and what with its consequences, we need not wonder to find it stated that the engineer appeared almost in a state of frenzy. For seven years from that time all was silence and darkness beneath those hollow roofs; and had the matter thus ended, what would have been the judgment of posterity? The plan had failed; and many of that immense array of projectors, *hundreds in number*, who now poured in their plans upon the Directors, would have lamented, with delightful self-forgetfulness, that Mr. Brunel had not adopted their schemes. But the Tunnel *was* to be completed—he *was* to be the man.

In January, 1835, the arches of the Tunnel were at last unclosed. Government, after repeated applications, agreed to make advances for the continuation of the work, which was accordingly once more carried forward with renewed energy. Very slow, however, was the progress made. Of sixty-six weeks two feet four inches only per week were accomplished during the first eighteen, three feet nine inches per week during the second eighteen, one foot per week during the third eighteen, and during the last twelve weeks only three feet four inches altogether. This will excite little surprise when we know that the ground in front of the shield was, from excessive saturation, almost constantly in little better than a fluid state, that an entire new and artificial bed had to be formed in the river in advance, and brought down by ingenious contrivances till it was deep enough to occupy the place of the natural soil

where the excavation was to be made, and that then there must be time allowed for its settlement, whenever the warning rush of sand and water was heard in the shield. Lastly, owing to the excavation being so much below that of any other works around the Tunnel, it formed a drain and receptacle for all the water of the neighbourhood. This was ultimately remedied by the sinking of the shaft on the Wapping side. Yet it was under such circumstances that the old shield, injured by the last irruption, was taken away and replaced by a new one. If our readers consider for a moment the first and most important office executed by this engine, that it alone bore up above and kept back in front the incalculable pressure of the river and its bed, we may appreciate the opinions of engineers when the idea was first started. "It was impracticable," was their common remark; yet it was done without the slightest derangement of the ground, or the loss of a single man. The most serious evil attending these delays and difficulties was the extra expenditure they involved, which became so great that the Lords of the Treasury declined further advances without the sanction of Parliament. A Committee was in consequence appointed, and witnesses examined, including of course the chief and assistant engineers. The result was favourable, and the work proceeded. On Wednesday, August 23, 1837, a third irruption occurred, but happily without any fatal consequences, or without materially retarding the works. An interesting escape marks this event. The water had gradually increased in quantity at the east corner since two p.m., rushing into the shield with a hollow roar as though it fell through a cavity. A boat was taken out of the river and sent down into the Tunnel for the purpose of conveying materials (for blocking up the frames) down to the shield. Notwithstanding all that could be done by the men the water gained upon them, and rapidly rose in the Tunnel. About four o'clock, the water having risen to within seven feet of the crown of the arch, and everything having been done that could be effected for the security of the work, it was thought most prudent for the men to retire, which they did in a very orderly manner along a platform, which had been most judiciously and providentially constructed for that purpose in the east arch only a few weeks before by Sir I. Brunel's orders. After the men had retired, and as the water continued rising gradually, Mr. Page, the acting engineer, accompanied by Mr. Francis, Mr. Mason, and two of the men, got into the boat for the purpose of reaching the stages to see if any change had taken place; and, after passing the six hundred feet mark in the Tunnel, the line attached to the boat ran out, and they returned to lengthen it. To this accident they were indebted for their lives; for while they were preparing the rope, the water surged, running up the arch ten or twelve feet. Every one made his way to the shaft, and Mr. Page, fearing that the men would be jammed in the staircase, called to them to go up steadily; but they, misunderstanding him, returned, and it was with some difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to go up. Had the rope been long enough, all the persons who were in the boat (which was in a sinking condition when they grounded) must inevitably have perished in the surge, for now not less than a million gallons of water burst into the Tunnel in the course of a single minute. The lower gas-lights were then under water; and the pipes being but partially filled, the remainder burnt first very irregularly, leaving the Tunnel almost in darkness, and then, flaming up to the top of the glasses, threw a blaze of light over the west arch and the water. When the water had risen to within fifty feet of the entrance to the Tunnel, it came forward in a wave; and Mr. Page, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Francis, who were at the bottom of the visitors' stairs, ran up to the second landing, but were so rapidly followed that one of the party was up to his knees before he reached the top.

Two other irruptions of the Thames complete this part of the history of the Tunnel. The first occurred on the 2nd of November, 1837, when the water burst in about four in the morning, and speedily filled the Tunnel. The excellent arrangements provided for escape secured the safety of the seventy or more persons in it at the time, with one exception. When the roll was called there was no answer to one name. Inquiry being made, some one, it appeared, had seen a miner returning towards the shield when all else were leaving, and that was all that was known of him.

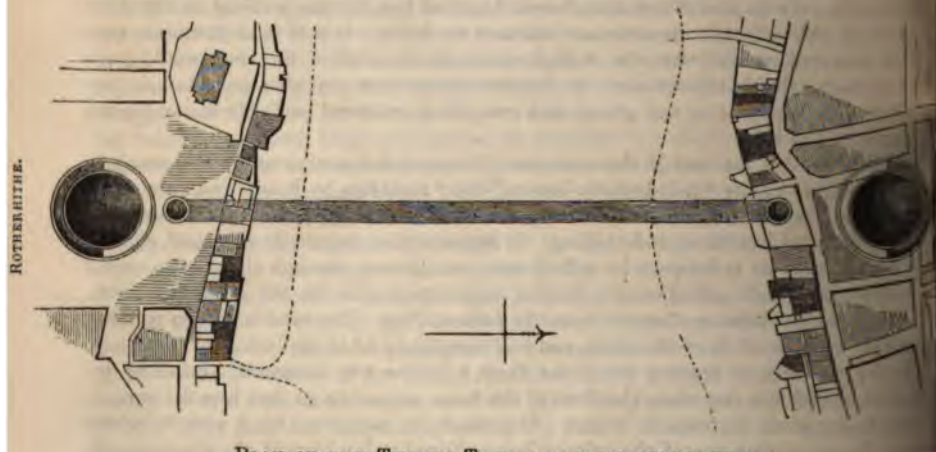
The fifth and last irruption occurred on the morning of the 6th of March, 1838, and was remarkable for the noise resembling thunder with which it was accompanied. Happily no loss of life occurred. All this while the Tunnel was every week approaching nearer and nearer to the goal of the engineer's hopes—the opposite shore; and all parties began to feel the buoyancy of assured success, inspiring them as they found the difficulties grow less and less formidable. They were, however, still sufficient to have paralysed any less energetic spirits than those who had brought the whole to that point. Here is an incident of so late date as 1840:—On the 4th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, being then about low water, the top face of No. 12 was attempted; but no sooner was the poling-board removed than the second one canted over, and a quantity of gravel and water rushed into the frame, forcing out another of the boards. At the hole thus left unprotected the ground rushed in with such impetuosity as to knock the men out of the shield; and they, being panic-struck, ran away, but, finding that the water did not follow, they returned to the scene of action, and after immense exertions succeeded in stopping the run, when upwards of six thousand cubic feet of ground had fallen into the Tunnel. The rush of the ground was attended with a very great noise, resembling the bursting of a thunder-cloud, and a general extinguishing of the lights. While this was taking place in the Tunnel, a still more unusual phenomenon was occurring on the shore at Wapping, where, to the astonishment and dismay of the neighbourhood, the ground commenced sinking gradually over an area of upwards of seven hundred feet, leaving a cavity on the shore of about thirty feet in diameter and thirteen in depth. It was most fortunate that this occurred at low water, for at high water an irruption of the river would have been the inevitable consequence. A number of men were sent over, and the hole was filled with bags of clay and gravel, and everything rendered perfectly secure by the return of the tide.

With another incident of the same year of a somewhat similar nature, we conclude these notices of the "hair-breadth 'scapes," the "accidents by flood," and, in a sense, by "flood," which marked almost every few months of the lives of the labourers in this great and hazardous undertaking. It appears that frequently the sand, mixing with water, so as to be quite in a fluid state, would ooze through the minute cracks between the small poling-boards, leaving immense cavities in the ground in front. A remarkable instance occurred upon the 24th of July. The sand had been running in this way the whole of the night, and had completely filled the bottom of the shield. In the morning, on opening one of the faces, a hollow was discovered extending upwards of eighteen feet along the front of the faces, projecting six feet into the ground, and being about the same in height. This enormous cavity was filled with brickbats and lumps of clay, one of the miners being obliged to lay himself the whole length of his body into the faces for the purpose of filling the farther end; and of course at the hazard, every moment he continued in his position, of being buried beneath fallen masses of earth, now left without any support from below.

The reward for every difficulty, anxiety, or suffering, was at last obtained. It is



pleasant even to have to record that, on the 13th of August, 1841, Sir Isambard Brunel passed down the shaft recently erected on the Wapping side of the river, and thence by a small driftway through the shield into the Tunnel. The Tunnel was at last completed. To describe it is scarcely necessary; almost every one, Londoner or provincial, has seen it. It is about 1200 feet long; it has two arches, side by side, connected by smaller lateral openings at intervals. The approaches are by two large sunken circular shafts, one at Wapping and one at Rotherhithe, which have spiral staircases winding round their interior. The shafts are each about fifty feet in diameter, but they are insignificant compared with those which would have been constructed had the waggon-route been completed. These larger shafts, if ever made in accordance with the original plan, will be much farther from the river than the present passenger-shafts; they will consist each of an immense spiral road, winding twice round a circular excavation about sixty feet deep; the extreme diameter of the spiral road will be about two hundred feet, the road about forty feet wide, bounded on the exterior by warehouses and cellars, and the slope easy enough for horses to ascend with heavy waggons. It would be a mockery to a Company, who have already spent £400,000 with so little return, to wish them to complete the work; yet it would be no mean homage to the genius of the elder Brunel, if the plan could be ultimately carried out as he intended it. As matters now stand, the Thames Tunnel has scarcely a shadow of connection with the commerce of the Port of London generally. The arches are to some extent occupied as a bazaar, and the walls of the shafts are decorated with paintings, each panel containing a subject selected from English or Colonial scenery, and connected with our commerce or history; among them are Southampton, Calcutta, Gibraltar, the Eddystone, &c., and many of them are executed with great boldness of style and much brilliancy of colour. In the last year the revenue was sufficient to pay the expenses, including the interest on the Government loan, and to lay apart something toward the reduction of the debt.



PLAN OF THE THAMES TUNNEL AND ITS APPROACHES.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XXIV. THE COMPANIES OF LONDON: I.





## XXIV. THE COMPANIES OF LONDON: I.

THE custom of frankpledge, it is supposed, formed the germ of the guilds, or, as we now call them, Companies. When these guilds first assumed positive shape and efficiency is unknown, but the weavers of London received a charter so early as the reign of Henry II., and that only confirmed liberties previously enjoyed: this is the oldest of the Companies. In the same reign, besides the licensed, there were no less than eighteen other London guilds, but unlicensed, and which were fined by the King in consequence. The only guild of which we know the exact origin is that referred to in the interesting story told by Stow in his account of Portsoken Ward, but which evidently was of a somewhat irregular nature:—"In the days of King Edgar, more than six hundred years since, there were then thirteen knights or soldiers, well beloved of the King and realm, for services by them done, who requested to have a certain portion of land on the east part of the city, being left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, by reason of too much servitude: they besought the King to have this land with the liberty of a guild for ever. The King granted to their request, with conditions following: to wit, that each of them should victoriously accomplish three combats, one above the ground, one under ground, and the third in the water; and, after this, at a certain day, in East Smithfield, they should run with spears against all comers; all which was gloriously performed; and the same day the King named it **Knigheten Guild.**" And, we may add, the locality in question forms, either partially or entirely, the present ward of Portsoken. Of these early guilds, perhaps the most striking feature is their semi-religious character: thus we have the "Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Mary, the Virgin, of the Mystery of Drapers," and the "Guild or fraternity of the body of Christ of the Skinners." A chaplain was one of the regularly-constituted officers of all the larger Companies. Although licensed, the guilds generally were not incorporated till the reign of Edward III., when that monarch, conscious of the growing strength and prosperity of the country through the instrumentality of the trades fraternities, raised them at once into the highest possible estimation and honour, by confirming—in many cases by letters patent—the privileges they had previously enjoyed more by sufferance than of right—and in return for the payment of the ferm—and then by enrolling himself as a member of one of them, the Merchant Tailors. About the same time it was ordained that all artificers and people of mysteries should each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas, and that, having so chosen it, he should thenceforth use no other. Edward also transferred the right of electing members to Parliament from the ward representatives to the Trade Companies, another important influence in raising them to their subsequent power. The number of Companies sending members to the Common Council towards the close of his reign was forty-eight. Among these the Saddlers, the Weavers, and Tapestry-makers were next in importance, as sending four members each, to the Grocers, Mercers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, and Vintners, who sent six, and with them the Barbers ranked. It was not for a considerable time that the twelve great Companies assumed their final positions as regards the other fraternities; and many violent and occasionally bloody quarrels mark the history of the struggle for precedence. Their present order is as follows:—

*List of the Companies of London in the order of their precedence, the first twelve*

forming the Great Livery Companies, and those which are extinct being marked in Italics.—1. Mercers. 2. Grocers. 3. Drapers. 4. Fishmongers. 5. Goldsmiths. 6. Skinners. 7. Merchant Tailors. 8. Haberdashers. 9. Salters. 10. Ironmongers. 11. Vintners. 12. Clothworkers. 13. Dyers. 14. Brewers. 15. Leathersellers. 16. Pewterers. 17. Barbers. 18. Cutlers. 19. Bakers. 20. Wax Chandlers. 21. Tallow Chandlers. 22. Armourers and Braziers. 23. Grinders. 24. Butchers. 25. Saddlers. 26. Carpenters. 27. Cordwainers. 28. Painter-stainers. 29. Curriers. 30. Masons. 31. Plumbers. 32. Innholders. 33. Founders. 34. Poulterers. 35. Cooks. 36. Coopers. 37. Bricklayers. 38. Boyers. 39. Fletchers. 40. Blacksmiths. 41. Joiners. 42. Weavers. 43. Woolmen. 44. Scriveners. 45. Fruiterers. 46. Plasterers. 47. Stationers. 48. Broderers. 49. Upholderers. 50. Musicians. 51. Turners. 52. Basket-makers. 53. Glaziers. 54. Horners. 55. Farriers. 56. Paviers. 57. Lorimers. 58. Apothecaries. 59. Shipwrights. 60. Spectacle-makers. 61. Clock-makers. 62. Glovers. 63. Comb-makers. 64. Felt-makers. 65. Frame-work Knitters. 66. Silk-throwers. 67. *Silk-men*. 68. *Pin-makers*. 69. Needle-makers. 70. Gardeners. 71. *Soap-makers*. 72. Tinplate-workers. 73. Wheelwrights. 74. Distillers. 75. *Hat-band-makers*. 76. *Patten-makers*. 77. Glass-sellers. 78. Tobacco-Pipe-makers. 79. Coach and Harness makers. 80. Gun-makers. 81. Wire Drawers. 82. *Long Bowstring-makers*. 83. Playing-card-makers. 84. Fan-makers. 85. *Woodmongers*. 86. *Starch-makers*. 87. *Fishermen*. 88. Parish Clerks. 89. *Carmen*.

This list of the London Companies includes those which sprung up during the mania for incorporation that prevailed in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, or just when, through a variety of concurring causes, but chiefly that the trade and commerce to be directed had become much too mighty a thing for the directors, the old faith in the necessity and value of the Companies was disappearing, and with that their faith in their own energies. And thus when Charles II. sought to destroy their independence by frightening them into a resignation of their charters, that he might re-grant them with such restrictions as he saw fit, having neither strength within nor without, they succumbed at once, and almost licked the dust off the feet of the spoiler in so doing. That to these causes rather than to the King's arbitrary proceedings we may attribute the decline of the Companies is evident, from the circumstance that, although at the Revolution of 1688 these proceedings were finally reversed, the Companies, with the exception of those which possessed large charities, or of those which still from peculiar causes continued in close connection with their respective trades, steadily continued to decline from that time. Of the eighty-nine enumerated in the list, eight are practically extinct, and a ninth, the Parish Clerks (the actors in the old miracle plays), has no connection with the municipality of London. The others are divided by the Commissioners of Corporation Inquiry, in their report, into three classes—1. Companies still exercising an efficient control over their trade, namely, the Goldsmiths and the Apothecaries. Both these also belong to class 2. Companies exercising the right of search, or marking wares, &c.; in which are included the Stationers' Company, at whose Hall all copyright books must be "entered;" the Gunmakers, who prove all the guns made in the City; the Founders, who test and mark weights; the Saddlers, who examine the workmanship of Saddles; and, in a lesser degree, the Painters, who issue a trade-price list of some authority; and the Pewterers and Plumbers, who make assays. 3. Companies, into which persons carrying on certain occupations in the City are compelled to enter: such are the Apothecaries, Brewers, Pewterers, Builders, Barbers, Bakers, Saddlers, Painter Stainers, Plumbers, Innholders, Founders, Poulterers, Cooks, Weavers, Scri-

rs, Farriers, Spectacle Makers, Clock Makers, Silk Throwers, Distillers, Tobacco Makers, and Carmen. This last-mentioned fraternity is the only one that exclusively consists of persons belonging to the trade, though the Stationers and the Hecaries, with one or two others, have a majority of such members. Admission to the body of freemen is obtained by birth, apprenticeship, purchase, or gift; and into the livery, in most cases at the pleasure of the party, on payment of the which are generally light where the claim arises from patrimony or servitude, otherwise vary from a few pounds to as much as 200 guineas. The government of the companies is now intrusted to Courts of Assistants, formed from the senior members of the livery, and comprising Master, Senior, and Junior Wardens, and a main number of assistants, who succeed in rotation to the higher offices. Among officers and classes who have disappeared from the Companies, or changed their designation, are the Pilgrim, the ancient head of the Merchant Tailors, so called from travelling for them; the Master Bachelor and Budge Bachelor of the Drapers; Bachelor in foin of the Skinners; with the Yeomanry of most of the Companies, seem to have been the old freemen.

According to the words of the Commissioners in which they describe the existing companies as so many trusteeships for "charitable purposes" and "chartered festivals," worthy of observation that one of the earliest objects sought by the guild, in some instances apparently their primary one, was the foundation of a common stock, for the relief of poor or decayed members. Large funds were established in course of time, the charitable character thus attached to the Companies led to their being chosen trustees for the care and management of a variety of other charities founded by volent persons; who, in the earlier periods of metropolitan history, were so numerous, that Stow devotes some five-and-twenty folio pages of his 'Survey' to the enumeration of their acts, under the appropriate and characteristic title of the Four of Citizens and Worthiness of Men: a noble chapter in the history of London. The variety of these charities is as remarkable as their entire amount must be magnificent; comprising as they do pensions to decayed members, almshouses, innumerable sums of money to the poor, funds for the support of hospitals, schools, exhibitions at universities, prisoners in the city gaols, for lectures and sermons, donations to eased clergymen, and so on through an interminable list. The most interesting, and also the most valuable, of the charities has yet to be mentioned—the loans of different sums to young beginners in business, to an amount, and for a time, amply sufficient to start them fairly in life with every expectation of a prosperous career. The idea of the magnitude of the Companies' charities, on the whole, may be derived from two illustrations. The Charity Commissioners stated that the Goldsmiths' Company's annual payments to their poor alone, amounted to about £2836; and we learn from the Corporation Commissioners that the Fishmongers, out of their princely means, averaging above £18,000 a year, disburse in all between £9000 and £10,000 in charities in England and Ireland; in which last-mentioned country this and some of the other Companies have large estates.

The "chartered festivals" form the other distinguishing features of the Companies at the present day, but, notwithstanding the magnificence of the feasts given by some of the Companies, as, for instance, the Merchant Tailors, they are not for a moment to be compared with their predecessors of the same locality. The halls in which these festivals take place present many features of interest, but none of them of very early date, the Great Fire having swept away many of those then in existence. The hall of the Barber Surgeons, and that of the Leathersellers, may be taken as interesting examples of those which escaped. Of the halls recently rebuilt, the



Goldsmiths' is one of the most sumptuous specimens of domestic architecture in the metropolis. This will require a more particular notice, as will the Stationers'. The Fishmongers', with its fine statue of Walworth on the staircase, its stained glass windows, its elegant drawing-room with a splendid silver chandelier, and its grand banqueting hall, is built, decorated, and furnished on a similarly splendid scale. Of the remainder we can but briefly refer to Merchant Tailors' Hall, with its tabular list of the kings, princes, dukes, and other distinguished personages who have been members, making one wonder who is not included in it rather than who is; Drapers' Hall, on the site of the building erected by Henry VIII.'s vicar-general, Cromwell, with its public gardens, where was the house occupied by Stow's father, which Cromwell so unceremoniously removed upon rollers when making the said gardens out of his neighbours' land; Mercers' Hall, with its chapel, standing where, several centuries ago, stood the house of Gilbert Becket, father of the great archbishop, and husband of the fair Saracen who had followed him over the seas; the Clockmakers', with their library and museum, richly illustrative of the history of their trade; and lastly the Painter Stainers, who not only claimed a supervision over the highest branches of art, but had their claims admitted by the enrolment of such men as Verrio, Kneller, and Reynolds, among their members.

Before we proceed to a continuation of this branch of our subject—that of the existing Companies of London—we may properly notice some institutions which were intimately connected with the commerce of London, viz.,

#### THE OLD TRADING COMPANIES.

If the London merchant of any particular century could witness the struggles for freedom of trade which occurred subsequently to his own times, he would be astonished at the different objects which were kept in view. All the rights of commercial freedom which *he* had contended for had been completely gained. No longer are there laws compelling him to send his merchandise to the king's staple: he can send it to any or every part of the globe. No longer is he an "interloper" in the trade of Turkey, Russia, Africa, or even the East Indies. The Italian merchants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Steelyard merchants of a later period, no longer engross the most valuable part of the foreign trade of the country. Bruges and Antwerp are no more the great emporia of traffic to which he was accustomed to resort. London itself has become the entrepôt of the world. The trade of the Venetians in the spices and merchandise which they brought overland from India and sent to London in their galleys has passed away. Few are reminded by the name of Galley-quay in Thames Street, that their once proud argosies were accustomed to ride there. Another generation saw the productions of the East brought by the Portuguese to the great mart of Antwerp, to which the English resorted to exchange for them their wool and broadcloths; and that trade has also been turned into a new channel. Before noticing two or three of the companies which once monopolized the trade to particular countries, we will glance briefly at a few of the commercial restrictions of bygone times, which show that the struggle for freedom of trade must be a very old one in this country.

King Hlothære of Kent, who reigned in the seventh century, enacted that "If any of the people of Kent buy anything in the city of London, he must have two or three honest men, or the King's port-reve (who was the chief magistrate of the city), present at the bargain." What could have been the trade of London when such a law as this was in force? Even after the Conquest laws of this nature were either

continued or revived. Their principal design, no doubt, was to protect the revenue of the King and the lord of the manor, to each of whom, according to Domesday Book, certain proportion of the price of everything sold for more than twenty pennies was paid, the one-half by the buyer and the other by the seller. The amount specified in the Saxon law would prevent the rule from affecting the ordinary purchases of the necessities of life; but the Conqueror, it seems, drew the restriction tighter by subjecting all bargains which involved a larger sum than 4*d.* to the tedious process of validation by witnesses. In the twenty-eighth volume of the 'Archæologia,' there is a paper by Edward A. Bond, Esq., "On the loans supplied by Italian merchants to kings of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," which presents an interesting view of the commercial state of the country during that period; and it likewise throws some light upon the circumstances which rendered such laws as Lothaire's tolerable. "Specie," it is remarked, "was scarce, a paper currency a thing unheard of, and the convenience of exchange by bills was probably as yet only practised by the Italians themselves. The restrictions and arbitrary regulations with which trade was shackled, and perhaps the general manner and habits of life, had hitherto much impeded commercial prosperity. The wealth of the country was in the hands of the large proprietors of land, and the revenues of the crown were principally derived from feudal charges, to which territorial possessions were subject. Tolls of the collection of subsidies, remaining in the Exchequer, show how insignificant a portion of the public taxes was paid by the class of merchants and burghesses. We were almost destitute of manufactures. Wool, the staple commodity of the country, was exchanged in the ports of France and the Low Countries for bullion, wine, and merchandise of other descriptions." The inland trade of the country was conducted on the most confined scale. "The produce of each district was exchanged by actual barter among the inhabitants, at the periodical fairs in the neighbourhood. What foreign commodities were in use were bought at the large fairs of Boston, Winchester, and Bristol; and only partially dispersed through the kingdom by travelling merchants little above the rank of modern pedlars. The commercial wealth of the country was collected in a few towns and cities, such as London, Bristol, Winchester, Lincoln, Boston, York, and Hull; and the difficulties and dangers of carriage confined the advantages of their prosperity to the immediate vicinity. The arrival of the Italians at such a time was extremely opportune. The natural produce of the country was rich and abundant, but it required to be circulated, and in doing this the activity and means of the foreigners were most beneficially exercised. They spread themselves over the country; they filled the fair of Boston and others with foreign goods of their own importation; and their superior opportunities of disposing of wool enabled them to bid high for that commodity, of which a large proportion passed through their hands." Mr. Bond quotes a return, showing the quantity of wool in the hands of ten different companies of Italian merchants in England on a certain day in the twenty-second year of Edward I. (1294). The King was then at war with France; and he had issued commands for the arrest of all wool, woolfells, and hides, in whosoever hands they might be found. They were to be retained in the custody of the King's officers in order to prevent the possibility of their being exported into the dominions of the French King. The returns alluded to were made by the Italians themselves, who were mostly of Florence and Lucca. One company is designated 'La Compagnie del Cercle Blanc;' another 'La Compagnie du Cercle neyr de Florence;' a third, 'Societas Ricardorum de Lucca.' The total number of sacks of wool which the ten companies had in their possession was 2380. By far the greater part is stated to have been bought of religious houses: indeed many of the companies return as



having received only from them. It appears that many of the religious houses under engagements to deliver all their wool of one or more year's growth to some of the companies at a period previously stipulated. The Abbey of Waverley, for instance, was bound to deliver up all its wool to Frescobaldi Neri of Florence, at London-upon-Thames, on the Feast of St. John, and they were to receive twenty marks for every sack of good wool, and fifteen marks for each sack of middle value. This would render the total quantity of wools returned worth £23,800. But the returns were incomplete. They were made by the partners in London, and to each was added to this effect:—'We have other wools collected in divers parts of the country which we believe have been arrested: but we cannot ascertain the number of them until our partners who have the business in charge return to London.''' Before the Cistercian monks, taking advantage of the exemption of ecclesiastics from military duties, had become the greatest wool-merchants in the kingdom; but in the year the parliament interfered, and prohibited ecclesiastical persons from pursuing any kind of commerce. In 1390, when the exports still consisted almost entirely of wool, English merchants were expressly excluded from this branch of trade, and was enacted that no denizen should buy wool, except of the owners of the sheep for his own use. The object of this law might either be to favour the money-lenders, the foreign merchants who assisted the sovereign with loans; or it might be intended to secure to the growers of wool the profits of the intermediate dealers. Such a plan of increasing profits by diminishing the competition of buyers was an object of accomplishing such an object.

One of the prerogatives assumed by the crown in those days was the restricting all mercantile dealings for a time to a certain place. Thus, in the reign of Henry III. proclaimed a fair to be held at Westminster, on which occasion he decreed that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at the fair, and that all other fairs should be suspended throughout England during the fifteen days it was appointed to last. The object was to obtain a sum of money from the tolls and other dues of the market: but then again the citizens of London were quite as willing to profit by restrictions in their own favour, as to be unfair towards the rest of the country; such as an ordinance of the lord mayor and aldermen, prohibiting any of the citizens from resorting with their goods to any fair or market out of the city, which was disannulled by an act of parliament in 1487-8.

Of a like nature were the regulations of the Staple. A particular port or place was appointed, to which certain commodities were obliged to be brought, weighed or measured, for the payment of the customs, before they could be sold, in some cases imported or exported. Here the king's staple was said to be fixed, and articles of English produce upon which customs were anciently paid were wool, skins or woollfells, and leather; and these were accordingly denominated the staple-goods of the kingdom. Those who exported these goods were called the merchants of the staple. They were incorporated, or at least recognised as a society, with certain privileges, in the thirteenth century. Hakluyt has printed a charter which they received from Edward II. in 1313. It is addressed to the king and council of the merchants of the staple, and the king ordains that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, buying wool and woollfells in his dominions for exportation, should, instead of carrying them for sale, as they had been wont to do, to places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, carry them in future only to one staple in one of those countries, to be appointed by the said mayor and council, and the king soon transferred to his own hands the right of fixing the staple. At one



was at Antwerp, at another time at Bruges, then at Calais; or it was fixed in some of the principal towns in England. Now and then there was no staple either at home or abroad, and all merchants came and went freely wherever they listed. In 1376 the staple was fixed at Calais, for a time, and all the ordinary exports of the kingdom were obliged to be carried there. The inconvenience of this regulation was diminished two years afterwards, by the permission to use other ports on payment of the Calais staple-duties.

In this early period of our commercial history there were also many other vexatious restrictions. In 1275 Edward I. issued an order obliging all foreign merchants to sell their goods within forty days after arrival. They were not allowed to reside in England except by special licence from the king, and even then were subjected to various oppressive regulations; and many of these were continued when, in 1303, Edward granted a special charter permitting foreign merchants to come safely to any of the dominions of the English crown, with all kinds of merchandise, and to sell their goods. For instance, with the exception of spices and mercery, they were only allowed to sell the commodities which they brought wholesale. Wine could not be re-exported without special licence. Every resident foreigner was answerable for the debts of every other foreign resident. In 1306 a number of foreign merchants were committed to the Tower, and there detained until they severally gave security that none of their countrymen should leave the kingdom, or export anything from it, without the king's special licence; and they were each required to give in an account of his property, both in money and goods. Again, in 1307, Edward prohibited the foreign merchants carrying out of the kingdom either coined money or bullion, thus compelling them either to dispose of their goods by barter, or if they were sold for money, to invest the proceeds in English commodities. In the following year, however, Edward II., who had just ascended the throne, exempted the merchants of France from this mischievous restriction. But although other relaxations of the law were permitted in various cases, from the impossibility of strictly enforcing it, foreign merchants continued long after to be vexed by attempts to carry into effect the objects originally contemplated. In 1335 it was enacted, that no person should carry out of the kingdom either money or plate without special licence, upon pain of forfeiture. At length, in 1390, it was enacted that foreign merchants might carry away one half of the money for which they sold their goods; but it was still required that every alien bringing merchandise into England should find sureties, before the officers of the customs, to expend half the value of his imports in the purchase of wools, leather, woollfells, tin, lead, butter, cheese, cloths, or other commodities raised in England. It is curious to remark that, while the exportation of money was forbidden, the remittance of bills was allowed! Every such bill had of course the effect of preventing the money coming into the country, and thus defeating the object of the statute. Some half century later an act was made (in 1439) which ordained that no foreign merchant should sell any goods to another foreigner in England, on pain of the forfeiture of the goods so sold; and yet the legislators of this period had before them the prosperity of Bruges, which by the traffic of foreigners had become a greater emporium than London.

Besides the wealthy Italians, who at one time engrossed so large a share of the trade of the country, there were various other societies of foreigners enjoying important commercial immunities and advantages. In 1220 the merchants of Cologne had a hall or factory in London, for the legal possession of which they paid an acknowledgment to the king. Macpherson is of opinion that this Guildhall, by the association of the merchants of other cities with those of Cologne, became in time the

general factory and residence of all the German merchants in London, and was the same that was afterwards known by the name of the German Guildhall (*Gildhalla Teutonicorum*). They were bound to keep one of the city gates in repair. Stow says: "I find that Henry III. (1216-72) confirmed to the merchants of the Haunce (Hanse), that had a house in the city called *Gildhalla Theutonicorum*, certain liberties and privileges. Edward I. also confirmed the same; in the tenth year of whose reign (1282) it was found that the said merchants ought of right to repair the said gate called *Bishopsgate*;" on which the alderman of the Haunce, he says, granted 310 marks to the mayor and citizens, and covenanted on the part of the body generally that they and their successors should from time to time repair the said gate. In 1670 the gate was entirely rebuilt at their cost. Their Guildhall was in *Thames Street*, by *Cosin Lane*. Stow describes it as "large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street, the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the other, and is seldom opened; the other two be mured up: the same is now called the old hall." In 1383 the merchants of the Steelyard (for by this time they had acquired that name) hired a house adjoining their hall, with a large wharf on the Thames, and in the alley leading to it they erected various buildings. They had also another large house here, for which, in 1476, they paid the city an annual rent of £70 3s. 4d. In 1505 a charter was granted to a body called the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England for trading in woollen cloth to the Netherlands, and the merchants of the Steelyard were prohibited from interfering with their new rivals. In 1551 a hot dispute raged between the two fraternities, which was brought under the notice of the Solicitor-General and the Recorder of London. It was alleged that, as no particular persons or towns had been mentioned in the charter of the Steelyard merchants, their privileges had been improperly extended; that they had engrossed almost the entire trade carried on by foreigners in the kingdom; and, lastly, it was stated that they had reduced the price of corn by their importations of foreign grain. The Company of Merchant Adventurers was now evidently the more favoured body, but its rival still continued to exist until 1597, when, the Emperor Rudolph having ordered the factories of the English Merchant Adventurers in Germany to be shut up, Queen Elizabeth directed the Lord Mayor of London to close the house occupied by the merchants of the Steelyard. They had establishments at Boston and Lynn.

Although the Company of Merchant Adventurers had only been incorporated in 1505, the existence of this association can be traced to the end of the thirteenth century. It has been said that it originated in an association of English merchants for trading in foreign parts, called the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, which existed about the middle of the thirteenth century. The part which the Merchant Adventurers took during the stoppage of the trade with the Netherlands, in 1493, recommended them to the crown. During this period, says Becon, the Adventurers "being a strong Company, and well under-set with rich men, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the realm, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent." Soon afterwards they began to assert a right to prevent any private adventurers from resorting to a foreign market, without they first "compounded and made fine with the said Fellowship of Merchants of London at their pleasure," upon pain of forfeiture of their goods. In a petition on the subject from the merchants not free of the Fellowship, it is stated that this fine "at the beginning, when it was first taken, was demanded by colour of a fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at which time the said fine was but the value of half an old noble sterling (3s. 4d.), and so by colour of such feigned holiness it hath been suffered to be taken for a few years past; and afterwards it was increased to a hundred shillings Flemish; and now it is

so that the said Fellowship and Merchants of London take of every Englishman or young merchant being there, at his first coming, twenty pounds sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own proper goods, wares, and merchandises, that he hath there." In consequence of this extortion the private merchants had been compelled to withdraw from the foreign marts. These facts are recited in the preamble of an Act passed in 1497, by which the fine the Company was authorised to impose was limited to £6 13s. 4d. They must have been a highly influential body when this was the extent to which the government ventured to interfere with their attempt to control the whole foreign trade of the country. Mr. Burgon states, in his 'Life of Sir Thomas Gresham,' that in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign the Merchant Adventurers were in the habit of sending their cloths twice a year, at Christmas and Whitsuntide, into the Low Countries; about one hundred thousand pieces of cloth being shipped annually, which amounted in value to at least £700,000 or £800,000; and the merchants were accustomed to equip on these occasions a fleet of fifty or sixty ships, manned with the best seamen of the realm. As London is now, so was Bruges in the fourteenth, and Antwerp in the sixteenth centuries, the greatest resort of foreign merchants in Europe. In 1385, according to an old writer, merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles and establishments at Bruges. After the middle of the fifteenth century Antwerp became the greatest commercial emporium in Europe; and about the middle of the next century, when it had attained its highest prosperity, it was said to be no uncommon sight to see two or three thousand vessels at one time in the Scheldt, laden with merchandise from every quarter of the globe. Merchants of all nations had fixed their residences here, preserving the manners of the different countries to which they belonged. In some years, after the middle of the sixteenth century, the export of English cloth of all kinds to Antwerp was valued at £1,200,000 sterling, which sum was again invested in merchandise for English consumption. To this great emporium the Portuguese, after the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, brought the spices, drugs, and other rich productions of the East. The Merchant Adventurers of England had a noble mansion at Antwerp, called the English House, at which Charles V. had been entertained when he made his triumphal entry into that city in 1520.

The discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards thoroughly roused the spirit of mercantile adventure in England; and Joint Stock Companies sprung up under the encouragement of Charters, which gave to the Adventurers the exclusive right of enjoying the advantages to be derived from the discovery of new countries or the opening of fresh sources of trade. The memory of these commercial companies has almost passed away, yet at one period to have belonged to the Russia, the Turkey, the African, or the Eastland Companies, gave to the London merchant a pre-eminence which probably he could not have attained if unassociated with these bodies. The greatness of the East India Company, and its existence down to a more recent period, have thrown into the shade the minor companies which aimed at establishing a similar monopoly; but they are, notwithstanding, intimately connected with the commercial history of London.

Of all the minor companies, perhaps that which attempted to engross the trade with Russia was, at first, the most promising. Russia had not then advanced her frontiers to the Baltic, and the first opening of a trade with the Muscovites had all the excitement of geographical discovery as well as the ordinary incentives of commercial speculation. In 1553 some merchants of London, together with several noblemen, established a Company under the title of the "Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Lands, Countries, Isles, &c., not before known or frequented by any English."



Three vessels, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, were sent out on the first expedition, the main object being to discover a north-east passage to China. Sir Hugh Willoughby, with two of the ships, was compelled to put into a port of Russian Lapland, where they intended to pass the winter; and the whole of them, seventy in number, were found in the ensuing spring frozen to death. The third ship, commanded by Richard Chancellor, found its way to the White Sea, and thus reached the dominions of the Czar. Chancellor received permission to proceed to Moscow, where he obtained important privileges for carrying on a trade with the Muscovites, and then returned to England. The advantages of this new trade were secured to the Adventurers by a charter granted in 1555, while those who were not free of the Company were prohibited from engaging in the trade under pain of forfeiting both ships and merchandise. In 1556 the Company's ships brought the first Ambassador from the "Emperor of Cathaie, Muscovia and Russeland." He was unfortunately wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and the presents intended for Queen Mary were lost. He was met at Tottenham by a splendid procession, consisting of the members of the Company, on horseback, wearing coats of velvet, with rich chains of gold about their necks. The Company bore all the expenses of his embassy. At Islington the Ambassador was received by Lord Montacute, with the Queen's pensioners; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen received him in their scarlet robes, at Smithfield, whence they rode with him to Denmark House, in Fenchurch Street. On the return of the Ambassador, in the following year, a very indefatigable agent of the Company, named Jenkinson, went out at the same time, who struck out a new line of commercial intercourse through Russia into Persia, by the Wolga, and thence across the Caspian Sea. Jenkinson performed this journey seven different times, and agents from the Company visited the Persian court on the business of their new traffic. This branch of their trade, however, was not followed up until 1741, when an Act was passed to enable them to engage in the Russo-Persian trade, but the internal troubles of the Persian empire caused it soon to be stopped. In 1566 the Company obtained the protection of an Act of Parliament, as well as their charter, on the ground that great numbers of private persons had interfered with their trade. The trade with Russia, Persia, the Caspian Sea, and the countries to the northward, north-eastward, and north-westward, was secured to the Company alone; and some provisions were made in favour of the citizens of York, Newcastle, Hull, and Boston, who had traded to Russia in the preceding ten years, but they were required to make themselves free of the Company before December, 1567. The future title of the association was to be "The Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades." The new Russian trade did not prove very lucrative, and in 1571 its affairs were in an embarrassed state from losses by shipwreck, bad debts, and the attacks of Polish pirates; and the expense of embassies had pressed heavily on their funds. Other complaints were also made. The Czar had curtailed some of their exclusive privileges, and the Dutch appeared as competitors in the trade. In 1582, however, the Company sent out eleven well-armed ships to Russia. In 1598 they commenced whaling operations at Spitzbergen, and asserted an exclusive right to the fishery in that quarter. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1603, gave the following summary of the state of the English trade with Russia. For twenty years together, he remarks, we had a great trade to Russia, and even about fourteen years ago we sent store of goodly ships thither; but three years before he wrote, he states that only four had been sent, and a year or two after that only two or three, while the Hollanders dispatched from thirty to forty ships, each as large as two of ours, chiefly laden with English cloth, and herrings taken in the English seas. This falling off, he tells us, had been

right about by "disorderly trading." The disputes of the Company with the Dutch whalers began also to thicken. In 1612 the Company seized the Dutch ships engaged in the fishery; but in the following year our great commercial rivals sent sixteen ships to Spitzbergen, four of which were well armed, while our whalers were only thirteen in number, and the Dutch fished in spite of the Company's exclusive pretensions. The East India and Russia Companies were united for the prosecution of the whale-fishery. The hope of discovering a north-east passage to China had probably led to this union of interests at Spitzbergen; but after a bad year's fishing in 1619 their partnership was dissolved; though the fishery was still continued by the Russia Company, and in 1635 the importation of whale-fins or whale-oil was prohibited, except by the Company in its corporate capacity alone. In 1689 the English Company was placed by the Czar precisely on the same footing as the Dutch, and the Earl of Carlisle, who was sent as ambassador, was not able to negotiate any better terms for them. From this time the association became what is called a regulated company, that is, each member traded on his own account. In 1699 the admission of members was fixed by Act of Parliament at a sum not exceeding £5. The company still elects its officers, and gives an annual dinner, which is attended by merchants engaged in the Russian trade, and usually by the Russian Ambassador. The expenses of the Association are paid out of trifling duties levied on merchandise and produce imported from Russia. The English Factory in Russia, now established at St. Petersburg, is little more than a society formed of some of the principal English merchants; and Mr. McCulloch states that its power extends to little else than the management of certain funds under its control.

The Turkey Company was chartered twenty years later than the Russia Company, but it continued to enjoy its privileges for a much longer period. Only eighty years ago Adam Smith termed this association "a strict and an oppressive monopoly." In 1579 Queen Elizabeth sent William Harburn, an English merchant, to Turkey, who obtained permission of the Sultan for the English to trade on the same terms as the French, Venetians, Germans, Poles, and others. Two years afterwards the Queen granted for seven years the exclusive right of carrying on a trade between Turkey and England to a company, consisting of four eminent merchants of London, with power to increase their number to twelve. In their charter it is stated that "Sir Edward Osburn and Richard Staper had, at their own great costs and charges, found and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore in the memory of any man now living known to be commonly used and frequented by way of merchandise, by any merchants or any subjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices might be done for the peace of Christendom, relief of poor Christian slaves, and good vent for the commodities of the realm." Any other subjects trading to Turkey either by sea or land were to forfeit ships and goods. In the last six years for which the charter was granted, the Company were to export sufficient goods to Turkey to realize a customs duty of £500 a year. In the following year the Company commenced their commercial operations, having built ships which were then considered of large burthen, for which they were greatly commended by the Queen and Council. An envoy was sent out to deliver the Queen's letters to the Sultan to establish factories and regulations for the English trade. The French and Venetians were particularlyaverse to these new competitors, whose returns at first are said to have been three to one. In 1584 some members of the Company carried part of their cloth, tin, &c., from Aleppo to Bagdad, and thence down the Tigris to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, whence they proceeded to Goa with a view of opening an overland trade to India. They carried the Queen's recommendatory letters "to the King of Cambaya and the



King of China," and before their return visited Agra, Lahore, and various parts of India. In 1593 the charter of the Turkey Company was renewed for twelve years, and it now consisted of fifty-three persons, knights, aldermen, and merchants: and the number might be increased to eighteen additional members (three to be aldermen), on condition that each person paid a fine of £130 to the Company to indemnify them for their past charges in establishing the trade. The Venetians having lately increased the duties on English merchandise, were prohibited importing currants and Candian wine without the licence of the Turkey Company. On the termination of the above charter a new one was granted in 1605, by King James, for a perpetuity. It provided for the admission of members by a payment of £25 to the Company from merchants under the age of twenty-six, and £50 if above that age; and all their apprentices were entitled to their freedom on payment of 20s. only. In 1615 we find the Turkey Company complaining of their diminished commerce to the Levant, for the countries supplied from that quarter began to receive commodities sent from England by the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch also now employed above a hundred sail in the Levant trade, while the Turkey Company sent thirty ships fewer than formerly. However, in 1621, Mr. Munn, in his 'Discourse of Trade,' says, that of all Europe England drove the most profitable trade to Turkey, by reason of the vast quantities of broad cloth exported thither. Nothing remarkable in the history of the Company occurred until 1681, when a warm dispute ensued between it and the East India Company, and the former made a direct appeal to the King's Council. The Turkey Company stated that they exported English goods, chiefly cloth, of the value of £500,000, for which they brought in exchange raw silk and other materials of manufacture, but chiefly silk; and they complained that if this article were supplanted by silk from India, the exports to Turkey must necessarily fall off, as three-fourths of their value were received in Turkey silk, the other commodities of Turkey not being equivalent to carry on more than a fourth of the present trade. The facility with which all who were bred merchants could enter the Turkey Company was compared with the exclusive nature of the East India Company, which was a joint-stock association, and did not permit members trading on their own bottom. Thus the members of the Turkey Company had increased from seventy persons to at least five hundred between 1640 and 1680. The number of actual merchants in the East India Company was not more than a fifth of the whole number of members. The Turkey Company asked the council to concede to them the right of trading to the Red Sea and all other dominions of the Sultan, and to have access thereto by the Cape of Good Hope. In their reply the East India Company adverted to the respective constitution of the two bodies, remarking that "noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects, may be traders, and employ their capitals in a joint-stock, whereas, in a regulated company, such as the Turkey Company is, none can be traders but such as they call legitimate or bred merchants." Forty years afterwards, in 1720, the number of persons who were members of the Turkey Company was two hundred. In the next twenty years the French trade increased so much in the Levant, while that of the Turkey Company had diminished, that a bill was brought into Parliament for abolishing the privileges of the association as the most probable way of enabling our trade to regain its ascendancy. The advocates of the Company were heard at the bar, and their reasons against the measure were considered strong enough to defeat it. The Company was still at a very great expense in supporting the charge of an Ambassador at Constantinople, and Consuls in other parts of Turkey, as Aleppo, Smyrna, &c., where their factories had been established. Perhaps the circumstance which told most strongly in favour of the Company's interests was



the belief that if the trade were thrown open it would quickly pass into the hands of the Jews, who were great supporters of the bill. In 1753 an Act was passed which made several important changes in the constitution of the Company, the preamble of which recited the most probable means of recovering the trade to be, "The taking of easier fines for being made free of this Company; and the not restraining the freedom hereof to mere merchants, and to such persons as, residing within twenty miles of London, are free of the said City;" also the liberty of shipping goods from whatever port, and on board such ships as happened to be most convenient. Hitherto no merchandise could be exported to Turkey except in ships belonging to the Company, and as these only sailed from London, the trade was entirely confined to that port. Under the new act every subject of Great Britain could be admitted a member of the Company, after giving thirty days' notice, and paying a fine of £20. Thus, some of the principal abuses to which the Turkey trade was subject were removed. In 1825 the Company ceased to exist.

The trade to Africa, which commenced about the year 1530, and was for some time an open trade, was eventually restricted to a joint-stock company. At first a patent was granted for ten years to several merchants in Devonshire and two of London, for an exclusive trade to the rivers Senegal and Gambia, because, as it was alleged, "the adventuring of a new trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning." The trade seems to have been carried on in rather a desultory manner by the patentees, and for some time after the expiration of their privileges it appears to have been discontinued entirely. In 1618, however, King James granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich and other persons in London, authorising them to raise a joint-stock fund for trading to Guinea; but the Company was apparently unable to keep out interlopers, or to compete with the Dutch, and was broken up. Another African Company was formed in 1631, by Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and several London merchants, and a charter was obtained for an exclusive trade to Guinea, and other parts of the west coast of Africa, for thirty-one years. Forts and factories were erected; but though the Company was empowered to seize the ships of private traders, they were unable to keep the trade to themselves; and, to compromise matters, they agreed to grant licences to the interlopers. During the civil war the African trade became generally open; and the Dutch and Danes destroyed the Company's forts and took their ships. As soon as the charter had expired, another Company was set on foot, in 1662, at the head of which was the Duke of York and many persons of rank and distinction. One of the conditions of their charter was to supply the West India plantations with three thousand negroes annually. The first operations were directed to recovering possession of the forts, for which purposes fourteen ships were sent out, and they were retaken; but the Dutch, under De Ruyter, got possession of them again in the same year. The Duke of York, by way of retaliation, seized above a hundred Dutch merchant ships, on which a war was formally declared between the two countries. The result was that this African Company shared the fate of its predecessors. These discouragements did not prevent the formation of a fourth company, at the head of which were the King, the Duke of York, and several persons of rank. A capital of £111,000 was raised in nine months; a sum of £34,000 was paid to the late Company for three of their forts; and operations were commenced with considerable spirit and with tolerable success. The former companies had been in the habit of making up their assortment of goods in Holland, but the manufacturing skill and industry of England had now so much improved that it was no longer necessary to resort to our neighbours. For several years the new Company exported British goods to the value of £70,000 annually, and

out of the gold which they imported, fifty thousand 'guineas' were coined in 1672. At the Revolution the West India planters joined the free traders in attacking the Company's privileges; the former asserting that they were always best served with negroes when the trade was open. By the petition and declaration of rights an end was put to exclusive trading companies not authorised by Parliament, and the African trade became an open one; but for some time afterwards the Company persisted in seizing the ships of the private traders, as they were empowered to do by their exclusive charter. By the end of the century the private traders had secured the greatest share of the trade; but as the African Company was at the expense of maintaining forts and factories, and paid the salaries of governors and a numerous staff of officers, the legislature felt bound to indemnify them for their charges on this account, and an Act was passed in 1698 for levying a percentage on the private traders, who were no longer to be termed interlopers. The African Company long hankered after its old privileges, and made several attempts to obtain the sanction of the legislature for an exclusive charter, but the measure was always vigorously opposed by the free traders. Still the Parliament, although it passed resolutions as to the necessity of rendering the trade completely free, did not act upon them; and so long as the forts on the coast continued in the Company's hands, they necessarily enjoyed a certain degree of pre-eminence which could not so easily be dispensed with. In 1730 Parliament granted £10,000 for the purpose of keeping these forts in repair; and as from this time an annual grant was made for the purpose, the chief impediment to opening the trade no longer existed. Accordingly, in 1750, an Act was passed by which the African Company ceased to be a joint-stock association, but became a regulated company, under the title of "The Company of Merchants trading to Africa," the forts, settlements, and factories of the old Company being transferred to the new body. The government of the new Company was vested in a committee of nine, elected by persons who had paid forty shillings for the freedom of the Company. Three of the committee were chosen in London, and three each in Bristol and Liverpool. Their power extended only to the government of the forts and factories, and they were not allowed to interfere with the trade. A sum of £800 was allowed for the expenses of management in London, which was increased in 1764 to £1200. In 1821 the charter was recalled, and the Company has ceased to exist.

The Eastland Company consisted of merchants trading to the ports of the Baltic, and was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1579, with a view of encouraging an opposition to the Hanse Merchants. In 1672 an Act was passed by which the trade with the ports on the north side of the Baltic was laid open without reserve, and the eastern ports to all who paid a fine of 40s. to the Eastland Company. Sir Joshua Child, in his 'Discourses on Trade,' states that the low rate of interest in Holland, and the "narrow, limited Companies of England," had thrown the Baltic trade into the hands of the Dutch, who had no Eastland Company, and yet ten times as much trade as the English in those ports, whereas to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which was an open trade for both nations, we had as extensive a commerce as the Dutch. The Eastland Company, long after it had ceased to exist commercially, continued to elect its annual officers, having a small stock in the funds to defray the expenses of a yearly commemoration of its former existence.

It is unnecessary to proceed with the history of the minor trading companies which existed at different times. The Hamburgh, Greenland, and other Companies were of too limited a nature to exercise much influence on the commerce of London.

## SOUTH SEA HOUSE.

"Reader," commences the late Charles Lamb, in one of those charming combinations of wit, philosophy, and quaint individualism, the 'Essays of Elia,' "in thy passage from the Bank, where thou hast been receiving thy half-yearly dividends, (supposing thou art a lean annuitant like myself,) to the Flower Pot, to secure a place for Dalston, or Shacklewell, or some other thy suburban retreat northerly, didst thou never observe a melancholy-looking, handsome brick and stone edifice, to the left, where Threadneedle Street abuts upon Bishopsgate? I dare say thou hast often admired its magnificent portals, ever gaping wide, and disclosing to view a grave court, with cloisters and pillars, with few or no traces of goers-in or comers-out, a desolation something like Balclutha's\*. This was once a house of trade, a centre of busy interests. The throng of merchants was here, the quick pulse of gain, and here some forms of business are still kept up, though the soul be long since fled. Here are still to be seen stately porticoes, imposing staircases, offices roomy as the state apartments in palaces, deserted or thinly peopled with a few straggling clerks; the still more sacred interiors of court and committee rooms, with venerable faces of beadles, doorkeepers; directors seated in form on solemn days, (to proclaim a dead dividend,) at long worm-eaten tables that have been mahogany, with tarnished gilt-leather coverings, supporting massy silver inkstands long since dry; the oaken wainscots hung with pictures of deceased governors and sub-governors, of Queen Anne and the two first monarchs of the Brunswick dynasty; huge charts, which subsequent discoveries have antiquated; dusty maps of Mexico, dim as dreams, and soundings of the Bay of Panama! The long passages hung with buckets, appended in idle row to walls whose substance might defy any short of the last conflagration; with vast ranges of cellarage under all, where dollars and pieces of eight once lay, an 'unsummed heap' for Mammon to have solaced his solitary heart withal,—long since dissipated or scattered into air at the blast of the breaking of that famous BUBBLE."

It is remarkable with what felicitous accuracy and expressiveness the public will occasionally coin a designation; and never was that power more felicitously exhibited than in the present instance. It was, indeed, and from the first, a bubble; but of such vast dimensions that men were unable to perceive its true character. Were it not in its consequences so full of the materials that make tragedy, the South Sea bubble might have been represented on the stage as an admirable farce; satirising more broadly than Comedy would have thought befitting her dignity, or the common sense of probability, the eternal passion for wealth. But, alas! there can be no mirth provoked by the jest that takes the bread from many a family: we can have no pleasure in witnessing the humour that may be drawn from what has made a nation miserable and degraded in its own eyes.

The origin of the South Sea Company may be traced to Harley, Earl of Oxford, who, to restore the public credit, which had suffered from the removal of the Whigs from power, brought forward his "masterpiece." This was the forming the creditors, to whom was owing the floating debt of the nation, into a company, which should have six per cent. interest insured to them on their debts (in all ten millions), by rendering permanent various duties, such as those on wines, vinegar, tobacco. As a still greater allurements, the South Sea trade, from which great things were at that time expected, was to be secured to them only. The idea was marvellously well received, and the Company incorporated as the "Governor and Company of Mer-

\* "I passed by the walls of Balclutha, and they were desolate."—OSLIAN.



chants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America." But the King of Spain had his own views of this matter of admitting British merchants into his Transatlantic ports; and the result was, the Company obtained only such advantages as were to be derived from the infamous *Asiento*, or contract, empowering them to supply Spanish America with negroes from the African continent, and from the permission to send one ship annually with a cargo of goods for sale. Even these advantages, such as they were, had scarcely been granted before they were recalled by the war with Spain, which broke out in 1718, or the year after the first annual ship had sailed. Still there seems to have been an indefinable sort of confidence that something great would yet result from the South Seas; the merchants could not cease to look upon its islands as their Promised Land; consequently the Company's stock still kept up its value, the Company still enjoyed the public confidence—their next movement was to show how worthily. The ministers had conceived the idea that means might still be devised for the formation of a great South Sea trade, which should be so profitable as to pay off all the national incumbrances. Their prompter, it is highly probable, was Sir John Blunt, a leading Director of the Company, who is known to have taken great pains to show ministers the advantage that would result from consolidating all the funds into one, and to have particularly pointed out the effective assistance which his Company might render. An offer even was made by Sir John, on the part of the latter, to liquidate the entire national debt in twenty-six years, if the different funds were formed into one as proposed; if certain commercial privileges were granted; and, lastly, if they were empowered to take in by purchase or subscription both the redeemable and irredeemable national debt, on such terms as might be agreed on between the Company and the proprietors. Ministers laid the scheme before Parliament. A competition was proposed and agreed to. The Bank of England sent in a proposal; which so alarmed the Directors of the South Sea Company that they reconsidered theirs, and prepared one still more favourable than either their own previous one or that of the Bank. The latter, on its part, imitated the Company's example, and ultimately four plans lay upon the table of the House of Commons for consideration. The Directors of the Company had said they would obtain the preference, *cost what it would*, and they made good their word. Leave was given to bring in a bill founded on their proposals. It may now be worth while to inquire what the Directors really intended; and perhaps the best answer is to be found in their private proceedings at this moment, which are known to us by means of the subsequent Parliamentary inquiry. The books now presented a total sum of above a million and a quarter of money, upon account of stock to the amount of £574,500, which was there stated to have been sold on various occasions, and at prices varying from 150 to 325 per cent. Of this professed £574,500 worth of stock, only about £30,000 was real, all the remainder was assigned, without value received of any kind, to the Directors, or the members of Government, whom it was desirable to bribe. Thus £50,000 stood against the Earl of Sunderland's name; £10,000 against the Duchess of Kendal, the King's ill-favoured German mistress; £10,000 to the Countess of Platen, a lady enjoying a similar position, and a like sum to her two nieces; £30,000 to Mr. Secretary (of State) Craggs; £10,000 to Mr. Charles Stanhope, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury; and some large sums by a more circuitous mode to Aislable, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who introduced the propositions to Parliament. During the progress of the bill, the stock continuing to rise, the Directors made two more subscriptions, or, in other words, repeated the manœuvre above described. On the last of these occasions Mr. Aislable's name was down for £70,000, Mr. Craggs, senior, for £659,000, the Earl of Sunderland for £160,000, and

Mr. Stanhope for £47,000. The bill passed, and some time after the stock rose in value to above 1000 per cent. The unheard-of profits that it was in the power of the prime movers in this affair to make, under such circumstances, are very evident; though it is highly probable that some even of them were carried away by their own schemes, and, venturing too long, shared in the general loss at the last. To produce the continual rise in the value of their stock, means as infamous as the ends which some at least of the Directors had in view were adopted. Markets of inestimable value were every day being discovered in those wonderful South Seas, mines of incalculable depth full of the precious metals. Fifty per cent. dividends, in short, were the least that the holders of the stock were to expect. Landlords sold their estates, merchants neglected their establishments, and tradesmen their shops,—to flock to the Exchange and vest their all in the Company's stock; and to find there a promiscuous crowd of noblemen and parsons, brokers and jobbers, country squires and ladies, as eager as themselves in the same pursuit.

The original speculation became at last insufficient for the demands of the public to lose its money. Associations of every conceivable kind, and many which it may be safely asserted none of us could now conceive of were not the facts before us, started up in imitation of their great parent.

During the King's absence, even the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne, joined in the general scramble that was going on, and put down his name as governor of some Welsh copper company, although warned that he was subjecting himself to a prosecution in so doing. He soon made £40,000, and then withdrew in time to avoid the evil that had been pointed out. These prosecutions were carried on at the instigation of the South Sea Company, who, as it has been observed, "desiring to monopolise all the folly and all the money of the nation," obtained writs of *scire facias* against the managers of the minor bubbles, and thus destroyed most of them. Their very proceedings, however, it is probable, caused attention to be paid to the basis of *all* these speculations, and most alarming was the result. Many began now to see very clearly that the value of the South Sea stock really rested on nothing but the delusion of its supporters. At the beginning of August the price was quoted at a thousand. The bubble had now reached its highest point, and began to descend. Suspicion first became raised apparently by the means adopted in making out the share-lists for the different subscriptions, with what reason we have already shown. The next circumstance was of a much more startling nature: it was generally reported that Sir John Blunt, the chairman, and some others, had sold out. By the 2nd of September the stock had fallen to seven hundred. The Directors, to allay the alarm, called a meeting at Merchant Tailors' Hall on the 8th. The room was filled to suffocation. Sir John Fellowes, the sub-governor, was made chairman. Many Directors spoke, inculcating union, and others in praise of the Directors' conduct. A Mr. Hungerford, a member of parliament, with thoughtful kindness, observed, "They had enriched the whole nation, and he hoped they had not forgotten themselves." The Duke of Portland wondered how anybody could be dissatisfied; and, in short, the Directors had it all their own way. That same evening, however, the stock fell to six hundred and forty, and the next day to five hundred and forty. Bankers, brokers, and merchants began to break daily, and many, in utter despair of redeeming anything, even character, fled the country, each involving hundreds of lesser houses with him. Gay, the poet, was a sufferer, under peculiar circumstances. The younger Craggs had at an early period made him a present of some stock, which, as the bubble expanded, became nominally worth £20,000. He was then begged to sell it, or even a portion of it large enough to secure him, in Fenton's words, "a clean shirt and a shoulder of mutton every day."



But the true gambling spirit had infected the poet as well as everybody else: it should be all or nothing; so it was—nothing. For some time afterward Gay's life was in danger, so deeply did he take to heart his loss, and perhaps his folly. The aspect of affairs was now so dangerous that the King was sent for from Hanover; and Walpole, who from the first, be it said to his credit, had in the most earnest and impressive manner prophesied the result, was desired to come up from his country seat to London, and use his influence with the Bank of England to assist the falling Company by circulating a number of their bonds. The Bank at first consented, but afterwards, seeing more clearly the desperate condition of the Company, drew back, and gave a decided refusal. This was a last and finishing blow. It burst the bubble. The stock soon fell to one hundred and thirty-five.

It would be impossible to describe the extent of the confusion, the misery, the utter loosening of all the bonds of confidence, which more than any laws keep up the harmonious movements of the social machinery,—or the universal desire for vengeance that pervaded all classes, now that the delusion had passed from before their eyes. Gibbon, the historian, whose grandfather was one of the Directors, has led the way in describing the injustice of the people and the Parliament at this time, who, he says, and with truth, put aside the ordinary forms of justice in the punishment of the criminals. But was this an ordinary case? Could any statesman or lawgiver have anticipated such conduct as was proved against such men? A gigantic system of fraud, which shakes the nation to its centre, is not to be looked upon as a petty larceny. It would be as reasonable to ask a commander in time of civil war to wait for the decision of the County Assizes before he determined on the fate of his prisoners. Two objects now engaged attention: one, the re-establishment of the public credit in the best possible manner,—the other, the punishment of the men who had brought that credit to its low state. The first Walpole undertook. His ultimate measure consisted essentially of the grafting upon the Bank of England stocks, and the stocks of the East India Company, large portions of the stock held by the South Sea Company, and remitting the bonus of seven millions which the latter had engaged to pay. The second—the punishment of the criminal authors of all the mischief—needed no leader: there were but too many ready to proceed to undue lengths in that matter. After some hot disputes, the following measures were adopted: A bill was passed restraining the Directors from leaving the kingdom, and obliging them upon oath to deliver in a strict account of their estates. Next, a Committee of Secrecy was appointed to examine the Company's accounts and other papers. Immediately after this, intelligence reached the House that Knight, the cashier, had absconded, taking with him a register called the 'Green Book.' The excitement was now greater than ever. The Commons ordered the doors of the House to be locked and the keys laid upon the table, when General Ross, one of the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted them that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villainy and fraud that Hell had ever contrived to ruin a nation. Two thousand pounds reward was offered that night for the apprehension of the cashier, and some of the Directors were arrested, including Gibbon's grandfather and Sir John Blunt.

Our space will only allow us to give a summary of the astounding discoveries made by this committee. They stated at the outset that the Company's books they had seen were full of false entries, blanks, erasures, and alterations, and others were missing or destroyed. They had, however, been able to detect the sale of fictitious stock (in the mode before pointed out) to the amount of at least £1,200,000; they had found that Charles Stanhope, Esq., the Secretary of the Treasury, had received a real profit on his assignment of fictitious stock of £250,000, through the medium of Sir



George Caswall and Co., but that his name had been altered to *Stangape*; that Mr. Aislable, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had accounts of profits, evidently derived in a similar manner, with different brokers and merchants, to the enormous amount of £794,451! James Craggs, the Secretary of State, died, professedly of the small-pox, at the very time of the publication of the report. Stanhope was first proceeded against, who escaped by a majority of three, on account of his relationship to the much-esteemed Earl of Stanhope, who had been killed just before by this altogether melancholy business. In a discussion in the Lords the blood rushed to his head, and the next day he was a corpse. Aislable's case followed Stanhope's, whose case was so bad that scarcely any defence was offered. He was expelled the House, sent a prisoner from thence to the Tower, and ordered to make out a statement of his estate for the benefit of the stockholders of the Company. No sooner was this result known than London presented one universal blaze of bonfires. Sir George Caswall was next expelled the House, and ordered to refund the £250,000 paid to Stanhope. The Earl of Sunderland was acquitted by a majority of 233 to 172, and demonstrations of a very opposite kind marked the dissatisfaction of the people. The same day the elder Craggs, whose case was coming before the House on the morrow, took poison. We need not further follow the consideration of the Directors' cases individually: all were gone through, and at the conclusion their entire estates confiscated, amounting to above two millions, for the benefit of their victims, with the exception of a small allowance left to each. Sir John Blunt, for instance, had £5000 out of £183,000; Sir John Fellowes £10,000 out of £243,000. Now we ask, reverting to what has been before stated, was not this *substantial* justice? Upon the whole, it appears to us, considering that no one was injured during the popular frenzy in life or limb, that no one was left to the beggary he had been the means of inflicting upon countless families, and that no one suffered the more degrading penalties daily visited upon crimes infinitely less infamous, the result, as far as the Directors of the South Sea Company were concerned, is creditable rather than otherwise to the national character. The loss of the stockholders was mitigated in several ways. A computation being made of the stock of the Company it was found to amount to £37,800,000, of which the part belonging to individual proprietors was £24,500,000; the remainder being in the Company's own possession, and forming the profit they had made during the mania. Eight millions of the latter were taken from the Company and divided among the individual proprietors, making a dividend of about £33 6s. 8d. We have already said that above two millions from the confiscated estates were also added to the proprietors' stock, and still further helped to alleviate their loss. Money borrowed from the Company on the pledge of South Sea stock, during the high prices, was now allowed to be paid back at the rate of ten pounds only for each hundred.

Of course no measures within the scope of possibility could *satisfy* the losers, who, whilst Walpole was carrying his plans through the House, thronged the lobbies, exhibiting their excitement in violent outcries and gestures. On the day of the second reading the proprietors of the short annuities and other redeemable debts completely filled the place, demanding justice of the members as they passed, and putting written and printed papers into their hands, with the view of showing that they ought not to lose any portion of their money, which, to say the least of it, had been most imprudently expended. The tumult became so great that the House could not proceed to business. The Justices of the Peace for Westminster were called in, and the Riot Act was read, in order to disperse the assemblage; many of whom called out, "You first pick our pockets, and then send us to gaol for complaining." On the conclusion of the business Parliament was prorogued with a speech of a consolatory tone, but not

very well calculated to assuage the national anger. In our list of the persons about the Court who received assignments of stock we have before seen the names of the King's mistresses included. We have also noticed the Prince of Wales's profitable, however brief, connection with one of the bubbles. What, then, must the nation have thought, when, seeing this, and suspecting much more, they read the following passage:—"The common calamity," said the King, "occasioned by the wicked execution of the South Sea scheme, was become so very great before your meeting that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult; but it is a great comfort to me to observe that the public credit begins to recover. . . . I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, and have readily given my assent to such bills as you have presented to me for punishing the authors of our late misfortunes, and for obtaining the restitution and satisfaction due to those who have been injured by them." The Duchess of Kendal, however, remained a Duchess, and, with the other foreign favourites, still appeared at the English Court to excite the not unnatural jealousy of the English people.

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the only one of the old trading associations which still continues in active operation. It was first incorporated on the 2nd of May, 1670. In the preceding year Prince Rupert, cousin of Charles II., with seventeen persons of rank and distinction, had sent out a ship to the Bay to ascertain the probability of opening a trade in that quarter for furs, minerals, &c., and the report being favourable they procured their charter. No minerals have been found, but the fur trade has proved very profitable. William the Conqueror's New Forest was a mere speck in comparison to this noble hunting ground of this English trading company. It comprises an area of between two and three million square miles, or a space some forty or fifty times larger than England, extending from Hudson's Bay to the shores of the Pacific, and from the frontiers of the United States to the Arctic Sea. This vast region is diversified with mountains, rocks, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, swamps, and forests; and the pursuit of the beasts of chase which inhabit it leads men from their civilized homes to pass years in the wilderness in adventures with grisly bears, or other wild animals, and often with savage men equally untamed. Here, bitten by the frosts of winter, and stung by the mosquitoes and sand-flies in summer; often on short commons; sometimes reduced to live on the flesh of their horses; spending a dreary winter at one of the "forts;" the servants of the Company pass their wild adventurous life. For nearly a century after the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered, Canada was a French colony: and not only when hostilities existed between France and England, but even at other times, the forts of the Company were occasionally attacked. The French-Canadians also prosecuted the fur trade with remarkable success, adapting themselves to circumstances with that facility which distinguishes the natives of France. The *coureurs des bois* plunged into the forests with the red man, learned his language, intermarried with the race, and were often adopted in his tribes. By this means the northern part of that vast continent became eventually as familiar to the fur traders as the neighbourhood of Montreal. Before the dominion of France ceased in Canada, the French had pushed their fur trade halfway to the Rocky Mountains. A new impulse was given to it when Canada became a British colony, and the Anglo-Canadian entered into this branch of enterprise, at first desultorily, being content with what are now considered short expeditions of 1500 or 1600 miles from Montreal. But this limited field did not long satisfy the more enterprising traders, who pushed

into unknown regions, and were richly rewarded for their exertions. Others soon followed, until the keenness of competition threatened to destroy the trade. This state of things led to the union of the fur traders of Canada in 1783, under the name of the 'North-West Company.' The Canadian French were already trained to their service, and the principle of the association was well calculated to direct the feelings of individual self-interest to the general objects of the united body. The clerks had the prospect of becoming partners after certain periods of service, and many of them acquired wealth. Most of them were natives of Scotland. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who rose from a clerkship, is known to the public by his geographical discoveries, and by the river which bears his name. The recent acquisitions to geographical knowledge made by enterprising men in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, are well known. The furs are collected from the hunters at the different "forts" and "houses" of the Company. Fort William, on Lake Superior, was established as a sort of half-way house between Montreal and the post in the interior. It was really managed like a garrison, the partners acting as commanding officers, the clerks as subalterns, and the French Canadians and Indians forming the rank and file. At the close of the season the "winterers" arrived, the furs and skins which they brought were assorted, and accounts were settled. After dinner, partners and clerks made merry in the great hall, and enjoyed their long nights of revelry and ease; while the *voyageurs*, Indian half-breeds, and a motley group were not less enjoying themselves in the court-yard. Ross Cox, whose 'Adventures' abound with the most lively descriptions of the life of the fur traders, was at Fort William in 1817, and ascertained that "the aggregate number of persons in and about the establishment was composed of natives of the following countries:—England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, United States, Canadians, Africans, and a mixed progeny of Creoles." The "winterers" were allowed, after a certain time, to have their turn of going to Montreal, and those between Montreal and Fort William were sent into the interior. Arduous as was the task of conveying between Montreal and Fort William the stores and articles of barter, and the furs obtained from the trappers and hunters, it was in the interior that real hardships were experienced. "Here," says Ross Cox, no sign of civilisation was to be seen; not a church, or a chapel, or house, or garden, nor even a cow, a horse, or a sheep; nothing during the entire day; just rocks, rivers, lakes, portages, waterfalls, and large forests; bears roaring a tattoo every night, and wolves howling a *réveille* every morning."

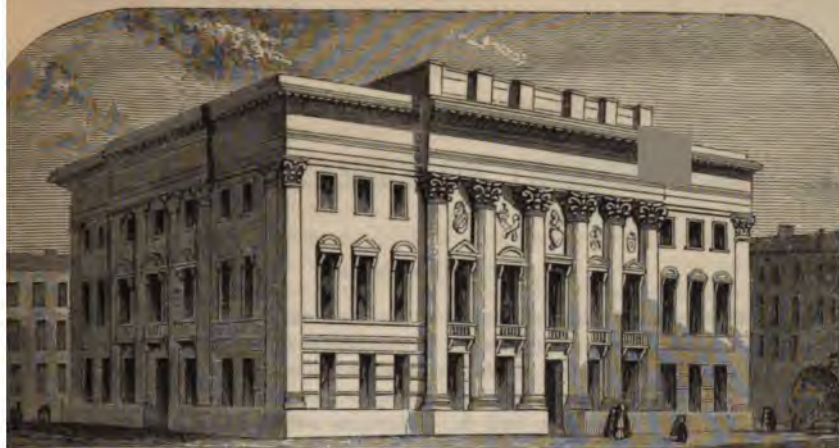
The activity of the North-West Company at length roused the Hudson's Bay Company, which laid claim to the right of trading in a large portion of the country where the North-West Company had established their forts; but the claim was disregarded, and a strong spirit of mutual jealousy and opposition sprung up between them. In 1813 the North-West Company bought Astoria, on the Columbia River, which Mr. Astor, of New York, and his other partners thought proper to relinquish in consequence of the war between Great Britain and the United States. The North-West Company's establishments now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Hudson's Bay Company had also extended its chain of posts over its vast territory. Soon after the commencement of the present century an open war broke out between the two Companies, already far removed from the restraints of law. Forts were surprised and parties were intercepted and taken prisoners, according to the ordinary practices of belligerents. In one instance a pitched battle was fought in which more than twenty persons were killed. This unfortunate state of things was happily put an end to by the union of the North-West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. The united body retain the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has for its "field



of chase" the whole of North America, from the frontiers of Canada and the United States to the Frozen Ocean, and from the shores of Labrador to those of the Pacific. The mere enumeration of the distances between some of the forts will give but an inadequate idea of the difficulties of transporting skins and stores from one to another. The routes taken are chains of lakes and rivers, connected by links of portages, where the canoes and packages must be carried by the *voyageurs*. From Fort William on Lake Superior to Cumberland House, on the main branch of the Saskatchewan River, is 1018 miles; from Cumberland House to Fort Chepewyan, on Lake Athabasca, is 840 miles; thence to Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, is 244 miles. The Mackenzie River flows out of this lake, and there are three forts on it. The first is Fort Simpson, 338 miles from Fort Resolution; Fort Norman is 236 miles lower down; and Fort Good Hope, 312 miles below Fort Norman. Fort Peel is the most northerly of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments, being within the Arctic circle, and about 4000 miles from Montreal. Yet the clerks in charge of these establishments look upon each other as neighbours! "At a great number of our posts," says Sir John Henry Pelly, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company "potatoes are cut off even by summer frosts, and they cannot grow corn." Pemmican or dried meat is there the chief article of subsistence; and it is always necessary to victual each establishment much in the same way as a ship about to depart on a long voyage. The clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company are still mostly Scotchmen and Sir J. H. Pelly says, "If they conduct themselves well as clerks, they are promoted and become traders, and afterwards factors. The chief factors and chief traders, as they are called, participate in the profits."

The furs obtained each season are shipped to London from Hudson's Bay, Montreal and from Port Victoria, Vancouver's Island. In 1788 upwards of 127,000 beaver skins were exported from Canada; but although the hunting-grounds in British North America are now so much more extensive, the number within the last twenty years has never exceeded 104,429; the average of the six years from 1835 to 1840 was only 68,304. The Company now maintain beaver preserves in their territories. When ever the animals become scarce in any district the post or fort in the neighbourhood is removed, and the natives also shift their quarters along with it.

The great sales of the Hudson's Bay Company, at their house in Fenchurch Street take place thrice a year, at fixed periods, usually in January, March, and August and are remarkable for the number of foreigners who attend them. The English buyers are the furriers, a large proportion of whom are Germans, or of German extraction, as their names sufficiently indicate. The foreign buyers carry their furs to the great fairs at Frankfort and Leipzig, whence they are distributed over Europe. Some find their way to the great Russian fair of Nijny-Novgorod, and are carried thence to Kiakhta by the Russian traders. This singular Russo-Chinese entrepôt is resorted to by the Tartar traders, who convey the furs to Peking. The history of a skin, from its coming into the hands of the hunter in Vancouver's Island to its forming a part of the robe of a Chinese mandarin, would be a curious illustration of the untiring energy of the commercial principle. It nearly makes the circuit of the globe.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.





## XXV. THE COMPANIES OF LONDON, ETC.: II.

## GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY.

It may be safely asserted that, without a glance into the interior of Goldsmiths' Hall, no one can form a just conception of the wealth, luxury, and, we must add, taste, of some of our great civic companies; which, however they may now have ceased to be identified with any very large portion of the commercial greatness of London, were undoubtedly the originators of that greatness, and the guardians through all sorts of troublous times of the comparatively free and enlightened principles on which alone commercial prosperity can be based. But those times are now past; and the Companies generally, like the victors in a good fight, seem to have little else to do but to sit down, eat, drink, and make merry, and discourse of all the alternations of good and evil fortune by which the previous contest was marked. Grasping monarchs can no longer haunt their visions with fines and rumours of fines, as the price of the maintenance of their rights; needy ones can no longer hold out the expectation of fresh privileges to be obtained by the all-persuasive mediation of citizen gold. But, with the conflict and the danger, the glory and the influence have passed away. Trade, so much indebted to them whilst yet but a young weakling, has grown strong and robust, and can take excellent care of himself. The leading-strings of one day have become shackles at another; and so the giant throws them off, or bursts through them. Let him not, however, forget what he was; or be ungrateful to those who have aided so greatly to make him what he is.

The Goldsmiths' Company, more fortunate than most of its early brethren, is still essentially a business Company. It has so happened that the peculiar privilege intrusted to them from a very early period, of assaying and stamping articles made of the precious metals, has not been found to be attended with any important disadvantages; so in their hands the privilege still remains, notwithstanding the enormous increase of business that must have taken place. This circumstance to a certain extent favourably distinguishes the Goldsmiths' Company from the other great civic Companies, and promises to it a longer lease of power and consideration. The Goldsmiths' and the Apothecaries' are the only Companies that retain the old right of control over their respective businesses.

He who has once seen the present Hall of the Company will not forget its position at the back of the Post Office; for the very circumstance that such a magnificent building should be so curiously and badly situated strikes every one with surprise. There it is, however, not yet eighteen years old; and, consequently, there for the next two or three centuries we may be sure it will remain. Of course, this is a matter over which the architect, Mr. Hardwick, could have no control. Perhaps the best, or at least the most convenient way to enjoy the view of its exterior, is to pass from St. Martin's-le-Grand through the Post Office, and there, standing on the top step, and leaning your back against the wall, the eye at once takes in two fronts of the building, the superb west or principal façade, one hundred and fifty feet broad, with its attached Corinthian columns and beautiful Italian windows; and the south, one hundred feet broad, with its decorating pilasters. In some respects the enforced proximity of the spectator to the building is advantageous; as, for instance, in

following the details of the beautiful Corinthian entablature, which is supported by the entire front of the western façade, and continued quite round the edifice. The solidity of the Hall is as noticeable as its splendour. The plinth, six feet in height, is formed of large granite blocks from the Haytor quarries, Devonshire; whilst the walls are built of Portland stone. Some of the single blocks used in the shafts of the columns, and in the entablature, weigh as much as twelve tons. The roof is covered with lead.

Within, we enter first into a low square vestibule, where sits the porter in his old-fashioned high circular chair; a place which, though handsome, is unpretending, and enhances by contrast the lofty staircase partially seen through the glazed screen opposite. As we pass through the screen we find ourselves in a scene of true architectural splendour. The broad staircase ascends direct before us, then branches to the right and left to the landing or gallery at the top, which extends along the walls on either side and behind us. Above, at a great height, we look on the richly-carved ceiling of the dome, where, around a concealed opening in the centre, play beams of green and golden light. Pendant from the dome hangs a massive lamp, revealing, when lighted on festive occasions, new beauties in this most beautiful of staircases. Among the other features of the place are the double screens of Corinthian columns with their classic ornaments, Diana and the Hart, and Apollo; the lofty pictures occupying the upper part of the wall before us, comprising portraits of George IV. by Northcote, and George III. and his Queen, presented by William IV., from the palace at Kensington; the bust of William IV. by Chantrey, in the niche below; and, lastly, the sculpture on the four square pedestals which ornament the balustrade of the first flight of stairs. These are four youthful Cupid-like figures typical of the seasons, by Mr. Nixon, two only being yet completed in the marble. The first figure is intently examining a bird's nest, a circumstance suggestive of one of the most interesting of *spring* associations; the second has a wreath of *summer* flowers hanging gracefully around it, and leads a full-grown lamb; the third has its arms filled with goodly sheaves of corn, whilst *autumnal* fruits are wreathed about its body; and the fourth, a charming figure, is confronting the rude *winter* winds, and with difficulty holding close its drapery. Ascending to the gallery, pausing now on the stairs, leaning now over the balcony to admire the beautiful combinations of form which every fresh position commands, we find several doors; one at the top of the staircase on each side opening to the Livery Hall, situated beyond the staircase, and others through rich corridors or passages to a suite of apartments extending along the western front of the building, and over the outer vestibule through which we have passed. And first comes the Court Room on the right of the northernmost corridor. This is an apartment for the meetings of the Court of Assistants, and is handsomely decorated. The stucco ceiling in particular is of very elaborate workmanship; from it hangs a large glass chandelier, now covered up, but the nature of which is made known by the delicate tinkle produced by every passing vehicle. On a sideboard, carefully preserved beneath glass, is one of the most interesting remains we possess of the Romans in London, a little altar-piece, which was dug up during the late rebuilding of the Hall. It has evidently been a fine piece of workmanship, for, although the surface of the stone is greatly corroded, the beauty of the outlines of the figures still arrests the attention at the first glance: the position of the dog may be mentioned as exceedingly expressive and graceful. On the walls hang some interesting pictures. Here is Janssen's rich and beautiful portrait of Sir Hugh Middleton, with a shell in his left hand, typical of the great work of his life, the bringing the springs of Hertfordshire to London. The share that the unfortunate Sir Hugh



presented to the Goldsmiths' Company, of which he was a member, is now worth, we believe, between £200 and £300 annually. Another portrait we may mention is that of Sir Thomas Vyner, Knight and Baronet, 1666. The connection of St. Dunstan with the Goldsmiths' Company is a curious subject, and one that meets you at every step in their history, as well as in still more palpable shapes in their Hall. Here, for instance, in the Court Room is a large painting, said to be by Julio Romano, but we should think incorrectly, devoted to the Saint's glory. In the foreground appears St. Dunstan, a large figure in a rich robe, and crozier in hand; in the background, by an amusing licence, we see him again, performing his memorable deed of taking the devil by the nose; and above appears the heavenly host, no doubt applauding the deed, and apparently signifying as much to the St. Dunstan in the front of the picture. Then, in the records of the Hall, we read of St. Dunstan's almsmen; of St. Dunstan's feast on St. Dunstan's day; of St. Dunstan's eve; of splendid tapestry made at a great expense in Flanders in illustration of St. Dunstan's exploits, and used for the decoration of the Hall; of St. Dunstan's statue, in silver gilt, set with gems, which formerly surmounted the screen of the Livery Hall, and which was broken up at the period of the war against images during the Reformation, and turned to the "most profit of the house;" of St. Dunstan's cup, in which the goldsmiths frequently drank to his memory; of "St. Dunstan's light" in St. John's Zachary Church; and of the chapel of St. Dunstan, with another image, in St. Paul's Cathedral. The origin of this connection is no doubt to be found in the circumstance that, when Dunstan left the court of Athelstan in disgust and retired to Glastonbury, he employed himself occasionally in the formation of articles useful to the church, as crosses and censers. Ecclesiastics were then among the most skilful of artificers, for Edgar had directed that priests, in order "to increase knowledge, should diligently learn some handicraft." The goldsmiths in particular, who seem to have looked on Dunstan as one of their craft, adopted him as their founder and patron saint. We may here add that, in the list of jewellery belonging to Edward I., mention is made of a gold ring, with a sapphire, "of the workmanship of St. Dunstan." The business transacted in the Court Room is, of course, the ordinary business of the Company, as the management of estates, charities, &c., and presenting, therefore, no interesting features. But formerly, besides their ordinary duties, the Wardens were occasionally called in to decide matters of business between the different members of the Company, where their knowledge or position were found useful. A great deal of jealousy existed at all times between the foreign and English goldsmiths, which sometimes led to serious disputes. For example, in the reign of Edward IV., two workmen, Oliver Davy, citizen and goldsmith of London, and "White Johnson, Alicant stranger, goldsmith," of the same city, having contended for the palm of superiority in the "cunning workmanship" of their craft, it was agreed that the wardens of Goldsmiths' Hall should decide between them, taking with them, to ensure impartiality, three English and three Alicant goldsmiths. We may here add that the foreign goldsmiths had at an early period a quarter to themselves, and were regulated by members of their own nation, under the control, however, of the English company, to whose funds they contributed in the shape of fees for apprentices, for admission into the craft, and for licences, also for fines, just the same as the other goldsmiths of London.

Before quitting the Court Room we must not forget to mention the white marble chimney-piece which was brought from Caunons, the former seat of the Duke of Somerset. The lateral supports consist of two very large and boldly-sculptured terminal busts, attributed, we are told, to Roubiliac by a late eminent sculptor.

Leaving the Court Room, and crossing the corridor or passsge, we enter the Draw-



ing Room, a scene of almost unsurpassable luxury and splendour. Immense mirrors cover a considerable portion of the walls, and the remainder, in panels, is hung with crimson satin bordered by white and gold mouldings; the white stucco ceiling is exquisitely wrought with an interminable profusion of flowers, fruits, birds, beasts, and scroll-work ornaments, relieved at the corners of the room by the gay colours of the coats of arms; the soft thick carpet, of a rich maroon ground, presents in the centre the Goldsmiths' arms in all the splendid and proper colours of their heraldic emblazonry, and is as splendidly bordered; the curtains are of crimson damask, gold-embroidered; the chairs and ottomans are covered with crimson satin and gold; the tables are of gold and the most beautiful marbles; and the chimney-piece and grate of an exceedingly sumptuous kind. Add to these features the chandelier hanging from the roof, with its thousand glittering pendants; imagine it lighted, and colours more varied and brilliant than rainbow ever presented shifting and glancing to and fro; behold the room itself thronged with fair and magnificently-dressed ladies, their costume only the more impressive from the contrast with the sober dresses of the gentlemen;—and you have altogether as superb a scene of the kind as, with few exceptions, the social life of England could afford.

The chief object of interest in the Court Dining Room, the next of the suite, is the chimney-piece, where in the centre two boys hold a wreath enclosing a head, whose melancholy history is told in the thin, almost attenuated-looking features and sad expression. It is Richard II., the monarch from whom the Goldsmiths' Company may be said to have received their principal charter of incorporation; we say principal, for in all the Goldsmiths received from the time of Edward III. to Elizabeth no fewer than fifteen charters—some of confirmation only, which the Companies of an early day were accustomed to get from time to time, in order to refresh the memory of any monarch who might otherwise be suddenly requiring a very heavy fine,—and others granting new privileges.

The petition presented to Edward III. and his Council in Parliament, in the first year of his reign, gives us an interesting glimpse of the state of the trade at that time in London. In this petition they show, "that no private merchant nor stranger heretofore were wont to bring into this land any money coined, but plate of silver to exchange for our coin. And that it had been also ordained, that all who were of the goldsmith's trade were to sit in their shops in the high street of Cheap; and that no silver in plate, nor vessel of gold or silver, ought to be sold in the City of London, except at or in the Exchange, or in Cheapside among the goldsmiths, and that publicly, to the end that the people of the said trade might inform themselves whether the seller came lawfully by such vessel or not. But that now of late the said merchants, as well private as strangers, brought from foreign countries into this nation counterfeit sterling, whereof the pound was not worth above sixteen sols of the right sterling; and of this money none could know the true value but by melting it down. And also that many of the said trade of goldsmiths kept shops in obscure turnings and byelanes and streets, and did buy vessels of gold and silver secretly, without inquiring whether such vessel were stolen or lawfully come by; and, immediately melting it down, did make it into plate, and sell it to merchants trading beyond sea, that it might be exported. And so they made false work of gold and silver, as bracelets, locketts, rings, and other jewels; in which they set glass of divers colours, counterfeiting right stones, and put more alloy in the silver than they ought, which they sold to such as had no skill in such things." They add, also, that "the cutlers, in their work-houses, covered tin with silver so subtilly, and with such sleight, that the same could not be discerned and severed from the tin; and by that means they sold the tin

covered for fine silver, to the great damage and deceit of the King and his people." The answer to this petition was very satisfactory, granting to the goldsmiths, apparently, everything they desired. Merchants were no longer to bring any sort of money from abroad, but only plate of fine silver; goldsmiths were prohibited from taking gold or silver wrought, or plate of silver, to any such merchants to be carried out of the kingdom; "none that pretended to be of the same trade should keep any shops but in Cheapside, that it might be seen that their works were good and right;" and lastly,—and this was the most important concession of the whole,—those of the same trade might elect honest, lawful, and sufficient men, best skilled in the said trade, to inquire of the matters aforesaid, to reform defects, and inflict due punishment upon offenders. In this, the first charter, the Company are addressed as the King's "beloved, the Goldsmiths of London:" nor was the charter in question all the expressions of his love; he subsequently empowered them to purchase estates to the value of £20 yearly for the support of decayed members: a gift of ten marks, it must be observed, had something to do with all this beneficence. In the reign of Edward II. the Company became, as before stated, essentially, though still not nominally, incorporated as "a perpetual community," with "liberty to elect yearly seven wardens, to oversee, rule, and govern the said craft and community." Subsequent monarchs from time to time confirmed and enlarged their privileges, till Edward IV. in express words ordained them a "corporation, or body incorporate, by the name of Wardens of the Mystery of Goldsmiths of the City of London," and gave them the power of inspecting, trying, or regulating all gold and silver works throughout the kingdom. Lastly, we may observe that, being opposed in their trade search and assay, during the reign of Henry VII., that monarch gave them additional power to imprison or fine defaulters, to seize and break unlawful work, to compel the tradesmen within three miles of the City to bring their work to the Company's common hall to be assayed and stamped, and in case it was not standard to utterly condemn the same. These searches referred to must have led to some curious scenes. The trade was divided among foreigners and natives, whose chief places of resort at first were Cheapside and the immediate neighbourhood of the Goldsmiths' Hall, but who by the time of Henry II. had extended their shops to different parts of London and Westminster. The taverns were very naturally the resort of numbers of the dishonest portion of the trade; and in the Goldsmiths' books, under the date of 20 Henry VI., we find a not amusing instance in point:—"Also it is to remember that the 20th day of April, the year of King Henry above written, the said Wardens went to Saint Bartholomew's, and there they spake with the Prior of the same place, of such untrue workers that were inhabiting in the same place, the which the Prior knew not. And while the wardens and the Prior stood together came one John Tomkins, that was sometime a good workman of goldsmiths' craft. And there the Prior commanded him to go with them and with the Wardens, for to bring him to his chamber. And when they came there he would not let them in. And the Prior made him to deliver his key to him. And then they went in, and there they found divers bandis of latten, the which to let goblets forthwith. And also there was found a piece in the bed-straw, the which was copper, and silver above; the which was likely for to have been sold for good silver. And while it was a-doing the said false varlet stole away out of the place, or else he had been set in the stocks." Besides general quarterly searches, we find the wardens were always on the watch on the occasion of any unusual assemblage of persons likely to buy trinkets, and more particularly during fairs. Like some of the similar searches of the present day with regard to weights, due warning was given to delinquents to hide whatever they chose. In reading the account of the array of the



search one sees very plainly that the worst rogues must have escaped amidst so much ceremony. The legislature had at different periods endeavoured to assist the searchers in the attainment of the common object, honest trade, by various regulations. In 1403 an Act was passed, stating that, "whereas many fraudulent artificers, imagining to deceive the common people, do daily make lockets, rings, beads, candlesticks, harness for girdles, hilts, chalices, and sword-pommels, powder-boxes, and covers for cups, of copper and latten, like to gold and silver, and the same sell and put in gage to many men not having full knowledge thereof for whole gold and silver," in future no such articles shall be gilt or silvered, whether with or without intention to deceive, under a penalty of £100. The only exceptions were articles for the use of the Church, most of which might be made of silvered copper or latten, "so that always in the foot, or some other part, of every such ornament so to be made, the copper and the latten shall be plain, to the intent that a man may see whereof the thing is made, for to eschew the deceit aforesaid."

From the Court Dining Room pass we now through the passage and across the top of the staircase to the Livery Hall, the fitting conclusion of the whole we have beheld. This is a room of great size and noble proportions, measuring about eighty feet in length, forty in width, and thirty-five in height. Noble ranges of scagliola Corinthian columns, insulated from the wall, and raised on lofty pedestals, support the roof, which is one dark but most rich mass of ornamental decoration, and from which hang numerous chandeliers. Five lofty windows in the side that faces you as you enter shed a rich light through the place, being more than half filled with armorial bearings; and the remainder of the unoccupied space is marked off into small square compartments of ground glass, which alone give a fine effect to the windows whilst excluding a bad view. A screen, and gallery above, ornament the one extremity, and a niche for the display of the Company's plate the other. This niche is an elegant contrivance. The back is lined with plain scarlet drapery, and in the centre is a wooden framework similarly covered, which, with the assistance of the light admitted from above, displays the treasures of the Company in a pyramidal form with the happiest effect. Many of the separate articles of that pyramid have a history of themselves; we can only mention one of them:—the cup. This is by no less an artist than Cellini, and was presented by Queen Elizabeth (who, Pennant observes, was "particularly kind to the citizens, and borrowed money of them on all occasions") to Sir Martin Bowes, whilst he was Lord Mayor, by whom it was presented to his brethren the Goldsmiths, with a charge to drink his health at certain periods in it, and to have a good dinner afterwards: we believe we are not hazarding too much to say that neither of these debts of gratitude are neglected. On each side of the niche is a mirror of unusual size, with busts in front, at their base, of George III. and George IV. Between the scagliola pillars, adorning the side opposite to the window, are lofty portraits, kingly or queenly subjects as usual (the loyalty and church-and-state pride of the Goldsmiths' Company are well known); comprising portraits of Queen Adelaide by Sir Martin Archer Shee; William IV. in the appropriate costume of a "Sailor King;" and her present Majesty, by Sir George Hayter. In looking again at the richly-stained arms which Mr. Willement has placed in the windows, consisting of the arms of the twenty-five Members of the Court of Assistants, at the period of the opening of the Hall in 1835, and of other assistants who have since died, a suggestion occurs which we think deserves consideration. In the annals of the Company, many are the worthies whose life and character must have an interest for the members; surely their arms should be here. There is Gregory de Rokesley, for instance, goldsmith, who was eight times Lord Mayor of London, keeper



of the King's Exchange, and chief Assay Master of all the English Mints. And if these recommendations are not sufficient, there is one better still. This is the man whom honest Stow praises for having refused to compromise the dignity of his office by answering, as mayor, a mandate to attend the King's Justices in the Tower, but who showed his individual respect for it by throwing off his civic robes at the Church of Allhallows, Barking, and then obeying the mandate as a private individual. The act led not only to his arrest, but to the arrest of the liberties of the City for a time. Then again there is Sir Nicholas Farindon, who gives name to the Ward of Farringdon, and the various benefactors of the Company, among whom is Thomas Wood, sheriff in 1491. Numerous other members of still greater general reputation will readily occur: it will suffice to mention the admirable Sir Hugh Middleton, and Sir Francis Child, goldsmith, Lord Mayor, and founder of the first regular banking-house in England, the well-known and highly respectable establishment in Fleet Street. The chief difficulty that might have been experienced in carrying into effect the plan proposed has been anticipated by the careful Stow; the arms of the oldest member we have here mentioned, Rokesley's, for instance, will be found among the engravings of the 'Survey.'

The mention of Sir Francis Child recalls one of the most important circumstances in the history of the Company—its connection with the origin of the mighty system of modern banking. Our earliest bankers were, as is well known, the Jews; though, as their system seems to have been to receive deposits of goods, or title-deeds, &c., as security, they were perhaps more correctly called pawnbrokers. In the thirteenth century a more respectable class of men, the Lombards, or Italian merchants, then recently settled in England, began to obtain much of this trade. The goldsmiths, we have already seen, were occasionally bankers, in the only sense in which banking as yet existed, so early as 1386, in imitation, probably, of the Lombards. And till the seventeenth century matters remained in this state. At that time a concurrence of peculiar circumstances led them to embark largely in the business. In Anderson's 'History of Commerce' is given a curious account of these circumstances, on the authority of a rare pamphlet, of the date of 1676, entitled, 'The Mystery of the new-fashioned Goldsmiths, or Bankers, discovered.' From this publication it appears that the London merchants had been generally accustomed to deposit their money in the Tower, in the care of the Mint Master. A little time before the meeting of the Long Parliament, Charles I. seized there £200,000, professedly as a loan, of course not only without the consent, but to the extreme indignation, of the unfortunate owners. No more money after that time found its way into the Mint for the sake of security. And then, according to the pamphlet, it became customary with merchants and traders to intrust their cash to their clerks and apprentices: a striking evidence, by the way, of the terrible state of insecurity of men's property before the breaking out of the civil war. When the latter burst like a storm over the whole country, many of these clerks and apprentices took the opportunity of relieving themselves of the dulness of the shop and desk, and their masters at the same time of the superfluous cash they had placed in their hands; and thus a new and better mode of disposing of such money became indispensable. At last, about the year 1645, the merchants began to place their funds in the hands of the goldsmiths, who now first added this the essential feature of a bank to their ordinary occupations of buying and selling plate and foreign coins of gold and silver, of melting and culling these articles, some to be coined at the Mint, and the rest to be used in supplying the general dealers in the precious metals, jewellers, &c. The wealth and reputation of the Company would at once give confidence in the new mode, and consequently the



business transacted increased so greatly in amount as to become a matter of very high importance and consideration. "It happened," says the writer of the pamphlet, "in those times of civil commotion, that the Parliament, out of the plate and from the old coin brought into the Mint, coined seven millions into half-crowns; and there being no mills then in use at the Mint, this new money was of very unequal weight, sometimes twopence and threepence difference in an ounce; and most of it was, it seems, heavier than it ought to have been in proportion to the value in foreign parts." What follows is a sad charge against the respectable Company which has a St. Dunstan for its founder. "Of this the goldsmiths made, naturally, the advantages usual in such cases, by picking out or culling the heaviest, and melting them down and exporting them. It happened also that our gold coins were too weighty, and of these also they took the like advantage. Moreover, such merchants' servants as still kept their masters' running cash had fallen into the way of clandestinely lending the same to the goldsmiths at fourpence per cent. per diem (about six per cent. per annum), who by these and such-like means were enabled to lend out great quantities of cash to necessitous merchants and others, weekly or monthly, at high interest; and also began to discount the merchants' bills at the like or an higher rate of interest." Respecting the goldsmiths as bankers, the pamphlet continues,—"Much about the same time they began to receive the rents of gentlemen's estates remitted to town, and to allow them and others who put cash into their hands some interest for it (the clerks had taught them this, we suppose) if it remained but for a single month in their hands, or even a lesser time. This was a great allurements for people to put their money into their hands, which would bear interest till the day they wanted it. And they could also draw it out by one hundred pounds, or fifty pounds, &c., at a time, as they wanted it, with infinitely less trouble than if they had lent it out on either real or personal security. The consequence was, that it quickly brought a great quantity of cash into their hands, so that the chief or greatest of them were now enabled to supply Cromwell with money in advance on the revenues, as his occasions required, upon great advantages to themselves." This system continued on the Restoration, the goldsmiths principally confining the lending part of the new business to Government, but borrowing, we presume, from whoever chose to lend. They gave receipts for the sums deposited, which, passing from hand to hand, became a virtual kind of bank-notes. In this brief detail we see in operation nearly all the parts of a modern banker's business. But concerns of such magnitude, and involving principles which, according as they are right or wrong, materially influence to prosperity or distress the entire nation, require all the thought and skill and capital of those concerned in its management. Some of the more intelligent goldsmiths soon perceived this, and also that magnificent fortunes would no doubt be realized by those who, possessing the requisite qualifications, should first devote their exertions solely to it. Francis Child was the first of these persons, and may, therefore, be very properly called the "father of the profession." He was originally an apprentice to William Wheeler, goldsmith and banker, whose shop was on the site of the present banking-house. Child married his master's daughter, and thus succeeded to the estate and business. The latter, we presume, from the very circumstance of his being generally acknowledged to be the first regular banker, thenceforth, or at least subsequently, confined his business entirely to the banking department. He died in 1713 as *Sir Francis Child*, and after having served the offices of sheriff, lord mayor, and member of parliament for the City.

The Hall was opened with a splendid banquet on the 15th of July, 1835. There was one feature of that meeting worthy of notice—the declaration of the Prime

Warden, who, in stating that the creation of a building-fund had long been in contemplation for the re-erection of their mansion, added, "by means of that fund they had been enabled to complete this great structure without trenching on the charitable funds of the Company: not one pension had been abridged—no charity was diminished—not one single petition for the relief of their poorer brethren was rejected."

#### STATIONERS' COMPANY.

The history of the Stationers' Company furnishes probably the most terse and forcible illustration of the progress of literature in England that can well be given. Let us merely glance at three phases of the history. The first takes us back to the days when our chief booksellers and publishers were men who *wrote* what they sold, and with whom, of course, calligraphy was the best stock in trade for a young bookseller to commence business upon; and when the learning and literature of the country demanded, as their chief food, A B C's and Paternosters, Aves and Creeds, Graces and Amens, with portions of the Scriptures for the more ambitious, and occasionally for the very wealthy and very learned a chronicle history, or a copy of the Canterbury Tales. Such were the members of the Stationers' Company, such their avocations, prior to the fifteenth century; and of which the names of Paternoster Row, Amen Corner, and Ave-Maria Lane, are a perpetual testimony.

But as if the Divine voice had said for a second time, Let there be light—printing dawned upon the world, and the effect produced during the first century of its operations is clearly exhibited in what we may call the second phase of the Company's history. Just one hundred and one years after the introduction of the art into this country by Caxton, we find certain parties petitioning the Queen, Elizabeth, for the sole printing of ballads, damask-paper, and books in prose or metre,—a medley of objects that seems to imply a consciousness of the growing national literature, with a delightful unconsciousness as to the definite state it might assume, and a tradesman's prudent caution not to risk too much upon such a speculation: poetry, philosophy, and education might do, but the damask-paper would, at all events, be an excellent adjunct. To the petitioners in question the Company of Stationers started up in reply, and its statement furnishes a most interesting and somewhat amusing view of English literature, just before the Shaksperes and Ben Jonsons, the Massingers, and Beaumont and Fletchers arose, to place it at its culminating point of splendour. We learn from it that the proposed privilege would have been the overthrow of a multitude of families, since it was by the printing of such books that the Company was then maintained. We learn also from it that literature was already growing too rich a thing, in a commercial sense, for the Stationers' Company to be left in quiet possession of; that slice after slice was cut off by its own members for their individual enjoyment, that it was, in other words, dividing itself into departments, each of such importance as to be made the object of special privilege from royalty, and therefore, of course, each worth the purchasing by a pretty round sum, the usual mode of obtaining privileges. It is important here to observe that, in exercising its power over the productions of the press, there was a general governmental motive of infinitely higher importance than the particular royal ones we have referred to, both which worked very harmoniously together. "On the first introduction of printing it was considered, as well in England as in other countries, to be a matter of state. The quick and extensive circulation of sentiments and opinions which that invaluable art introduced could not but fall under the gripe of governments, whose principal strength was built upon the ignorance of the people who were to submit to them. The press



was therefore wholly under the coercion of the crown, and all printing, not only of public books containing ordinances, religious or civil, but every species of publication whatever, was regulated by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege, and finally by the decrees of the Star Chamber," of which the Company of Stationers were said in the last century to be the "literary constables," whose duty it was "to suppress all the science and information to which we owe our freedom" (Lord Erskine's Speeches). The principal of these constables, during the reign of Elizabeth, were, it appears, John Jugge, the Queen's printer, who possessed the sole right of printing Bibles and Testaments; Richard Totthill, that of printing law books; John Day, of A B C's and catechisms, who enjoyed also the sole right of selling those publications by "colour," observes the Company, "of a commission;" James Roberts and Richard Watkins, of almanacs and prognostications; Thomas Marsh, of the Latin books used in the grammar-schools of the country; Thomas Vantroller, a stranger, of other Latin books, including the New Testament in that language; one Byrde, a singing man, of music-books, and who, by that means, claimed the printing of ruled paper; William Seres, of all psalters, "all manner of primers, English and Latin, and all manner of prayer-books," with the reversion of the same to his son; and Francis Flower, of "grammars and other things." One might do something with even the smallest of these privileges now. Aladdin's lamp pales in splendour, and the fortune of the builder of Fonthill seems to grow insignificant, in comparison with the wealth that would pour in from such a source. All, or nearly all, these privileges had been possessed previously by the Company or by its members, that is the trade generally. It is particularly mentioned that the right of printing Bibles and Testaments and law books had been common to the trade, that the right of printing the grammar-school Latin books belonged to the Company, whilst the A B C's and catechisms, the almanacs and prognostications, had formed the chief relief of the "poorer sort" of the fraternity. One of the special grievances complained of in the reply from which we learn these facts, was that the last-named privilege, Francis Flower's, was possessed by one who did not belong to the Company, but who coolly farmed out his right to one of the Company's members for £100 a year, which, it was carefully stated, was raised by enhancing the original prices. Not the least noticeable feature of this phase is the sudden accession of members to the Company during the reign of Elizabeth; of the whole one hundred and seventy-five of which it consisted in 1575, no less than one hundred and forty had taken up their freedom subsequent to the Queen's accession.

Above two centuries and a half have since passed, and the end may be said to be reached of which the beginning was foreshadowed in these continual parings down of the privileges of the Stationers' Company, and which parings, like so many parts of polypi cut off from the parent animal, ever in so doing started into a new and independent existence, rivalling the prosperity of the whole from which they had been derived, and themselves ready for a similar process. And what is that end? Let us step into Ludgate Street, and from thence, through the narrow court on the northern side, to the Hall. The exterior seems to tell us nothing, to suggest nothing, unless it be that of a very common-place looking erection of the seventeenth century, and therefore built after the fire which destroyed everything in this neighbourhood; so we enter. Ha! here are signs of business. The Stationers' cannot, like so many of its municipal brethren, be called a dozing company; indeed it has a reputation for a quality of a somewhat opposite kind. All over the long tables that extend through the Hall, which is of considerable size, and piled up in tall heaps on the floor, are canvas bales or bags innumerable. This is the 22nd of November. The doors are locked as yet, but will be open presently for a novel scene. The clock strikes, wide asunder start

the gates, and in they come, a whole army of porters ; darting hither and thither and seizing the said bags, in many instances as big as themselves. Before we can well understand what is the matter, men and bags have alike vanished—the Hall is clear ; another hour or two, and the contents of the latter will be flying along railways, east, west, north, and south ; yet another day, and they will be dispersed through every city, and town, and parish, and hamlet of England ; the curate will be glancing over the pages of his little book to see what promotions have taken place in the church, and sigh as he thinks of rectories, and deaneries, and bishoprics ; the sailor will be deep in the mysteries of tides and new moons that are learnedly expatiated upon in the pages of his ; the believer in the stars will be finding new draughts made upon that Bank of Faith impossible to be broken or made bankrupt—his superstition, as he turns over the pages of his Moore—but we have let out our secret. Yes, they are all *almanacs*—those bags contained nothing but almanacs : Moore's, and Partridge's, and Ladies' and Gentlemen's, and Goldsmiths', and Clerical, and White's celestial, or astronomical, and gardening almanacs. It is even so. The—at one time—printers and publishers of everything, Bibles, Prayer Books, school books, religion, divinity, politics, poetry, philosophy, history, have become at last publishers only of those "almanacs and prognostications," which once served but to eke out the small means of their poorer members. And even in almanacs they have no longer a monopoly. Hundreds of competitors are in the field. And, notwithstanding, the Stationers are a thriving Company. In the general progress of literature, the smallest and humblest of its departments has become so important as to support in vigorous prosperity, in spite of a most vigorous opposition, the Company in which all literature, in a trading sense, was at one time centred and monopolised.

If the Stationers' Company thus possesses peculiar features of interest in connection with a larger subject, it has independent claims also of an unusually attractive character in connection with its almanac history. The exclusive right in publications of this kind was possessed, as we have seen, during the reign of Elizabeth, by two individuals, who had obtained their right from the poor printers who previously enjoyed it, most probably just as it began to show that it would keep them poor no longer. A similar advance in popularity and sale led no doubt to the next change, which was the conferring the right on the Universities and the Stationers' Company jointly by James I., a junction characteristic of the royal pedant, who may have thought the first would provide the learning, whilst the second should undertake the general management. It was a time of glorious promise for the speculation. As astrology had, in all probability, first brought almanacs into existence, by making popular the study of the heavens, on which it was based, so, like a careful parent, to its honour be it said, it continued for centuries to support them when in being. And the Company was duly grateful. Whilst the universities ingloriously accepted an annuity for their share from their former coadjutor, evidently desiderating no longer the acquaintance of the astrologers ; whilst wits laughed at predictions and more serious men grew indignant at the deception practised upon those who believed them, the Company remained firm ; nay, to this hour, Francis Moore is an honoured name in Stationers' Court.

Towards the close of the last century there was living in St. Paul's Churchyard a bookseller of the name of Thomas Carnan, who very unaccountably got a notion in his head that he had as good a right to publish almanacs as the Company ; and, worse still, actually published an almanac on the strength of the notion. The Company, however, determined to settle the matter very speedily, and, after a preliminary flourish about counterfeits, threw him into prison. Strange to say, however, Carnan



was still not satisfied, and tried again the second year; was again thrown into prison,—a third year, and the like result followed. These issuings forth from St. Paul's Churchyard of the almanacs, and the entrances into gaol of their proprietor, became so regular a thing of course, that "there is a tradition in his family that he always kept a clean shirt in his pocket, ready for a decent appearance before the magistrates and the keepers of his Majesty's gaol at Newgate." All this was very annoying to a respectable Company; but Carnan's impertinence rising with every fresh effort to put him down, he at last, in 1775, brought the case legally before the judges of the Common Pleas, when, to the unutterable indignation of the Company, it was decided that in effect Carnan was quite right—that the professed patent of monopoly was worthless. The grounds of this decision were of higher importance than the subject that called it forth, and must not therefore be passed without explanation.

We have seen that the crown exercised despotic power over the press almost from the very period of its introduction into England, and that the Stationers' Company were the instruments. Thus by their charter, received from Philip and Mary, it was declared that no persons, except members of the Company, should print or sell books; and they were at the same time empowered to seize and destroy all books prohibited by Acts of Parliament or by proclamation. In the reign of Elizabeth we find the Company, while pointing out to her Majesty what a very poor Company they were, and begging for the privilege of printing the Latin Accidence and Grammar, enforcing their petition by a vaunt of their deserts in searching for and suppressing popish and seditious books. We need only give one illustration more, and that is from the reign of Charles I. On the 11th of July, 1637, a decree was issued from the Star Chamber, restricting the number of printers to twenty, besides the King's printer and the printer to the universities. When the Star Chamber fell, this jurisdiction fell too; but, unfortunately for the consistency of the men who overthrew both, the same odious restrictions were revived during the Commonwealth. One can hardly lament such an occurrence now, seeing the memorable event that sprang from it—the publication of Milton's 'Areopagitica, a speech for unlicensed printing,' which, if it did not move those to whom it was more especially addressed, did something still more extraordinary, namely, induced the licenser, Mabbott, to resign. At the Restoration similar powers were annexed to the crown, and in a more solemn manner, by Acts of Parliament, which only expired in the reign of William and Mary, through the refusal of the legislature to continue them any longer,—a period that, as Erskine observes, "formed the great era of the liberty of the press in this country." The only reservation was that of publishing religious or civil institutions, in other words, the ordinances "by which the subject is to live and to be governed. These always did, and, from the very nature of civil government, always ought to, belong to the sovereign, and hence have gained the title of prerogative copies. When, therefore, the Stationers' Company claimed the exclusive right of printing almanacs under a charter of King James I., and applied to the Court of Exchequer for an injunction against the petitioner at your bar, the question submitted by the barons to the learned judges of the Common Pleas, namely, Whether the crown could grant such exclusive right? was neither more nor less than the question, Whether almanacs were such public ordinances, such matters of state, as belonged to the King by his prerogative, so as to enable him to communicate an exclusive right of printing them to a grantee of the crown? For the press being thrown open by the expiration of the licensing acts, nothing could remain exclusively to such grantees but the printing of such books as, upon solid constitutional grounds, belonged to the superintendence of the crown, as matters of authority and state. The question thus submitted was twice solemnly



argued in the Court of Common Pleas, when the judges unanimously certified *that the crown had no such power.*" But rich companies never want powerful friends: the minister, Lord North, who, it is said, wished for loyal prophecies to bolster up the American war, now brought a bill into parliament to give the Stationers that which the judges had decided they had not; and the universities, feeling, no doubt, they should do something for their annuity, if not in gratitude for the past, why then as security for the future, lent all their influence to carry the measure through parliament. But the despised Carnan had also a friend in the house, Erskine, who fought the battle against the monopolists in a spirit and manner worthy of his reputation, and the result was a signal defeat for the minister, the Company, and the universities.

The utility of the almanacs had been on a par with their decency and sense. The House of Commons must have enjoyed amazingly Erskine's quiet wit in reviewing their claims to correctness and scientific learning:—"They are equally indebted," he says, "to the calculations of their astronomer, which seem, however, to be made on a more western meridian than London.—Plow Monday falls out on a Saturday, and Hilary term ends on Septuagesima Sunday. In short, Sir, these almanacs have been, as everything else that is monopolised must be, uniform and obstinate in mistake and error, for want of the necessary rivalry. It is not worth their while to unset the press to correct mistakes, however gross and palpable, because they cannot affect the sale. If the moon is made to rise in the west, she may continue to rise there for ever." After such an exposure of what the Company's almanacs had been, it was idle to talk of what they yet would be, on the same system. The House decided against the monopoly by a majority of 45. The Company was, however, relieved from the payment of their annuity, and the universities received parliamentary compensation. And thus, as every one concluded, was the monopoly of the Company destroyed for ever. It was a great mistake. Almanacs from different quarters, of a better kind, came forth as expected, but some magic seemed at work with them; they disappeared in such unaccountable fashion. Even Carnan's did not last many years. The fact was, the Company was now buying up all such publications as fast as they appeared, or as fast as it could convince the proprietors of the prudence of selling them, which, with the Company's influence over the entire machinery of book-selling, was by no means difficult. The consequence was, that Poor Robin revelled in the obscenity which he had learned in the days of Charles II.; and Partridge and Wing became as reckless as ever in their insults upon the common sense of the nation in their astrological predictions; and, during the French Revolution, a coadjutor was prominent in the field, who surpassed all his rivals and predecessors in the mystical wonder of hieroglyphics, and the almost sublime daring with which he settled beforehand the events of that most eventful time. One would have thought that the men of that age had supped full of natural horrors; but when Francis Moore gave them his supernatural wonders into the bargain, they found their error. The sale of his publication was, of course, enormous—unparalleled.

The course of this history, it must be acknowledged, is not flattering to the Company; but in looking at its conduct we must not overlook the extenuating circumstances in its favour. Baily has told us that the members did once make an endeavour to reform their publications—and omitted from Francis Moore a certain objectionable column: the consequence of that single omission was the return of the greater part of the copies. The question, therefore, of improvement or no improvement did certainly resolve itself into that of little or no revenue, or a large one. And although there can be no doubt as to what a spirited and honourable corporation should have done in such a position, there is something to be pleaded for the Stationers' Company

in not so doing. The evils that existed they found, and did not create; and the time was not so very remote since they had been esteemed anything but evils. We must not forget that some of our most eminent philosophers have been astrologers; and that the belief in astrology is not even yet entirely extinct. But how was such a state of things to be terminated, the Company not having the least taste for self-sacrifice—no ambition higher than the breeches' pocket? In 1828, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge stepped quietly forward, and answered the question by the publication of the British Almanac; and the result showed, as history had a thousand times shown before, that the error of under-rating the public taste and knowledge is at least as frequent as that of over-rating, and infinitely more mischievous. And here, again, a certain amount of credit belongs to the Company. It banished the indecency, modified the astrology, and created new imitations of their rival.

Some idea of the extent of the business now done, and of those who enjoy its profits, may be here usefully given. The Company, be it known to all who are not familiar with the subject, is a kind of Janus corporation—one head being ever busily occupied in eating municipal dinners and transacting municipal business; the other in making almanacs to sell, and in disposing of the proceeds when sold. The Master and Keepers (or Wardens) of the mystery or art of a Stationer, were, of course, from the time of Henry IV. (the farthest period to which their knowledge of themselves extends) all members of the same or closely connected trades, in this agreeing with municipal fraternities generally; but whilst the last gradually ceased to have any important duties connected with, or control over, their respective occupations, and therefore grew careless as to what trade their new member might be, since all of every trade could certainly eat a good dinner—the most important part of metropolitan municipal constitutions in modern times; the first, on the contrary, through the operation of the influences already pointed out, remained, and remains, a prosperous and thriving trade corporation, and is exceedingly careful as to the matter of admission. Their principle is very simple, and perfectly just. Whoever has a right to be a member of the Company through patrimony or servitude is admitted, whatever his business, but those alone can purchase admittance, or have it conferred on them by gift, who are members of the bookselling, stationery, printing, bookbinding, printselling, or engraving trades or professions; and then with regard to the election of the former class to the livery, such freemen must disclaim any participation in the Company's business as stationers. The effect, therefore, is, that the Company at this moment retains more completely than almost any other London corporation the features of its original character. The number of freemen is between 1000 and 1100, of the livery about 450. As the business of the Company is managed by its regularly paid servants, those who form the proprietary body have little else to do than to invest their money when permitted, and receive the very handsome percentage it returns. The entire capital invested is upwards of £40,000, under the denomination of English Stock, a title derived from the time when the Company had a very respectable Latin stock also. This £40,000 is divided into between three and four hundred shares, varying in value, through a regularly increasing double sequence, from £40 and £50 to £320 and £400 each. The mode of distribution is, we believe, perfectly fair, and so arranged that the oldest members receive the greatest benefit. The shares being fewer in number than the Livery, there are, of course, always vacancies, which are filled up nominally by election, but virtually by order of seniority. A share may be bequeathed to a widow, but no farther. In the municipal character of the Company there is nothing worthy of particular notice.



The Hall is chiefly noticeable for its pictures, since it has no architectural pretensions, and exhibits little of that sumptuous magnificence which glows and sparkles in the apartments of Goldsmiths' Hall. The Court Room is handsome, certainly, and delightfully comfortable when its lustres are lighted up, a cheerful fire blazing in the grate, the screen placed against the door, and the inmates sitting down on their well-stuffed chairs to hear the amount of the last year's dividend on their stock. At such times the arched and stuccoed ceiling seems to expand and grow more elaborately rich; no one then doubts that the extraordinary carvings of fruit and flowers over the chimney-piece are by Gibbons' own hands; West's picture, facing us in the little boudoir-like place at the extremity of the room, and of which we get a glimpse of the two principal figures through the pair of stately columns that divide the two apartments, surpasses a Titian in colouring—a Michael Angelo in grandeur; nay, we question even whether the story in all its marvellous features, which gave rise to the picture, would not be received implicitly, as the old chroniclers related it; one of whom says of Alfred, "Upon a time, when his company had departed from him in search of victuals to eat, and for pastime was reading in a book, a poor pilgrim came to him, and asked him alms in God's name. The King lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, 'I thank God of his grace that he visiteth this poor man this day by another poor man, and vouchsafeth to ask of me that which he hath given me.' Then the King arose, and called his servant, that had but one loaf and a very little wine, and bade him give the half thereof unto the poor man, who received it thankfully, and suddenly vanished from his sight, so that no step of him was seen on the fen or moor he passed over; and also, what was given to him by the King was left there, even as it had been given unto him. Shortly after the company returned to their master, and brought with them great plenty of fish that they had then taken. The night following, when the King was at his rest, there appeared to him one in a bishop's weed, and charged him that he should love God, and keep justice, and be merciful to the poor men, and reverence priests; and said, moreover, Alfred! Christ knoweth thy will and conscience, and now will make an end of thy sorrow and care; for to-morrow strong helpers shall come to thee, by whose help thou shalt subdue thine enemies.' 'Who art thou?' said the King. 'I am Saint Cuthbert,' said he, 'the poor pilgrim that yesterday was here with thee, to whom thou gavest both bread and wine. I am busy for thee and thine; wherefore have thou and hereof when it is well with thee.' Then Alfred after this vision was well comforted, and showed himself more at large." West's picture of this touching incident, divested of its supernal accompaniments, forms the most important of the pictorial treasures of the Stationers' Company. It was given by the excellent Boydell, who was Master of the Company, and of whom there is here a portrait, in his robes as Lord Mayor, which is amusing for its allegorical absurdities. The artist, Graham, wanted to say that Boydell was just and intelligent in his office, that he promoted industry and commerce as a tradesman, and that he did good service to the memory of Shakspeare, by his famous gallery and the publication to which it led. So we have Boydell in the city chair, with figures of Justice holding the balance and the city sword on his right; Prudence, with her looking-glass and the emblem of penetrating wisdom, on his left; Industry, with a sun-burnt complexion and a bee-hive on his head, behind; and lastly, Commerce, in front, reclining on a cornucopia, with the compass in one hand, whilst with the other she points to the outpouring contents of her horn, and touchingly appeals to the Lord Mayor to know whether he won't taste of the good things he has done so much to create. No wonder, after all this, the artist's invention slackened its pace a little, and so told the remainder of the



story, by putting the bust of Shakspeare on a table with—the city mace. The other noticeable pictures, mostly portraits, are in the stock-room, where we have Tycho Wing, the astrologer, with his right hand on a celestial sphere; Prior, the poet, with animated features, habited in a cap and crimson gown, a capital portrait; Steele, with his handsome dark speaking eyes, and corpulent-looking body;—both these last pictures given by Mr. Nicholls;—Bunyan, looking like a genuine portrait of the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress;" Bishop Hoadley, a half-length, in his robes of the Order of the Garter; and Bowyer, a bust, with a brass-plate and inscription written by himself, and too honourable to the memory of the writer and to the Company to be passed without special notice. In it he returns his "gratitude to the Company of Stationers and other numerous benefactors, who, when a calamitous fire, June 30th, 1712-13, had in one night destroyed the effects of William Bowyer, printer, repaired the loss with unparalleled humanity." And such a fact is the best possible testimony to the character and public services of the "last of the learned printers."

The charities of the Company are numerous, consisting chiefly of pensions varying in value from £30 per annum downwards. Among the benefactors Guy stands conspicuous. He took up his freedom as a member of the Company in 1688, and commenced business as a printer in the house that, till of late years, formed the angle between Cornhill and Lombard Street. There he laid the foundation of his mighty fortune, by contracting with the universities for the printing of Bibles. Honours in Stationers' Court kept pace with the guineas in Cornhill; he became a liveryman, and member of the Court of Assistants. The buying up of seamen's tickets during Anne's wars, and the South Sea Stock, now presented opportunities for the investment of money, which Guy turned to extraordinary account. From the last, with characteristic tact, he drew off in time with his gains, and was one of the few whom that gigantic fraud and folly benefited. It was time now to make himself comfortable, to grow domestic, have little ones playing about the knee, to whom those almost inexhaustible stores should descend. He determined to marry his servant-maid. On such an occasion Guy thought some little preparations necessary in a household characterised by economy much more than by comfort or completeness. They were set about. Guy would be lavish once in a life-time; he would even have the pavement before his door mended. With his own hands he marked out how far the masons were to go. Unhappily for the bride, there was a little spot beyond, which she thought the men might as well do. But they answered that Mr. Guy had directed them not to go so far. "Well," says the maiden innocently, and little dreaming what thousands hung upon every word, "tell him I bade you, and I know he will not be angry." The mending of that stone broke the marriage. Guy built hospitals with the main body of his fortune; from the remainder the Stationers' Company to this day derive some £50 yearly for its poor.

The entering of the titles of all new publications on the books of the Stationers' Company is a custom of considerable antiquity, and we owe to it many important facts, illustrative of the order and the date of the writings of our great poets, more particularly Shakspeare's. These Registers are in course of publication by Mr. Collier, for the 'Shakespeare Society.' The last Copyright Act has subjected the Company to the additional duty of registering all assignments of copyrights; so that it is still destined, in all probability, to a long career of public usefulness—a difference between itself and its less fortunate municipal brethren, of which it may be reasonably proud.

## SPITALFIELDS.

~~These~~ *Companies of London* were necessarily connected, as they still are in a limited degree, with the operative trades of London. But there is one manufacture which occupies more hands than any other branch of industry whose origin is very remarkable—and which, though unrepresented by any of the external signs of civic importance, belongs in a peculiar degree to the metropolis. We mean the *Silk Trade* of Spitalfields.

The Eastern Counties Railway, commencing in Shoreditch, cuts through a densely-populated mass of buildings before getting into the open country, and from the necessity for leaving space for the street-traffic beneath, is elevated to the level of the roofs. During the very few minutes consumed in the passage through this district, an active glance around shows us a remarkable similarity in the upper parts of the houses. House after house presents, at the upper stories, ranges of windows totally unlike those of common dwelling-houses, and more nearly resembling those of a factory or a range of workshops. Many streets are seen, some parallel with the railway, and others intersecting it, in which every house without exception possesses these wide, lattice-like windows; more frequently at the upper than the lower part of the house. The rapidity of our movement prevents any distinct cognizance of the purpose to which these wide-windowed rooms are devoted; yet it is not difficult to detect here and there indications of the frame-work of a loom, and of woven substances of different colours. The windows tell their own tale; they throw light upon the labours of the *Spitalfields Weavers*, who, almost without exception, inhabit the houses here spoken of. In some cases, particularly northward of the railway, the upper stories only are lighted by these wide windows; but in glancing southward the eye meets with many clusters of houses, every story of which exhibits the indication of a weaver's home.

But the roofs of the houses; what of them? Many and many a roof exhibits a piece of apparatus which on steady inspection is seen to be a kind of bird-trap; or also another specimen of mechanism, which, resembling a pigeon-house in appearance, seems to be used as a large cage. Other districts in London are sparingly decked out in a similar way; but so thick are the instances in Spitalfields, that they form one of the characteristics of the spot;—a characteristic expressed in other words by saying that the weavers of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green are the most famous bird-catchers in or near London. These men supply the greater part of the singing-birds, such as linnets, woodlarks, goldfinches, greenfinches, and chaffinches, found in London: sometimes spreading their nets in the fields northward of the metropolis; and at other times finding a market for their birds in the eastern part of London. The erections on the roofs of the houses have reference to these bird-fancying, bird-catching propensities of the weavers.

On leaving the railway, and the bird's-eye view which it has afforded us, and traversing the mass of streets which it intersects, the sight presented is not a cheering and pleasing one: it tells too largely of misery and wretchedness; of human beings cooped up in narrow streets; and it presents but a slender number of churches and chapels, of squares and open places, of institutions and public buildings, all of which, in various ways and in different degrees, would exercise a humanizing effect. One modern exception is very cheering—the Victoria Park.



It is unnecessary for us to trace the early history of this district. At the end of the seventeenth century we find the "Spittlefields," or the small streets which had by that time sprung up around them, the abode of a new race—a new knot of persons—who have ever since formed the most characteristic dwellers in the vicinity. Louis XIV. little thought that he was laying the groundwork for the establishment of the silk manufacture in England when he drove his Protestant subjects from France at the point of the bayonet: there is something like a moral retribution in the result, which furnishes a lesson not wholly unprofitable. In order to understand the effect of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in giving a spur to the manufacture in England, and laying a foundation for the present system of operations in Spitalfields, it will be necessary to glance at the previous state of things in relation to the silk trade.

It seems to have been about the thirteenth century that a large quantity of silk goods (then a rarity in Europe) first made their appearance in England. The novelty and splendour of the article seem to have excited general interest among our nobility; but the only means we have of knowing that the manufacture was commenced within a century afterwards in this country, is afforded by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1363, in which certain restrictions were laid upon the merchants, shopkeepers, and artificers, as to the mode in which they should carry on their avocations, but with exceptions in favour of "female brewers, bakers, weavers, spinsters, and other women employed upon the works in wool, linen, or silk." From this time forward there appears to have been females designated "silk-women," employed in weaving small silk wares, such as ribbons, &c.; and for the protection of this class a law was passed in 1454 prohibiting, for the period of five years, the importation of foreign articles similar to those which were made by the silk-women of London. We have not been able to ascertain whether these silk-women inhabited any particular part of London; but it is quite certain that the districts now known as Spitalfields and Bethnal Green were at that time entirely in the country, and almost free from houses.

In 1463 a further protection was given to home manufacture by the prohibition of imported articles; among which are enumerated "laces, ribbons, and fringes of silk, silk twine, silk embroidered, tires of silk, purses, and girdles." At various times these restrictions were removed, a step which invariably led to the distress of the English silk-women: from which we may infer that the home manufacture, either in cheapness or quality, or both, was inferior to the foreign. There is evidence that down to the year 1500, and even later, the silk goods manufactured in England were small wares; for by an Act of 1502, while it is made unlawful to import "silk ribands, laces, girdles, corses, and corses of tissues or points, upon pain of forfeiture of the same," any persons are permitted to import silk in other forms, whether manufactured or not. It was, indeed, more than a century after this that the manufacture of "broad-silks" (lustrings, satins, velvets, &c.) commenced in England. James I., after having in vain attempted to introduce silk-worms into this country, was more successful in advancing the manufacture: for, by affording some encouragement to Mr. Burlamach, a merchant of London, he induced some silk-throwsters, silk-dyers, and broad-weavers to come to this country. A beginning being thus made in the manufacture of raw silk into broad silk fabrics, the workmen increased so rapidly, that, by the year 1629, the silk-throwsters of London formed a body of sufficient importance to be incorporated.

Several Acts of Parliament were passed during the reign of Charles I., having reference to the silk manufacture. One in 1630 related to certain nefarious practices in the dyeing of silk, with precautions for its amendment; another, in 1638, laid



down rules as to the dye materials which should be employed ; a third enacted that the Weavers' Company (one of the oldest of the City Companies, established when the woollen manufacture formed the staple of English industry) were empowered to admit into their body a certain number of broad-silk weavers, provided the latter were "conformable to the laws of the Realm and to the Constitution of the Church of England." By the year 1661 the Company of silk-throwsters in London are said to have employed about forty thousand men, women, and children (but this number is held to be an exaggeration) ; and an enactment was at the same time made, that no one should set up in that trade without serving an apprenticeship of seven years, and becoming free of the Throwsters' Company.

We now arrive at that period when the silk manufacture in England received its most marked change. The sad and dismal tale of the persecution of the Huguenots in France we are not called upon to narrate here : suffice it to say, that the Edict of Nantes, made by Henry IV., in 1598, in favour of the French Protestants, was revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685, and that the revocation was followed by the expatriation of vast numbers of that ill-judging monarch's best subjects, the number being variously estimated at from three hundred thousand to a million. Of these a considerable portion came to England, and those who made London their place of refuge are spoken of by Stow with equal good feeling and good sense. "The north-west parts of this parish," (Stepney, to which Spitalfields then belonged,) "Spittlefields and parts adjacent, of later times became a great harbour for poor Protestant strangers, Walloons and French ; who, as in former days, so of late, have been forced to become exiles from their own country for their religion, and for the avoiding cruel persecution. Here they have found quiet and security, and settled themselves in their several trades and occupations ; *weavers* especially ; whereby God's blessing is surely not only brought upon the parish, by receiving poor strangers, but also a great advantage hath accrued to the whole nation, by the rich manufacture of weaving silks, and stuffs, and camlets, which art they brought along with them : and this benefit also to the neighbourhood,—that these strangers may serve for patterns of thrift, honesty, industry, and sobriety." It appears that in the year 1687 no fewer than thirteen thousand five hundred of the refugees were sheltered and relieved in London alone, of whom there were about five hundred families of the nobility, lawyers, divines, physicians, and merchants, and the rest artizans and husbandmen. £40,000 was collected for them in one year.

The silk manufacture at Spitalfields, having received an extraordinary impulse from this occurrence, began to acquire considerable importance. The refugees introduced the weaving of the various silk fabrics then known by the names of lustrings, alamodes, brocades, satins, black and coloured mantuas, black paduasoes, ducapes, watered tabbies, and black velvets ; but no sooner had the strangers made a firm footing in England, than, like their predecessors, they cried out for protection, and, under the name of the Royal Lustring Company, obtained an Act prohibiting the importation of foreign lustrings and alamodes. The "Lustring Company" was however defeated—not by Acts of Parliament or foreign competition—but by a change of fashion, which drove lustrings and alamodes out of the markets. In 1718 the silk manufacture underwent an important change through the labours of Sir Thomas Lombe, who introduced from Italy the process of *organzining* (or preparing for the weaver) raw silk by machinery, and he received from parliament a reward of £14,000 for his ingenuity.

We cannot follow the history of the silk manufacture throughout England : it will

be sufficient to say that in Spitalfields it advanced with great rapidity. The Weavers' Company of London, in a petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1713, stated that, owing to the encouragement afforded by the Crown and by divers Acts of Parliament, the silk manufacture at that time was twenty times greater in amount than in the year 1664; that all sorts of black and coloured silks, gold and silver stuffs, and ribbons, were made here as good as those of French fabric; and that black silk for hoods and scarfs, which twenty-five years before was all imported, was now made here to the annual value of more than £300,000. (*Porter on the Silk Manufacture.*)

When Lombe's machine became used in England, it was confidently expected that the manufacture might be carried on wholly in this country, receiving from abroad nothing but the raw silk: it was found, however, that the importation of Italian *organzine* silk was indispensably necessary for the *warp* in the weaving process. To understand this, it will be necessary to glance at a few details relating to the manufacture. Most silk goods, like those of cotton, have obviously threads crossing each other at right angles and interlacing; and the same may be said of velvets and of woollen cloths, although the subsequent production of a *pile* or *nap* nearly conceals the threads. Those threads which extend lengthwise of the woven fabric are called the *warp* or *web*, while the cross-threads are termed the *weft* or *shoot*. Employing the terms *warp* and *shoot*, we may now state that in weaving silk these are made of different kinds of threads, the warp being formed of threads termed *organzine*, and the shoot by other threads called *tram*. The raw silk is imported from Italy, India, China, and a few other countries, in the form of skeins, and must pass through the hands of the "throwster" before the weaver is employed upon it. The throwster, by means of a machine, twists the silk into a slight kind of thread known as "singles," and these singles are combined to form tram or organzine. Tram is formed of two or three threads of silk lightly twisted together; but organzine is the result of a larger series of operations, which may be thus enumerated:—the raw silk is unwound from the skeins, and rewound upon bobbins; the silk so wound is sorted into different qualities; each individual thread is then spun, twisted, or "thrown;" two or more of these spun threads are brought together upon fresh bobbins; and, finally, these combined threads are twisted to form organzine. The whole of these operations are included in the general term "silk throwing," and are entirely distinct from the weaving: nearly all the Spitalfields population engaged in the silk manufacture are *weavers*; the throwsters being spread over various parts of the country, and working in large factories known as silk-mills. The reader will understand, therefore, that when the weavers are stated to have preferred Italian organzine, even after the introduction of Lombe's machine, the preference relates to some particular quality in the Italian production, which fitted it to form the warp or "long threads" of silk goods, the shoot or "cross-threads" being sufficiently well made in England. This preference is said to exist even at the present day, notwithstanding the advance of English ingenuity; and Mr. Porter suggests, as a probable explanation of the alleged inferiority of English thrown silk, "that the climate may influence the quality of a substance so delicate, since it is well known that, during certain states of the atmosphere, the throwing of silk is performed in this country at a comparative disadvantage: or it may be that the fibre of the silk is injuriously affected by its being packed before twisting, or by the lengthened voyage to which it is subjected in its transit to this country; and the higher estimation uniformly evinced by our throwsters for silk of the new crop, over that which has lain for some time in the warehouse, would seem to indicate



other cause for the alleged superiority of Italian organzine. It is owing to this preference of foreign thrown silk that, in the face of a high protecting duty, it has always met with a certain although limited demand from the English silk-weavers."

During the reigns of Anne, George I., and George II., the Spitalfields weavers appear to have increased in number, and to have been employed in various qualities of silk goods, principally those known as "broad silks;" but, nevertheless, whether through any superiority in foreign manufacture, or through the influence of fashion, French silks continued to find their way into England, either by smuggling or by open trade, according to the state of the import laws. The English weavers then began to clamour for "double duties" on the foreign articles; but as the legislature did not seem disposed to grant the request, the weavers became more importunate, and went to the House of Commons on January 10, 1764, with "drums beating and banners flying," to demand the *total prohibition* of foreign silks. With this, of course, the legislature could not comply; but Acts were passed, lowering the import duty on raw silk, and prohibiting the importation of silk ribbons, stockings, and gloves. The next year more demands were made, and to some extent granted, to prevent threatened outrage.

The celebrated "Spitalfields Acts" had their origin in disputes between the masters and men in regard to wages. The yielding of the legislature to the demands of the men had so emboldened them that they took summary measures to compel an advance in wages from their employers, destroying the looms and the houses of those masters who refused to comply with the demand. To settle these disputes an Act was passed in 1773, empowering the aldermen of London and the magistrates of Middlesex to regulate, at the quarter sessions, the wages of journeymen silk-weavers, penalties to be inflicted upon such masters as gave, and upon such journeymen as received, less than demanded, either more or less than should be thus settled by authority, and prohibiting any silk-weaver from having more than two apprentices at one time. In 1802 this Act was made to include those weavers who worked upon silk mixed with other materials; and in 1811 the female weavers were brought under this regulation. These three enactments constituted the "Spitalfields Acts," which continued in force until 1824. In the present day, when the principles which regulate trade and commercial dealings are so much better understood than in the last century, the impolicy of such Acts is very manifest. They were passed to get rid of an evil, but they originated an evil of a different kind; they were intended to protect both masters and men from unjust exactions on either part; but they imposed such restrictions on the mode of conducting the trade as drove many branches of the silk manufacture altogether from Spitalfields. A petition, which was presented to the House of Commons on May 9, 1823, had so much effect in bringing about the repeal of the Spitalfields Acts that we will extract from it a few passages, showing the operation of these enactments. The aldermen and magistrates, up to that time, had the power of "limiting the number of threads to an inch in silk goods, restricting the widths of many sorts of work, and determining the quantity of labour not to be exceeded without extra wages." The petitioners stated that "these Acts, by not permitting the masters to reward such of their workmen as exhibit superior skill and ingenuity, but compelling them to pay an equal price for all work, whether well or ill performed, have materially retarded the progress of improvement, and repressed industry and emulation." The consequence of an order from the magistrates that silk made by machinery should be paid for at the same rate as that made by hand, few improvements could be introduced; and "the London silk-loom, with a trifling exception, remains in the same state as at its original introduction into this country by the French refugees."



Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Ricardo warmly supported the prayer of the petition for the repeal of the obnoxious Acts, which accordingly took place in the following year. The circumstance, taken in conjunction with the introduction of the Jacquard loom, which figured silks can be made with much more facility than under the old method, has placed the manufacture on a more healthy footing.

The mode of conducting the transactions between employer and employed in the silk manufacture deserves a passing notice, as giving rise to many of the peculiarities observable in the Spitalfields population. We have said that silk-throwing is done in mills conducted on the factory system; but silk-weaving in Spitalfields parts with a different character. The manufacturer, who procures his thrown "organzine" or "tram" either from the throwster or from the silk importer, selects the silk need to execute any particular order. The weaver goes to the house or shop of his employer and receives a certain quantity of the material, the "tram" being generally wound on bobbins, and the "organzine" in the form of what is called a *cane* (derived from the French word *chaine*, and so called from the silk being taken off the warping-frames in loops or links): this cane or warp varies from one to two hundred yards in length. The weaver takes the material home to his own dwelling, and weaves it at his own loom, or sometimes at looms supplied by the manufacturer. He is paid a certain price per ell for his labour; but, as the weavers are not remarkable for provident habits, even in the best of times they are accustomed to "draw" money on account of the work as it is in progress, and to receive the remainder when the woven fabric is completed. The overplus material are returned to the manufacturer.



1871



## XXVI. THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

One of Henry VII.'s ministers (Cardinal Morton) once told the parliament that the king was but "a steward in effect for the public; and that what came from them was but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathered into a cloud, and fell back on the earth again." With the applicability of the poetical Cardinal's remark to the business in hand, *the obtaining more taxes*, we have nothing here to do; but the message itself is a happy illustration of the character and influence of a class of men whom England has especial reason to be proud, and more particularly London; of men whose business it has been to draw wealth from the public, by a kind of magical process (peculiar to the agents of the great wonder-worker, Commerce), which leaves the public richer than it found them, and whose accumulations have, indeed, returned their fellow-men, blessed with the fertilizing influences that belong to a higher intellectual atmosphere. It is needless to enumerate instances which will rise to the memory of every one: we merely therefore observe that the same generation that beheld the foundation of the Charter House by one merchant, had also witnessed, a few years before, the erection of the chief commercial building of the greatest commercial city of the world by another; and who, not content with that act of princely generosity—which, taken alone, might have been thought only an exhibition of the emphythy and pride of class—transformed his own residence into a College, and richly endowed it for the promotion of those arts and sciences which may add lustre and dignity to any and every calling. No wonder that London holds dear the memory of Sir Thomas Gresham.

But, in the Gresham family, the founder of the Royal Exchange stands not alone. The original project for the Exchange itself is due to his father, Sir Richard Gresham, who, in 1537, whilst Lord Mayor, drew the attention of the minister, Cromwell, to the subject, and laid before him a design for the erection, which he proposed to place in Lombard Street; whilst his uncle, Sir John Gresham, Sheriff in the same year that Richard was Mayor, obtained from Henry VIII. the original foundation of Bethlehem Hospital, and richly endowed with his own means Holt School, Norfolk, where was one of the family seats. He too became Mayor, and among other matters made his year of office memorable by the revival of the splendid ceremony of the Marching Hatch. To this uncle was Thomas Gresham apprenticed.

The name of Gresham is derived from a little village in Norfolk, where the ancestors of the future civic worthies had resided, it is said, for generations. Thomas, the younger of two sons, is supposed to have been born in London about 1519. At the proper period he was sent to Gonville Hall, Cambridge, which, it is worthy of notice his father thought only a fitting preparation for his son's future career. The mercantile life, apart from its ends, presented at the period in question many picturesque and exciting features, and was esteemed so honourable, that, in some of the greater speculations of the day, the leading names comprise those of the most influential nobility, and who by no means appear as mere nominal patrons. Gresham had evidently high notions of the power and influence as well as of the duties of the British merchant of the sixteenth century. Writing, some years after the expiration of his apprenticeship, to his patron the Duke of Northumberland, he says, "to the which

*science* I myself was apprenticed eight years, to come by the experience and knowledge that I have:" he then goes on to praise his father's wisdom in so doing. We shall see presently to what excellent purpose Gresham turned these preparations. He was admitted into the Mercers' Company in 1543, being then in his twenty-fifth year; and prior to the expiration of the twelvemonth we find "young Thomas Gresham" engaged as a merchant in furnishing supplies for the siege of Boulogne. Soon after he married Anne, widow of a gentleman of Suffolk, and sister to the lady of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper. In one of his letters from the Continent, written some years later, to the minister, Sir W. Cecil, he says, "I thank you for the gentle entertainment you gave to my poor wife, who I do know right well molests you daily for my coming home.—Such is the fondness of women!" In many others of his important business letters, Gresham recurs to his "poor wife;" and altogether it is very evident there was happiness by the domestic hearth. We now reach the most important period of Gresham's history; for from it may be dated all the consequences which have made his name memorable.

There were formerly but two recognised modes of obtaining funds for great national emergencies—subsidies, levied by the arbitrary will of the sovereign or the government, which was as odious as it was in every other respect objectionable—and loans from wealthy merchants, generally of Germany or the Low Countries. By the period in question the last had become the rule, the first only the exception. To negotiate the loans an agent became necessary, who was to reside abroad;—a person, of course, of distinguished talent and probity, and of agreeable conciliatory manners. Prior to April, 1551, and during a period of considerable financial disorder, the post was held by a man who, in the opinion of the government, was unfitted for it; so, says Gresham, "I was sent for unto the Council, and brought by them before the King's Majesty, to know my opinion (as they had many other merchants) what way with the least charge his Majesty might grow out of debt." The opinion given was approved of, and Gresham immediately appointed Royal Agent. He set off with his family to Antwerp, the then great commercial emporium of the world. The nature of financial dealings in the sixteenth century, and of the difficulties which they presented to the man who had determined to revolutionise the system, may be gathered from the following extract from the youthful King's manuscript journal, April, 1551:—"25. A bargain made with the Fulcare (the Fuggers, eminent German merchants) for about £60,000, that in May and August should be paid,—for the deferring of it. First, that the Fulcare should put it off for ten in the hundred. Secondly, that I should buy 12,000 marks' weight, at six shillings the ounce, to be delivered at Antwerp, and so conveyed over. Thirdly, I should pay 100,000 crowns for a very fair jewel of his, four rubies marvellously big, one orient and great diamond, and one great pearl." Some readers will no doubt be surprised to find the tricks of the disreputable money-lenders of our own day traceable to such high and respectable origin. The zeal with which Gresham entered into the duties of his appointment must have been sorely tried in many ways; during the first two years, for instance, he was called over, frequently at the shortest notice, no less than forty times!

For his services of all kinds, Gresham certainly received no stinted reward. He came in for some of the spoils of the church, or monastic bodies, which had not yet been swallowed up by the reformers, commissioners, ministers, and courtiers. In the last year of Edward's reign he obtained the grant of Westacre Priory, in Norfolk, which appears to have been worth about £200 per annum. Three weeks before his death, Edward conferred upon him other church lands worth £100 per annum; and, by an instrument bearing date only six days before the young King's death, Gresham

got a good slice out of the lands of the Abbey or Priory of Our Lady of Walsingham, also in Norfolk, and out of some other church or monastic demesnes in the same county. King Edward himself had said that he thought this country of England could bear no merchant to have more land than was worth £100 a year; but he had given to Gresham what must have been worth £400 a year in those days. Counting only the difference in the value of money, this was a fortune equal to £3000 or £4000 of the present day. Owing to the increase of population, of industry, agriculture, and of all that has made England what she now is, the lands bestowed by the crown upon Gresham now probably render twice £4000 a year. Edward, by word of mouth, had told his agent and merchant that he should know that he had served a king, and Edward was enabled and allowed by Northumberland, Gresham's great patron, to keep his word.

As to what was required from him in the pursuit of the objects he had set before him, and what he accomplished, we are glad to be able to allow him to speak for himself. "Before I was called to serve, there was no other way devised to bring the King out of debt but to transport the treasure out of the realm; or else by way of exchange, to the great abasing of the exchange; for a pound of our current money there was brought down in value to but sixteen shillings Flemish; and for lack of payment there at the days appointed, for to preserve his Majesty's credit withal, it was customary to prolong time also upon interest, which interest, besides the loss of the exchange, amounted unto £40,000 by year. And in every such prolongation, his Majesty was enforced to take great part in jewels, or wares, to his extreme loss and damage; of which £40,000 loss for interest, yearly, I have by my travail clearly discharged the said King every penny." The direct saving from this source alone he estimates at £400,000. The means by which it was done are thus alluded to: "Whereas I found the exchange at sixteen shillings the pound, I found the means, nevertheless, without any charge to the King, or hindrance of any other, to discharge the King's whole debts, as they grew, at twenty shillings and twenty-two shillings the pound." He then points out the other advantages which have accrued in consequence of the raising of the exchange: "All foreign commodities be fallen, and sold after the same value, to the enriching of the subjects of the realm in their commodities, in small process of time, above £300,000 or £400,000." The precious metals, it is pointed out, are, as a natural consequence, flowing into the country, and the credit of the sovereign is placed on a solid basis. And all this was done in despite of the "merchants, both strangers and English, who always lay in wait to prevent his devices." It would be difficult to explain the nature of these devices to the general reader; suffice it, therefore, to say that they present an extraordinary evidence of the far-sighted character of Gresham's mind, and of the claims which he has upon the gratitude of every English merchant, and of his countrymen generally. Gresham's chief opponents were the merchants of the Steel-yard, whose commercial privileges were a great cause of keeping down the exchange, and which produced besides great heart-burnings and jealousies among our native merchants.

The Esterlings, or Germans, were settled in England as early as the reign of Ethelred; when, says Pennant, "the Germans of the Steel-yard, coming with their ships, were accounted worthy of good laws." These men were undoubtedly our first instructors in the art of commerce. For several centuries they were the chief importers and exporters of England, and the profits derived from their trade, and their connection with the great Hansatic Confederation, induced our sovereigns to bestow on them peculiar privileges. On more than one occasion, the London journeymen and apprentices resented the favour shown to them, by riots and by attacks on the ware-



houses of the obnoxious foreigners. In 1552 it was decided by the Government that the Steel-yard merchants had forfeited their liberties, and should be placed for the future, with regard to the duties upon their exports and imports, on the same footing as other strangers. The merit of this abolition of "rights" which, to every one but themselves, had grown into serious wrongs, appears to have been never attributed to its true owner, Gresham; who states expressly, in his account of the "devices" by which he succeeded in raising the exchange, that he "practised with the King and my Lord of Northumberland to overthrow the Steel-yard;" and the dates of the two events show that he was successful. The Steel-yard, or, as it was occasionally called, the Steel-house, stood on the banks of the Thames, about the end of the little street still known as Steel-yard Street, a short distance eastwards from Dowgate Wharf. Here also was the very interesting Teutonic Guildhall, with its two famous pictures by Holbein, representing the triumphs of Riches and Poverty. What became of these pictures we know not; they are supposed by Pennant to have been carried into Flanders on the final shutting up of the warehouse by Elizabeth in 1597, and thence into France. Zuccherro copied them at the Steel-yard in 1574, and engravings, probably from his paintings, were made in the last century. Pennant thus describes the chief features of the designs: "In the triumph of Riches, Plutus is represented in a golden car, and Fortune sitting before him, flinging money into the laps of people holding up their garments to receive her favours; Ventidius is wrote under one, Gada-reus under another, and Themistocles under a man kneeling beside the car. Cræsus, Midas, and Tantalus follow; Narcissus holds the horse of the first: over their heads, in the clouds, is Nemesis . . . . By the sides of the horses walk dropsical and other diseased figures, the too frequent attendants of Riches. Poverty appears in another car mean and shattered, half naked, squalid, and meagre. Behind her sits Misfortune; before her Memory, Experience, Industry, and Hope. The car is drawn by a pair of oxen, and a pair of asses; Diligence drives the ass, and Solitude, with a face of care, goads the ox. By the sides of the car walk Labour, represented by lusty workmen with their tools, with cheerful looks; and behind them Misery and Beggary, in ragged weeds, with countenances replete with wretchedness and discontent."

The document from which we have transcribed the foregoing passages relating to Gresham's financial miracles, for such they then appeared to all parties, is a Memorial presented to Queen Mary soon after the execution of Gresham's patron, the Duke of Northumberland, on no less occasion than that of Gresham being removed from the office he had filled with so much ability and success. That removal may in some way or other, perhaps, be attributed to his friendship with the fallen Earl; and Gresham, naturally alarmed, seems to have feared that the entire ruin of his prospects was about to take place. Having mentioned the late King's acknowledgment of his services, he next laments the influence of his enemies, and a loss he had just heard of "by casualty of weather;" "and now," says he, "God help poor Gresham!" Whatever the cause of his momentary disgrace, the services of Gresham were precisely of the kind that the Government were unable to dispense with, so he was soon reinstated; and when Elizabeth came to the throne he was able to give a scarcely less satisfactory account of what he had done for Mary, and of the reward he had received, than is contained in the memorial above mentioned. He was present at the first council held by the Virgin Queen, at Hatfield, and was received with marked favour. Elizabeth, to dissipate his fears of what his enemies might say in his absence, told him she would keep one ear shut from his enemies, that should be ever open to him; and promised him, if he did her none other service than he had done to King Edward, her late brother,

nd Queen Mary, her late sister, she would give him as much land as ever they both id. The characteristic reply was an exposition of his financial views, ending with he following admirable advice:—"An it please your Majesty to restore this your alms into such estate as heretofore it hath been,—First, your Highness hath none ther ways but, when time and opportunity serveth, to bring your base money into ne, of eleven ounces fine; and so gold after the rate. Secondly, not to restore the steel-yard to the usurped privilege. Thirdly, to grant as few licences as you can. Fourthly, to come in as small debt as you can beyond seas. Fifthly, to keep your redit, and specially with your own merchants; for it is they who must stand by you t all events in your necessity." It is worth noting how implicitly the advice appears o have been followed, with the exception of the matter of the licences. In carrying ut the first and greatest of the reforms proposed, the restoration of a debased coinage, Gresham himself was, if not a chief actor, evidently the main adviser, for he introduced he foreigners who executed the gigantic task proposed, and was one of their sureties uring its performance. The Steel-yard not only did not recover "its usurped privilege," ut was finally closed by the Queen. And as to the disuse of foreign loans, and the stablishment of domestic credit, Gresham again appears not only as the author of he propositions, but as the man who carried them into execution. Elizabeth made a subsidy in 1570 throughout England, which proposed no more than £35,477 6s. 8d. fore money was indispensable; so, the subsidy having failed, Gresham was empowered o negotiate with the great body of British merchants known as the Merchant Ad-venturers. It was no easy matter. The merchants and the Queen held very different pinions on the subject of loans, which need not excite surprise when we know what he Queen's opinions were, or at least her conduct, which may be taken as their best epresentative. Whenever she was in want of a small sum of money, her remedy was trikingly simple: one of the city companies was desired to furnish it. Nor was this ll. On one occasion she required the ironmongers to send her £60; and if they were rovided, *they were to borrow it for her immediately, and pay the interest themselves.* The Merchant Adventurers were puzzled what to do with the application. At last they eferred the matter to a common hall, where the loan was refused by a show of hands. ut if they had known the importance Gresham attached to the matter, they might ave saved themselves much trouble. He was a man who could never understand ailure in any scheme he undertook. He now met their refusal by a show of great urprise and indignation; he caused the Queen's Council to write, expressing its dis-leasure; then, again going quietly, and in a conciliatory tone, to the individuals whom e had marked out for express favour, he soon obtained some £21,000 for six months. The loan had to be renewed at the expiration of the six months; but in the mean ime the merchants had become convinced that principal and interest were safe in he royal hands, and that Gresham had understood their interests, as well as those of he sovereign, better than either party had understood them for themselves. From hat time we hear no more of foreign loans.

Among the less permanently valuable services of Gresham, but which, during his wn lifetime, formed not the least of his claims to the respect and attention of the overnment, was the peculiar and delicate office which he undertook, in addition to is other multifarious occupations, as Queen's agent for the negotiation of loans, and Queen's merchant for the supply of military and other stores,—namely, that of being he Government's chief continental correspondent. Antwerp was then "what London is now,—the centre of intelligence; so that, in addition to Flemish news, Gresham con-eyed home the freshest intelligence respecting the Pope, derived from Rome, Naples, r Venice; respecting the Turk, derived from Constantinople or Tripoli; Spanish news,



from Seville or Toledo; and not least often, tidings of what was passing or rumoured in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and France."\* The Flemish correspondence of the period, consisting of hundreds of letters, is almost entirely written by him; and the evidences are manifold of the great reliance Elizabeth and her ministers placed in his industry, talents, and judgment. Gresham, it appears, had a regular staff of spies, constantly running to and fro. Thus, when it was known, in 1560, that an army had encamped in Guelderland, Gresham immediately sent a servant with fifty crowns, who was to stay in the camp so long as the money lasted. Among the persons of this class whom he employed was one Hogan, of whom Elizabeth expressed her distrust, as the man was professedly in the pay of the King of Spain, but Gresham satisfied his royal mistress that he knew perfectly well what he was doing. He was himself indefatigable in the same pursuit, setting time and place at defiance whenever anything of high importance had to be done, and he could trust himself only to do it. His skill in some of the manœuvres that were then looked on, we presume, as quite proper to diplomacy, has been recorded by Strada, the historian of the Low Country wars. "The Emperor (Maximilian II.), by edict, prohibited and made it death for any German to bear arms against the King of Spain, which, among divers others, how deeply it was resented by the Prince of Orange (though otherwise subtle and close), he expressed at table, wine laying open the secrets of his heart. For, being invited by Gresham (agent for the Queen of England), after he had drunk soundly, the Prince began in a great fury to inveigh against the Emperor's edict; 'that the Emperor, and the King, and whosoever was of their opinion, deceived themselves; that not only the Germans would take arms, but a great sort of other nations bordering upon the empire; that the Danes, the Swedes, and many others, would not be wanting, which both would and could help the confederated Low-Countrymen.'" The importance of this revelation to Elizabeth will be appreciated when we remember the continual support she rendered through her reign to the Protestants of the Continent, as well as the danger her own kingdom might be placed in if the measures of the King of Spain and the Emperor with regard to Germany were successful. Another of Gresham's duties involved considerable personal danger. Ammunition was continually wanted by the English Government from Antwerp; but this want could only be supplied in great secrecy, for the laws of the Low Countries attached the severest penalties to the exporters. All kinds of ingenious schemes were consequently employed. The ammunition was concealed, in comparatively small quantities, in almost every ship that left Antwerp for England; and in Gresham's correspondence on the subject velvet, silks, satins, and damasks represent the forbidden articles. The continual arrival of these stores at the Tower attracted attention, although even that danger had been pointed out by Gresham to the council at home, with a remedy which was perhaps thought unnecessary. Hence the catastrophe. In 1560 he writes to say, "he is wholly at his wits' end." For on the 13th of June, "at six of the clock at night, the chief searcher (who is all my worker, and conveyer of all my *velvets*) gave me to understand that there had been an Englishman with the Costomer, and had informed him that of late I had many *velvets* arrived at London of all sorts, and that, if he made a general search now, he should find a great booty. Which matter the Costomer opened to the searcher my friend, and commanded him to be with him on the 15th day very early in the morning." But Gresham's liberality had not enlisted the searcher alone in his favour; a kind of council was held on the matter; and the result was that they agreed among themselves that if they interfered Gresham would not take it

\* 'Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham,' by John William Burgon.



good part at their hands. Dogberry himself never arrived at a sager conclusion. And so the matter ended, to the Royal Merchant's great relief, who desired the proper parties at home, "on the reverence of God," to take better care for the future. It is quite clear that Gresham was an experienced smuggler, and that he stood on a very friendly footing with the Custom-house officers of Antwerp, and with the other functionaries of the Government, whose duty it was to prevent that exportation of coined money or bullion, which formed an object of so much solicitude in all the countries of Europe at that time, and which it was Gresham's great business to procure. We find under his own hand some brief account of his mode of proceeding. Thus he lets us know, on one occasion, that he gave the captain of Gravelines twelve ells of fine black velvet, and every Custom-house officer and searcher eight ells of black cloth, for their new year's gift; and, after this, he tells us, that the gates of the town were left open all night to his servants, and the money they carried. But he was so caroused "pottles deep" with the Flemish functionaries, and he complains of his necessary work as being the hardest of all. "All their cheer," he writes to their honours of the privy council, "is in drink, which I can very ill away withal [which I can but ill bear]; but it must needs be done, for the better compassing of my business hereafter."

Some of these transactions, it will be seen, are of a more than questionable character; but whilst the private and political honours of our own public men are so often acknowledged even by themselves to present distinctions *with* differences, it would be unjust not to give Gresham whatever benefit may belong to such a consideration. His private character, nay, his public even, where it refers simply to aught pertaining to self, is unspotted; and with respect to the violation of the laws of Antwerp whilst receiving its protection as an English official, his paid spies, his bribes, &c., they are but part of the widely-spreading system of artifice which the great statesmen of the sixteenth century thought necessary to the support of the social fabric. It is astonishing what little materials went to the formation of their great policy.

With a few personal notices of Gresham we now conclude his history, with the exception of those prominent features of it which more particularly give to that history its interest, and which therefore require to be treated independently. Thomas Gresham became Sir Thomas on the occasion of his undertaking the duties of ambassador at the court of the Duchess of Parma. His principal English residences were in Lombard Street; Mayfield, in Sussex, previously a favourite old palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury; and Osterley, in Middlesex: he had other country houses, but of less importance. Lombard Street was, in Gresham's time, the busiest and most important street in London, for it was there that the merchants from all parts of the world congregated in the open air. In short, it was as yet the only Exchange. Like all other bankers and merchants of the day, Gresham had his shop in this street, with his grass-opper over the door as his sign. Those who feel any interest in so doing may yet look upon the site of Gresham's house. It stood where now stands the banking-house of Messrs. Stone, Martin, and Co. Pennant saw the sign itself in the last century, which is understood to have remained on the spot till the erection of the present building. Mayfield and Osterley were magnificent places; the furniture of Mayfield was estimated at £7550; and in both Gresham had the honour of a visit from his royal mistress. One of the rooms yet existing among the beautiful ruins of Mayfield is called the Queen's chamber to this day. Of Osterley, Norden, the local historian, speaks as of "a fair and stately building of brick," and that the park was formerly garnished with many fair ponds, which afforded not only fish, and fowls, and swans, and other water-fowl, but also of great use for mills, as paper-mills, oil-mills, and corn-

mills. There was also a very fair heronry, for the increase and preservation whereof sundry allurements were devised and set up." The paper-mill is a new point in Gresham's history; it was one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, established in this country. His protégé, the poet Churchyard, says—

"Glass was at first as strange to make or view  
As paper now, that is devis'd of new.  
Of new I mean in England; save one man  
That hath great wealth, and might much treasure spare;  
Who with some charge a paper-mill began;  
And after built a stately work most rare—  
The Royal Exchange."\*

Does the poet here give his patron a hint;—"and might much treasure spare!"—It looks very like it. This was written about the period of Elizabeth's visit to Osterley, perhaps a short time before. Among the other magnificent preparations made by Gresham was one that it is peculiarly agreeable to read of, as showing the latent love of literature, and everything connected with it, that so often breaks out in the life of the bustling merchant of the world. We refer to a play and a pageant by Thomas Churchyard, written and produced expressly for the occasion. Fuller adds another noticeable incident:—"Her majesty found fault with the court of the house as too great; affirming that it would appear more handsome if divided with a wall in the middle. What doth Sir Thomas, but in the night-time send for workmen to London (money commands all things), who so speedily and silently apply their business, that the next morning discovered that court double, which the night had left single before." What the Queen said is unknown; no doubt Gresham received his reward in the delight and surprise visible on his royal mistress's face. The courtiers, thinking, perhaps, the merchant had outdone them even in their own way, "disported themselves with their several expressions; some avowing it was no wonder he could so soon change a building, who could build a change; others (reflecting on some known differences in this knight's family) affirmed that any house is easier divided than united." This visit took place in 1571. Eight years later, "on Saturday, the 21st of November, 1579," writes Holinshed, "between six and seven of the clock in the evening, coming from the Exchange to his house which he had sumptuously builded in Bishopsgate Street, he suddenly fell down in his kitchen; and, being taken up, was found speechless, and presently dead." He lies in the church of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, near the tomb of Sir John Crosby, beneath a costly yet unambitious-looking memorial, constructed by his own orders during his lifetime. Two hundred poor men and women in black gowns followed his remains to the grave, in a procession of almost unequalled splendour. The tomb bears the simple inscription, "Sir Thomas Gresham, Knt., buried December the 15th, 1579;" and even this is only of the date of 1736, for it was thought, says Pennant, "so great a name needed not the proclamation of an epitaph."

The motives or impulses which move men to the performance of great charitable actions are of course as various as their characters, and, where they have not themselves explained them to us, must be looked for in that direction. In Gresham's case many concurring circumstances probably aided the formation of his plan for an Exchange. His father had desired to see the merchants of England lodged as well as those of Antwerp, where he had seen and enjoyed the advantages of their new and

\* In 'A Description and Discourse of Paper,' &c.

magnificent Bourse. His own residence, in the very centre of the meeting-place, must have saved him personally from its inconveniences; but the same circumstance may have afforded him more leisurable opportunity for seeing how it affected others less favourably situated. His biographer seems to think a nearer motive may have been at work. His only son died in 1564; and with him, no doubt, a great portion of the magnificent fabric of future rank and power which should be his in the persons of his descendants. His father had died some years before. As the old faces disappeared, old objects would lose their attraction. Those only who have felt bereavement can appreciate the value of a new object at such a time; an object into which the energies—that, unemployed in their usual task, have become but so many instruments of self-torture, enhancing the grief which they ought to allay—can be forcibly directed, and there drawn into full occupation. Young Gresham died in 1564. In that same year we find, from the minutes of the Court of Aldermen, the proposal was made to the Court by Sir Thomas Gresham respecting the erection of the Exchange.

We may see how much the proposed building was needed from the picture Stow, in his 'Chronicle,' has left us of Lombard Street. "The merchants and tradesmen, as well English as strangers, for their general making of bargains, contracts, and commerce . . . did usually meet twice every day," at noon and in the evening. "But these meetings were unpleasant and troublesome, by reason of walking and talking in an open narrow street . . . being there constrained either to endure all extremes of weather, viz., heat and cold, snow and rain; or else to shelter themselves in shops." Sir Thomas now offered to remedy this state of things, by erecting a Bourse or Exchange, provided a site was found. A subscription was immediately set on foot for the purchase of the chosen spot in Cornhill and in the alleys at the back, which, with the houses thereon standing, were ultimately bought for £3532. The ground was then made plain, and the whole conveyed over to Sir Thomas Gresham, by certain aldermen, in the name of the citizens generally. Sir Thomas, on his part, "being at the house of Mr. John Rivers, alderman, in company with Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Thomas Rowe, Lionel Ducket, German Cioil, and Thomas Banister, most frankly and lovingly promised that, within a month after the Bourse should be fully finished, he would present it in equal moieties to the City and the Mercers' Company. In token of his sincerity, he thereupon gave his hand to Sir William Garrard; and, in the presence of his assembled friends, drank a carouse to his kinsman, Thomas Rowe." Mr. Burgon adds to this passage the remark: "How rarely do ancient documents furnish us with such a picture of ancient manners." On the 7th of June, 1566, the founder laid the first stone of the foundation, accompanied by several aldermen, each of whom laid a piece of gold upon it for the workmen. By November, 1567, the entire building was completed. There is a curious tradition, not unsupported by facts, with respect to the formation of the frame-work of the Exchange. Gresham, in one of his letters, speaks of "my house at Rinxhall, where I make all my provision for my timber for the Bourse." Rinxhall, or Ringshall, is near Battisford, in Suffolk, from which it is divided by a great common, called Battisford Tye. This was formerly rich in wood: and in a certain part of it the remains of five or six saw-pits are still discernible. These, says tradition, are the same that were employed in the frame-work of the great Bourse, which, according to the same authority, was entirely constructed here. The architect was one Henrick, a Fleming, who, it appears, was in the habit of going to and fro between England and Flanders during the progress of the edifice, to obtain both materials and men. The stone, the slates, the iron,



the wainscot, and the glass, all came from Antwerp. Holinshed seems to intimate "he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workmanship in Flanders." Gresham had evidently made it a matter of importance that he should be at liberty to employ Flemish artists and workmen, for the Court of Aldermen, in acceding to his proposal, agreed also that "strangers" might be employed. Many annoyances, however, were experienced from the English bricklayers, "both in words and deeds." The magnificent range of statues which distinguished the Exchange were also most probably made in Flanders; for Mr. Burgon, we think, entirely mistakes the meaning of the following passage in a letter from Clough, Gresham's factor, who says, "I have received the pictures you write of, whereof I will cause the Queen's Majesty to be made, and will send you the rest back again with that, so soon as it is done." Gresham's biographer supposes from this that some of the *statues* were sent over from England, where he consequently presumes they had been made, to show the Flemish artist the style in which he was to construct Queen Elizabeth's. Is it not much more likely that the "pictures" were really pictures, containing perhaps representations of the statues, if such were needed, and different portraits of her Majesty, to assist the sculptor in his task?

The general aspect of the new building presented striking evidence of its in every way Flemish character. As Flemish materials, Flemish workmen, and a Flemish architect were employed in the execution, so was the design itself a tolerably close imitation of a Flemish building—the great Bourse of Antwerp. Two prints have been preserved of an interesting character, which show very completely the interior and exterior aspects of the building. They were executed in 1569, and from the date, and the inscription upon them, it appears not improbable, as Mr. Burgon suggests, that they were engraved at Gresham's own order. The English inscription is as follows:—"Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, at his own costs and charges, to the ornament and public use of this royal city of London, caused this place from the foundation to be erected the 7th of June, anno 1566; and is full ended anno 1569." This inscription is repeated in the prints in French, Dutch, and Latin, implying a care for its being read in every part of the world, which may be attributed with greater probability to Sir Thomas Gresham than to any one else. The principal feature of the exterior view is a lofty square tower with two balconied galleries, and a grasshopper surmounting the ball at its top, which stands on one side the entrance, and formed a bell-tower, from which issued at twelve at noon, and at six in the evening, the merchants' call to "Change." The pillars of the court were of marble. All the four corners of the building were ornamented with the founder's crest, the grasshopper, in allusion to which and the Exchange, Bishop Hall, in his description of "the brain-sick youth," says—

"And now he plies the news-full grasshopper  
Of voyages and ventures to inquire."

The building consisted essentially of two portions, an upper and a lower; the first being laid out in shops, one hundred in number, and the other into walks and rooms for the merchants, with shops on the exterior. For two or three years after the opening of the building the shops remained "in a manner empty," and, for the time, caused a considerable disappointment to the founder, who anticipated a handsome revenue from that source. But the persevering spirit of Gresham was as actively at work as ever; and a new "device" soon altered the cheerless-looking aspect of the place. It was noised abroad that the Queen was going to visit it, and Gresham's

preparatory movements showed the importance he attached to the matter. "He went," says Stow, "twice in one day round about the upper Pawn\*, and besought those few shopkeepers then present that they would furnish and adorn with wares and wax-lights as many shops as they either could or would, and they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that year, which otherwise at that time was forty shillings a shop by the year." All being prepared—amidst the ringing of the bells in every part of the city—"the Queen's Majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strand, called Somerset House, and entered the city by Temple Bar, through Fleet Street, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Burse to Sir Thomas Gresham's house in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined. After dinner her Majesty, returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side, and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawn, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse, by a herald and trumpet, to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise." A bas-relief over the entrance through which Elizabeth had passed existed down to the fire, commemorative of this incident. A still more important memorial, however, is to be found in a play, divided into two parts, by T. Heywood (whom Charles Lamb finely calls a sort of *prose* Shakspeare), under the voluminous titles of—'If you know not me, you know nobody; or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth;' and 'The Second Part of Queen Elizabeth's Troubles; Doctor Parry's Treasons; the Building of the Royal Exchange; and the famous Victory in Anno 1588.' As it did not suit Heywood, nor perhaps his audiences, who looked upon Gresham as a miracle of wealth and generosity, to abide by the exact vulgar facts as above narrated, the poet gives us a new reading of the Egyptian story. At the banquet Gresham produces a pearl of such value that few could afford to buy it from him, and, having crushed it to powder, drinks it off in a cup of wine.

"Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes!  
Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks the pearl  
Unto his queen and mistress; pledge it, lords!"

We may here mention that another play also exists to mark the interest taken by the public in the Royal Merchant during his lifetime. The one we now refer to is in Latin, and preserved in manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. There are twenty persons in the list of characters, the first, Rialto, being intended for Sir Thomas himself. The prologue and epilogue are delivered by Mercury, and the scene is the Royal Exchange. From the period of the Queen's visit the shops of the Pawn soon rose in value from forty shillings to four pounds ten, "and then," says Stow, "all shops were furnished according to that time: for then the milliners or haberdashers in that place sold mousetraps, bird-cages, shoeing-horns, lanthorns, and Jews' trumpets, &c. There was also at that time that kept shops in the upper Pawn of the Royal Exchange—armourers, that sold both new and old armour, apothecaries, booksellers, goldsmiths, and glass-sellers." But we have in this passage only an indication of the transition period of the Exchange; for a few years later still, and the shops were filled with the richest wares that the world of commerce could produce, till even princes, according to Stow's pleasant exaggeration, sent daily to be served of the best sort. Not the least interesting part of the history of the old Exchange are its literary memorials, though, for the most part, their authors are unknown to fame. One of

\* The bazaar part of the Exchange was so called; possibly a corrupted form of *Bahn*—the German word for a *path* or *walk*.



these, the Rev. Samuel Rolle, a clergyman who wrote no less than one hundred and ten Discourses, Meditations, and Contemplations on the Great Fire, thus speaks of the Exchange: "How full of riches was that Royal Exchange! rich men in the midst of it, rich goods above and beneath! There men walked upon the top of a wealthy mine: considering what eastern treasures, costly spices, and such-like things were laid up in the bowels (I mean the cellars) of that place. As for the upper part of it, was it not the great storehouse whence the nobility and gentry of England were furnished with most of those costly things wherewith they did adorn either their closets or themselves? Here, if anywhere, might a man have seen the glory of the world in a moment." And in an equally picturesque strain he continues: "What artificial thing could entertain the senses, the fantasies of men, that was not there to be had! Such was the delight that many gallants took in that magazine of all curious varieties, that they could almost have dwelt there (going from shop to shop like bee from flower to flower), if they had but had a fountain of money that could not be drawn dry. I doubt not but a Mahomedan, who never expects other than sensual delights, would gladly have availed himself of that place, and the treasures of it, for his heaven, and have thought there was none like it." The Pawn, the part he principally referred to, was then, it must be remembered, very differently situated with regard to the fashionable parts of London from what it is now. During Gresham's time the Barbican, Aldersgate Street, &c., on the one side, and the Minories on the other, were to the rest of the Metropolis something like what Grosvenor Square, Park Lane, and parts of Piccadilly are at this day.

The lower part of the Exchange, including the great court, must have presented an animated and remarkable scene. Jostling each other among the crowd were men from almost every known nation of the world, habited in their respective national costumes, speaking in every variety of tone and language, exhibiting the most marked differences of manner and countenance. Interspersed with the more numerous English merchants, dressed in their large puffed breeches, long vests, short cloaks and ruffs, appeared here the half-naturalised Fleming, with his fur-trimmed coat and hat, and tight-fitting pantaloons; there the lordly Venetian, in his long robes and elegant cap, a fitting representative of the great and haughty republic. Mingling with the more sedate men of business too would occasionally be seen some courtier from the Palace in all his bravery, conning a new jest at the expense of the "Cits;" some lover of notoriety seeking to make the best of his small reputation—a "Tatteliu," for instance,

"—— the new-come traveller,  
With his disguised coat and ringed ear,  
Trampling the Bourse's marble twice a day."

Or some idle needy-looking scapegrace, who, perhaps in a penitent or philosophising mood, is wandering about to see if he cannot catch, as it were, the contagious air of the place,—grow prudent, industrious, rich! Many a shaft is directed by our old satirists at these poor castaways of Fortune, whose usual haunts were St. Paul's and the Exchange. Hayman, in his 'Quodlibets' (1628), thus addresses Sir Pierce Penniless:—

"Though little coin thy purseless pockets line,  
Yet with great company thou'rt taken up;  
For often with Duke Humphrey thou dost dine,  
And often with Sir Thomas Gresham sup."

We need scarcely inform our readers that the Barmecide himself, in the 'Arabian



Nights,' never enjoyed a lighter or more digestible diet than Duke Humphrey presented to the noonday walkers in St. Paul's, or Sir Thomas Gresham to the promenaders of the evening 'Change.

Another of these authors who have written on the Exchange in a style that gives intrinsic value to their compositions, apart from the subject, is Daniel Lupton, who published in 1632 a small work called 'London and Country Carbonadoed and Quartered into several Characters.' The passage referring to the merchants of the Exchange is so excellent, that we give it almost entire :—"The merchants are generally men of good habit; their words are generally better than their consciences; their discourse ordinarily begins in water, but ends in wine. The frequenting the walks twice a day, and a careless laughter, argues they are sound: if they visit not once a day, 'tis suspected they are cracking or broken. Their countenance is ordinarily shaped by their success at sea, either merry, sad, or desperate; they are like ships at sea, top and top-gallant this day, to-morrow sinking. The sea is a tennis-court, their states are balls, the wind is the racket, and doth strike many for lost under line, and many in the hazard. . . . Conscience is sold here for nought, because it is as old sermons, a dead commodity. They will dissemble with and cozen one another, though all the kings that ever were since the Conquest overlooked them. Here are usually more coaches attendant than at church-doors. The merchants should keep their wives from visiting the upper rooms too often, lest they tire their purses by attiring themselves. Rough seas, rocks and pirates, treacherous factors, and leaking ships, affright them. They are strange politicians; for they bring Turkey and Spain into London, and carry London thither."

Numerous brief records of the Exchange exist in the 'Inquest Book of Cornhill,' referring chiefly to presentments of annoyances to which the merchants, visitors, and neighbours were subject; which, though not very remarkable or interesting in themselves, help to fill up the details of the picture. From its pages we learn that at one time the "honest citizens" who walked in the Exchange on Sunday and holidays "could neither quietly walk nor one hear another speak" for the great number of boys and children, and young rogues, who made such "shouting and hollowing;" that, at another, "certain women, maidens and others," who sold apples and oranges at the entrance in Cornhill, amused themselves "in cursing and swearing, to the great annoyance and grief of the passers-by;" that again, at a third, the same entrance was beset by "rat-catchers, sellers of dogs, birds, plants, trees, and other things, to the great annoyance and trouble of merchants, gents, ladies, and others," resorting thither; and lastly, to make the confusion worse confounded, and drive the quiet citizens mad, that the bearwards would bring their bears, dogs, and bulls before the Exchange, even at Exchange time, and make their proclamation as to the where and the when of the evening sport.

The last, and not least eloquent, of the literary memorials of the first Royal Exchange that we shall transcribe, forms also the most fitting conclusion to its history. It is a leaf from the Book of the Great Fire :—"Now the flames break in upon Cornhill, that large and spacious street, and quickly cross the way by the train of wood that lay in the streets untaken away, which had been pulled down from the houses to prevent its spreading, and so they lick the whole street up as they go; they mount up to the top of the highest houses; they descend down to the bottom of the lowest vaults and cellars; and march along on both sides of the way, with such a roaring noise as never was heard in the City of London: no stately buildings so great as to resist their fury: the Royal Exchange itself, the glory of the merchants, is now invaded with much violence.

"When the fire was entered, how quickly did it run round the galleries, filling them with flames; then descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming volleys, and filling the court with sheets of fire. By and by the Kings fell all down on their faces, and the greater part of the stone building after them (*the founder's statue alone remaining*), with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing." The very interesting fact recorded in the words we have marked with italics is noticed by all the historians of the Fire; and the author of the 'Discourses' before mentioned devotes a whole chapter to its illustration. The incident, indeed, was really remarkable, and calculated to stimulate thought into poetry—to connect agreeable memories with the wildest scene of desolation. Some would remember the exactly parallel circumstance at St. Paul's at the same time, where the architrave alone remained entire, with its builder's name visible by the light of the flames that were destroying his work; others would behold, in the prostration of the effigies of the long line of sovereigns, whilst that of the Merchant—the Philanthropist—the Statesman—remained standing, a symbol of the permanence and natural elevation of the inherent and better qualities of human nature, as contrasted with the temporary rank often bestowed where they are utterly wanting; whilst, lastly, all would feel how impressively that solitary statue seemed to say—"My *work* is gone, but *I* am still here"—and feel the spirit of Gresham animate them to new exertions to replace the lost edifice.

The Great Fire, in which Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange was burned down, took place in the beginning of September, 1666; and almost before the flames were extinguished Wren's plan for the rebuilding of London was before the King. In that plan, the Exchange, rebuilt on its own site, was to "stand free in the middle of a piazza, and be as it were the nave or centre of the town, from whence the sixty-foot streets, as so many rays, should proceed to all principal parts of the city." Of all the grand features of the architect's magnificent scheme this was one of the grandest. London was now fast becoming the commercial centre of the world; and it was a fine thought that of placing the home of the merchants who made it so in a corresponding position in their own metropolis. Napoleon's famous directions on the outlets of Paris—"To Rome"—"To Madrid"—had not half the real significance of Wren's sending his streets off from the Royal Exchange, in every direction of the compass, as so many visible channels of the mighty streams of commerce ever flowing between that Exchange and the remotest countries of the world. The building, it appears, was to be "after the form of the Roman Forum, with double porticoes." But the principal scheme being abandoned, these views for the Exchange also shared its fate. A month after the Fire, the three city surveyors were requested to prepare an estimate for rebuilding the Exchange; and in the early part of the following year the ground was cleared, and an order obtained from Charles II. for the Portland stone required. Sir John Denham, the poet of 'Cooper's Hill,' was on this occasion the successful prosecutor of their suit with the monarch. Denham was his Majesty's Surveyor of the Works, and in that office so exerted himself to serve the Committee appointed by the Corporation of the City and the Mercers' Company to superintend the rebuilding, that on one occasion, when they expected a visit from him, they made "provision of six or eight dishes of meat at the Sun Tavern to entertain him withal," and agreed "to present him with thirty pieces of gold as a token of their gratitude." Much delay, however, ensued, principally, it appears, from the difficulty of deciding which of the surveyors should be the architect, the chief one having "overmuch busi-

ness." At last, after a show of some modest reluctance on the part of one of the others, Mr. Jerman, that gentleman was named, in April, 1667; and, in answer to an application for instructions, was told "that the new Exchange should be built on the old foundations;" that "the pillars, arches, and roof should be left for him to model according to the rules of art, for the best advantage of the whole structure." From this time the work was carried on with great rapidity. The gossiping Pepys, ever on the watch for materials for his 'Diary,' writes on the 23rd of October in the same year—"Sir W. Pen and I back into London, and there saw the King, with his kettle-drums and trumpets, going to the Exchange; which, the gates being shut, I could not get in to see. So, with Sir W. Pen to Captain Cockes, and thence again toward Westminster; but in my way stopped at the Exchange and got in, the King being newly gone, and there find the bottom of the first pillar laid (that on the west side of the north entrance). And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry and a canopy of state, and some good victuals and wine for the King, who it seems did it." The "good victuals" comprised, we are elsewhere informed, a chine of beef, grand dishes of fowl, gammons of bacon, dried tongues, anchovies, caviare, &c., and several sorts of wine. Charles gave twenty pounds to the workmen. Similar ceremonies commemorated the laying of the first stone of the eastern column, a few days later, by the Duke of York, and of the first stone of one of the pillars of the south entrance, in November, by Prince Rupert. These ceremonies appear to have been thought such very agreeable things that there could not be too many of them. The edifice was completed in 1669, at an expense of nearly £59,000, besides an expenditure for additional site of about £7000, or twice the cost of the entire original site; such had been the advance in the value of property here in the course of a century. The Exchange was reopened to the merchants on the 28th of September, 1669, they having met in the meantime in the court-yard of Gresham College.

The new building in its essential features greatly resembled the old, but was larger and more magnificent. A general view of it is shown in the frontispiece of this article. It had, like the old, its ranges of statues, sculptured on this occasion principally by Cibber, with their painting and gilding; its shops above and below, now increased in number to two hundred; its bell-tower; and its uncovered quadrangle in the centre for the merchants, where was placed a statue of Charles II., "by," says Maitland, "the ingenious hand of Mr. Gibbons," with an inscription to the 'British Cæsar, the father of his country,' &c. The grand entrance from Cornhill was also decorated on each side by statues of the same King and of his father. We may observe, by the way, that the statue of Charles I., which stood in the old Exchange, was, immediately after his execution, removed from thence, in pursuance of a Parliamentary vote proposed by the famous Harry Marten, and the following inscription set up in its place: "*Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restituta primo,*" with the date. The ascent to the shops was by spacious staircases of black marble, the colonnade beneath was paved with white and black marble, and the open area with Turkey stones of a small size, the gift, according to tradition, of a merchant trading to that country, whose heart perhaps was opened by some unusually fortunate venture, which he thus fitly recorded.

The long cessation of the business of the shops appears to have wrought no permanent injury to their occupiers, for but a very short time after the rebuilding we find them in full activity, and paying continually increasing rents, in spite of the great addition to their number. Some of these shops were at one period let for as much as sixty pounds a-year. The old characteristics were also revived in full force. In the satirical ballad of 'Robin Conscience, or Conscionable Robin, in his progress through



Court, City, and Country' (1683), the hero walks into the Exchange, but the merchants tell him—

"For we have traffic without thee,  
And thrive best if thou absent be."

"Now, I," continues Robin,—

— "being thus abus'd below.  
Did walk up stairs, where in a row  
Brave shops of ware did make a show  
Most sumptuous.  
But when the shop-folk did me spy,  
*They drew their dark light instantly,*  
And said, in coming there, was I  
Presumptuous."

It is remarkable enough to notice in connection with the line printed in italics, that above seventy years before the authorities of the Old Exchange had ordered "That none of the shopkeepers in the Exchange be hereafter permitted to draw or hang any curtains or cloths before the windows or lights of their shops, to diminish, obscure, or shadow their lights, whereby such as have come to buy their wares have been much wronged and deceived." Down to the time of Sir Richard Steele and 'The Spectator,' the attractions of this part continued undiminished, for in his day's ramble, described in No. 454 of that work, he makes a point of calling in at the Exchange, where, he says, "It was not the least of my satisfaction in my survey to go up stairs, and pass the shops of agreeable females. To observe so many pretty hands busy in the folding of ribbons, and the utmost eagerness of agreeable faces in the sale of patches, pins, and wires, on each side of the counters, was an amusement in which I could longer have indulged myself, had not the dear creatures called to me, to ask what I wanted, when I could not answer, 'Only to look at you.'" "I went," continues the genial and light-hearted philosopher, "to one of the windows which opened to the area below, where all the several voices lost their distinction, and rose up in a confused humming; which created in me a reflection that could not come into the mind of any but of one a little too studious: for I said to myself, with a kind of pun in thought, 'What nonsense is all the hurry of this world to those who are above it!'" But the scene commanded by the spot on which the writer now stood was calculated to arouse reflections of a higher nature in his mind than he has here recorded. Putting aside the merely picturesque, he could not have viewed so many merchants of so many different nations, bound together in one common pursuit, without thinking of the moral grandeur exhibited in that potential assemblage to those who could penetrate beneath its superficial aspect, who could understand what was going on for the general good of mankind beneath that incessant all-pervading struggle for self-interest and self-aggrandisement. Why Steele contented himself with the brief but pleasant notice we have transcribed is easy of explanation: he had been anticipated. His friend and fellow-essayist Addison, who has not only recorded his frequent visits to the Exchange, but also says there was no place in town which he so much loved to frequent, had previously published in 'The Spectator' one of his most delightful papers. Literary memories of this kind appear to us to give to old buildings one of their greatest charms, and belong, indeed, as much to them as the very stones of their foundation. Before we transcribe the passage in question, let us first see what the satirist has to say on the subject: the contrast will be neither un-

amusing nor uninteresting. In a clever poem, entitled 'The Wealthy Shopkeeper,' published in 1700, we read—

"For half an hour he feeds; and when he's done,  
In 's elbow-chair he takes a nap till one;  
From thence to 'Change he hurries in a heat  
(Where knaves and fools in mighty numbers meet,  
And kindly mix the bubble with the cheat);  
There barbers, buys and sells, receives and pays,  
And turns the pence a hundred several ways.  
In that great hive, where markets rise and fall,  
And swarms of muckworms round its pillars crawl,  
He, like the rest, as busy as a bee,  
Remains among the hen-peck'd herd till three;  
Thence to Lloyd's coffee-house," &c.

How much more there is in heaven and earth than is dreamt of in the philosophy of such writers is finely illustrated by Addison's reflections on the same scene: "There is no place in the town," says he, "which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It gives me a secret satisfaction, and in some measure gratifies my vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an assembly of countrymen and foreigners consulting together upon the private business of mankind, and making this metropolis a kind of emporium for the whole earth. I must confess I look upon high-'change to be a great council, in which all considerable nations have their representatives. Factors in the trading world are what ambassadors are in the politic world: they negotiate affairs, conclude treaties, and maintain a good correspondence between those wealthy societies of men that are divided from one another by seas and oceans, or live on the different extremities of a continent. I have often been pleased to hear disputes adjusted between an inhabitant of Japan and an alderman of London; or to see a subject of the Great Mogul entering into a league with one of the Czar of Muscovy. I am infinitely delighted in mixing with these several ministers of commerce, as they are distinguished by their different walks and different languages. Sometimes I am jostled among a body of Armenians; sometimes I am lost in a crowd of Jews; and sometimes make one in a group of Dutchmen. I am a Dane, Swede, or Frenchman at different times; or rather fancy myself like the old philosopher, who, upon being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was a citizen of the world. . . . This grand scene of business gives me an infinite variety of solid and substantial entertainment. As I am a great lover of mankind, my heart naturally overflows with pleasure at the sight of a prosperous and happy multitude, insomuch that at many public solemnities I cannot forbear expressing my joy with tears that have stolen down my cheeks. For this reason I am wonderfully delighted to see such a body of men thriving in their own private fortunes, and at the same time promoting the public stock. . . .

"If we consider our own country in its natural prospect, without any of the benefits and advantages of commerce, what a barren and uncomfortable spot of earth falls to our share! Natural historians tell us that no fruit grows originally among us besides hips and haws, acorns and pig-nuts, with other delicacies of the like nature; that our climate, of itself, and without the assistance of art, can make no further advance towards a plum than to a sloe, and carries an apple to no greater perfection than a crab; that our melons, our peaches, our figs, our apricots, and cherries are strangers among us, imported in different ages, and naturalized in our English gardens; and that they would all degenerate and fall away into the trash of our own



country, if they were wholly neglected by the planter, and left to the mercy of the sun and soil. Nor has traffic more enriched our vegetable world than it has improved the whole face of Nature among us. Our ships are laden with the harvest of every climate; our tables are stored with spices, and oils, and wines; our rooms are filled with pyramids of china, and adorned with the workmanship of Japan; our morning draught comes to us from the remotest corners of the earth; we repair our bodies by the drugs of America, and repose ourselves under Indian canopies. My friend Sir Andrew calls the vineyard of France our gardens; the Spice Islands our hot-beds; the Persians our silk-weavers; and the Chinese our potters. Nature, indeed, furnishes us with the bare necessities of life, but traffic gives us a great variety of what is useful, and at the same time supplies us with everything that is convenient and ornamental. Nor is it the least part of this our happiness that, whilst we enjoy the remotest products of the North and South, we are free from those extremities of weather which gave them birth; that our eyes are refreshed with the green fields of Britain, at the same time that our palates are feasted with fruits that rise between the tropics. For these reasons there are not more useful members in a commonwealth than merchants. They knit mankind together in a mutual intercourse of good offices, distribute the gifts of Nature, find work for the poor, and wealth to the rich, and magnificence to the great. Our English merchant converts the tin of his own country into gold, and exchanges his wool for rubies. The Mahometans are clothed in our British manufacture, and the inhabitants of the Frozen Zone warmed with the fleeces of our sheep. When I have been upon the 'Change,' he concludes, "I have often fancied one of our old kings standing in person where he is represented in effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy concourse of people with which that place is every day filled. In this case how would he be surprised to hear all the languages of Europe spoken in this little spot of his former dominion, and to see so many private men, who in his time would have been the vassals of some powerful baron, negotiating, like princes, for greater sums of money than were formerly to be met with in the royal treasury. Trade, without enlarging the British territories, has given us a kind of additional empire. It has multiplied the number of the rich, made our landed estates infinitely more valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an accession of other estates as valuable as the land themselves." Writing like this gives so much interest to a locality as to deserve commemoration in a marked manner.

Soon after the time of the two great essayists a decay in the prosperity of the shops in the upper part of the Exchange took place, caused, probably, by the gradual removal of their wealthier and more fashionable customers towards the west end. That decay, too, must have been very rapid; for Maitland, writing in 1739, spoke of the shops having, till of late, been "stored with the richest and choicest sorts of merchandise; but the same being now forsaken, it appears like a wilderness." Still busier tenants, however, began to occupy the vacant place. The Royal Exchange Assurance and other offices, the Gresham Lecture Room, and, above all, "Lloyd's" extensive and famous establishment, were all to be found here down to the period of the destruction of the edifice, on the night of Wednesday, the 10th of January, 1838. It was from the windows of Lloyd's coffee-room that the flames first became visible to the watchmen of the neighbouring Bank, and to the astonished merchants and others, who quickly came hurrying to the spot, only in time to behold the edifice perish by the same agency as its predecessor. We need not say the spectacle was, as usual with such

\* 'Spectator,' No. 69.



large edifices, of the most magnificent character; but there was one little circumstance of an interesting nature connected with it, not undeserving mention. Amidst the tumult of the populace, the shouts of the firemen, and the crash of the falling masonry, the bells in the tower began to play their popular air, and then to fall one after the other into the common ruin beneath. The damage done by the fire was immense, apart from the loss of the building, as may be well supposed when we consider how closely the Exchange was surrounded by wealthy shops and warehouses, and the vast quantity of papers, deeds, securities, &c., included in its own chambers and vaults.

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A second time burned out, the merchants had once more to seek a new though temporary home. This matter was soon accomplished. The South Sea House received Lloyd's; whilst the Court of the Excise Office, in Broad Street, formerly the Court of Sir Thomas Gresham's house, and subsequently of Gresham College, accommodated the general mercantile body, as it had done before on the occasion of the similar calamity.

A committee, called the "Gresham Committee," was appointed by the Corporation and the Mercer's Company to superintend the re-erection of a new Exchange, in a style worthy of the City and the age. A competition of designs was invited, and a large number were sent in; but, though prizes were awarded to three, none were adopted, and the execution was ultimately entrusted to Mr. Tite; but these preliminary steps were not completed till the latter end of 1840. After having cleared the area, on making some excavations for the purpose of extending the basement, the remains of some Roman structure were discovered beneath what was the west wall of the former building. This structure appeared to have been founded on a large pit or pond, irregular in shape, but about fifty feet in length, from north to south, thirty-four in breadth, and thirteen in depth. This pit was filled with hardened mud, in which were immense quantities of bones of sheep, and bones and horns of stags, numerous fragments of the red Roman pottery, usually called Samian ware, pieces of glass and glass vessels, broken lamps, &c., and several copper coins—two of the Emperor Vespasian, the remainder of Domitian, all of which were delivered to the care of the Gresham Committee. On the 17th of January, 1842, the first stone was laid with great ceremony by Prince Albert, who attended a magnificent banquet, given at the Mansion House in the evening, in commemoration of the event. On the 28th of October, 1844, it was opened by Her Majesty in state, accompanied by a grand civic and military procession, when she was pleased again to bestow the title of Royal on the edifice.

The building thus brought to a completion is certainly an honour to the City—one of the noblest public "monuments" in the metropolis, or we might say, the noblest which the present age has yet produced in its full completion. It is one that now places Mr. Tite all at once foremost in the ranks of his profession; and if he be called singularly fortunate in having had so rare and highly favourable an opportunity afforded him, he may also be said to be admirably successful in making the most of it; for some who have before now been favoured by opportunities nearly as great, if not equally so, and that not once but repeatedly, have more or less signally failed in every one of them; had not such been the case we should have been able to boast of many fine "monuments" of architecture in our metropolis, where we now behold what are comparatively insignificant abortions, although some of them have been exceedingly costly ones. Owing to the peculiar shape of the site, occasioned by the direction of

the adjacent streets and buildings, the plan is a truncated triangle, the apex towards the west being cut off on a line nearly midway of the south front of the Bank; the east front faces Freeman's Buildings (a new range of buildings, of a good architectural character, erected instead of some houses destroyed by the fire). The length from east to west, along a line drawn through the centre, is 293 feet, the width of the east end is 175 feet, and that of the west 90 feet. The west front is occupied by a Corinthian portico, whose columns are 41 feet high. This is incontestably the finest thing of the kind in the metropolis—the most dignified as to its scale, and the most commanding in effect. Indeed, as far as that feature of the building is concerned, it is a more fortunate circumstance than not that the west front is narrower than the east one, because now, instead of looking planted against a line of façade behind it, the portico forms, together with the mass which serves as a background to it, a beautiful composition—one that may be called highly scenic, full of play, variety, and contrast, yet free from flutter, and even marked by breadth of effect and repose, for which last it is not a little indebted to the narrower blank wings, if so they may be termed, constituting the general surface which the portico projects from. In addition to these highly favourable circumstances, the inner columns, the decorated vaulted ceiling and soffits, the spacious open arch, set back within the recessed division of the plan, and the vista thereby obtained through it into the vestibule beyond it and the quadrangle, all render this portico by very far one of the most striking, and we may add, the most original, of modern porticoes; for, although the leading idea of its plan is evidently borrowed from that of the Pantheon at Rome, it does not affect to be a repetition of it. The sculpture in the pediment, consisting of eleven large allegorical figures, by Westmacott, also is not without its value in the general design, inasmuch as it contributes to richness, and so far to keeping; but, besides that the figures look somewhat diminutive, there is not that degree of bold relief which marks some of the ornamental sculptures of the other façades. The open paved space, forming the apex of the triangle, adds greatly to the effect of the portico, and at the extremity is placed the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, by Chantrey, with which criticism has found much fault, and perhaps faults do exist, but, notwithstanding, it is a noble work of art, and finely situated.

The Corinthian order is continued in pilasters along the other fronts, the inter-pilasters being filled up by a series of lofty rusticated arches below (each comprising a shop front and entresol above it), and of large segmental-headed windows on the upper floor. The north and south fronts are alike, except that the first has fifteen, the other only thirteen interpilasters or compartments; and the centre of both these façades, where there is an entrance to the merchant's area, is distinguished by the three centre arches and windows over them being more decorated than the rest; besides which, that portion of the elevation is crowned by an attic, enriched with panels and reliefs, &c., rising above the balustrade, forming the general termination of the edifice. The shop decorations, the painted names, the brass plates, the posting bills and placards outside, and the stock displayed in the windows, break up the design less than might be anticipated, from each being withdrawn as it were within the line of communication; and looking only to their architectural character, and the ensemble of the exterior, we have reason to be well satisfied. It certainly displays great variety and study of detail—some of it no less ingenious than novel in idea; no less certainly, too, is it open to the reproach of its being both impure and heavy in style, since such it undoubtedly is, in comparison with that insipidly tame, bald, and monotonous style which, dignified by the name of classical, has, till within a few years, prevailed in the present century. It is an impressive and rich style, one that may be

called florid and even exuberant, therefore eminently suited to the actual occasion, inasmuch as it is expressive of commercial opulence and civic state. The east front is similar to those of the north and south in design, except that a clock-tower or campanile, 170 feet high, is carried up over the centre compartment. It has been objected against the tower, that, owing to its being just at that end of the building, it shows itself only as a secondary and remote feature in the view from the Poultry, or as the building is approached from the west. Yet a similar objection might have been made had it been placed at the other end, or rather there would have been more reasonable ground for finding fault, because in such case it might have been complained that there was no sufficiently striking and characteristic feature at that end, while objection might also very fairly have been made to the rather incongruous combination of a portico with a tower rising immediately behind it. Even were it in every other respect a matter of perfect indifference at which end the campanile is placed, there is one circumstance which at once decides in preference of that actually adopted, namely, that the campanile now presents itself almost unexpectedly as a conspicuous architectural object to those who enter the area through the portico and vestibule leading from it, and also has the advantage of the sun shining full upon it at those times when the Exchange is most frequented for business, whereas on the other end it would have shadowed the area or inner cortile. A clock and chimes, manufactured by Dent, under the direction of Professor Airy, occupies a part of the tower, and in a niche beneath the clock is a statue of Sir Thomas Gresham. The part which in fact constitutes the Exchange, the place where the merchants meet, consists of an ambulatory and an open area: the open area is 120 feet by 60 feet; the whole, including the ambulatory, is 170 feet by 113 feet. There are four entrances, each closed after business hours by beautiful bronze gates. In the centre of the open area is a statue of Queen Victoria, larger than life, by Lough. The ambulatory is formed by arcades all round, with attached Doric columns against their piers, which give them an appearance of great solidity, and render the whole uniform and compact. We wish, however, that the architect could have managed to keep all the openings of the same width; or, rather, that he had been allowed to dispense with the narrower ones at the four angles of the court, leaving those corners entirely solid—we do not say blank—masonry. Externally the effect would have been much better: and although within the ‘ambulatoires’ the angles would have been thrown into obscurity, while that would hardly have been to such a degree as to occasion real inconvenience, the effect of all the rest would have been enhanced. With regard to the profuse decoration in Encaustic painting (executed by Sang, a German artist, and his assistants), within the ambulatoires, it is a splendid novelty in this country—a kind of embellishment until then unknown to any of our public buildings, though adopted elsewhere since, and which confers upon this a degree of artistic sumptuousness, far exceeding what was at first proposed for it. An elegant tessellated pavement was laid down in the open area, but it has been removed and replaced by the old pavement of Turkey stone. The area was left open to the air, after, it was understood, the architect had consulted with the leading merchants, and by their wish. It has since been found inconvenient, and petitions have been presented to have it covered in some way or other, but up to the present time without effect. With regard to the rest of the interior, all that we can pretend to notice, and that but briefly, is the suite of rooms belonging to *Lloyd's*. These occupy that portion of the upper floor which lies on the east and north sides, and are approached by a staircase immediately entered from the north end of the small east court. The first room, on ascending, is a vestibule about 35



re, at very lofty proportions, opening at the opposite or west side into the Commercial Room, on its south into the Subscription or Underwriters' Room, and north it has an arcade of three arches springing from columns, which sort of tectural screen effectually keeps up the general symmetry of the room, by cutting off, without entirely shutting up, an irregular space caused by the obliquity of north and south sides of the building. Owing to this last circumstance, the east of the Commercial Room is somewhat wider than the opposite one, its sides not being exactly parallel, that next to the quadrangle (into which the windows open) being at right angles to the ends, the other running obliquely, but not, we believe, in such a way as to be very noticeable. This apartment measures 92 feet in its extreme length, by an average width of 40 and height of 30 feet. Besides the five windows on the south side, the room is partly lighted from above through as many compartments in the plafond of the ceiling. The Subscription Room, which extends along the east end of the quadrangle, is somewhat larger than the preceding, being 98 feet in length from north to south, by 40 in width. There being only three windows on its west side, towards the quadrangle, this room receives nearly all its light from above, partly through six glazed hexagonal panels on each side, in the half-groins of the cove, and partly through a clerestory lantern of unusual design. Beyond this, and on its east side, corresponding in its situation in the general plan with that of the staircase, is the Reading Room or Library, 40 feet by 25, and lighted by a lantern.



BANK OF ENGLAND



SOUTH SEA HOUSE



STOCK EXCHANGE



LONDON & WESTMINSTER BANK

KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXVII. BANKS, AND THE STOCK EXCHANGE.





## XXVII. BANKS.

of the United States, in his message to Congress in 1838, pointed to the centre of the credit system ;" and, speaking of the increase of banks, he said that " the introduction of a new bank into the most distant of places the business of that village within the influence of the money-land." The power here alluded to, that of great accumulated wealth, is most remarkable characteristics of England. It is the offspring of the ill, sober and masculine intellect, and untiring industry of the people, institutions and the rich natural resources of a country placed in an position for intercourse with her neighbours and with the world at large. any circumstance which so much distinguishes a young country like the s, wonderful as may be its latent resources for future opulence, as the asses of capital, ready at any moment to be moved hither and thither rofit is likely to be realised. The railroads, canals, roads, and most of rovements of the States could not have been completed without English re is, indeed, scarcely any important enterprise in any quarter of the is not in some degree sustained by the " money-power" of England. The ions connected with her monetary system apply to a funded debt of , an annual revenue of £52,000,000, an annual circulation of bills of ounting to between £500,000,000 and £600,000,000, an issue of bank- ntly afloat, averaging from £31,000,000 to £35,000,000, besides Exchequer ernment securities, and a metallic currency amounting to many millions old and in silver. The immense amount of floating capital is put into e operations connected with our vast foreign and domestic trade and in- ry, by the large expenditure of the Government, of the landed aristoc- other persons in the enjoyment of private wealth. Here is ample em- h for the Bank of England and for private banks.

and the Lombards were the earliest money-dealers in England. The settled here in the Saxon times, and as early as A.D. 750. In the reigns hree Norman kings they appear to have lived undisturbed, but from the nt of Stephen's reign they began to be cruelly persecuted, and about reign of Edward I., they were banished the kingdom. Hume remarks s, being then held infamous on account of their religion, and their indus- ality having put them into possession of the ready money of the country, of this money at interest, which passed by the invidious name of usury, r hands. It was not until 1546 that the taking of interest was rendered te was fixed at ten per cent. In 1552 the statute was repealed, but was 1571. In 1624 the legal rate of interest was reduced to 8 per cent.; in cent.; in 1714 to 5 per cent. In 1834 the Bank of England paid 2 per 00,000 sterling in its hands belonging to the East India Company.

ards are understood as comprising the merchants from the Italian repub- , Lucca, Florence, and Venice. Stow, describing the streets in the vici- ank, says, " Then have ye Lombard Street, so called of the Longobards rchants, strangers of divers nations, assembling there twice every day."

He shows that the street had its present name before the reign of Edward II., that is, in the thirteenth century, and probably much earlier. The Lombards and other foreigners engrossed the most profitable branches of English trade; and it was natural, from their greater wealth, that they should supersede native merchants. They assisted the King with loans of money, and enabled him to anticipate his ordinary revenue.

It is probable that the greatest amount of money-dealing during the middle ages was carried on by the Royal Exchangers. There were laws against exporting English coin; and as the exchanging of the coin of the realm for foreign coin or bullion was held to be an especial royal prerogative, a "flower of the crown," the King's Exchanger was alone entitled to pass the current coins of the realm to merchant-strangers for those of their respective countries, and to supply foreign money to those who were going abroad, whether aliens or Englishmen. The house in which this business was transacted was commonly called the Exchange. In the reign of King John, the place where the exchange was made in London was in the street now called the Old 'Change, near St. Paul's. In the reign of Henry VII. the office of Royal Exchanger fell into disuse, but was re-established in 1627 by Charles I., who asserted in a proclamation on the subject that no person of whatever quality or trade had a right to meddle with the exchange of moneys without his special licence. He appointed the Earl of Holland to the sole office of "changer, exchanger, and outchanger;" and this measure having excited a good deal of dissatisfaction, a pamphlet was published the next year by the King's authority\*, defending the King's prerogative, which, it was asserted, had been exercised without dispute from the time of Henry I. until the reign of Henry VIII., when, as it was stated, the coin became so debased that no exchange could be made. This first afforded the London goldsmiths an opportunity of leaving off their trade of "goldsmitherie," that is, the working and selling of new gold and silver plate, and to turn exchangers of plate and foreign coin for English coin. The proclamation concluded by stating that "for above thirty years past it has been the usual practice of those exchanging goldsmiths to make their servants run every morning from shop to shop to buy up all weighty coins for the mints of Holland and the East countries, whereby the King's mint has stood still." The business of these goldsmiths or bankers rapidly increased, and their numbers also. In 1667 they were in the most flourishing state, when a *run* occurred, the first in the history of English banking, to awaken them to one of the dangers of their avocation. This was occasioned by the alarm into which London was thrown by the spirited attack of the Dutch on Sheerness and Chatham. A few years afterwards a much more serious crisis occurred. On the 2nd of January, 1672, the King suddenly shut up the Exchequer by the advice of the Cabal Ministry. This monstrous proceeding, equivalent to an act of national bankruptcy, spread ruin far and wide. The chief depositors are described as goldsmiths, among whom Sir Robert Vyner is returned as a creditor for £416,724, Edward Backwell for £295,994, Gilbert Whitehall for £248,666, Jeremiah Snow for £59,780: the total amount of the money seized was £1,328,526. For a few years interest at 6 per cent. was paid, the payment was then suspended, much litigation followed, and at length an act was passed, in 1699, by which, after December, 1705, an interest of 3 per cent. was charged on the revenue, subject to being redeemed on payment of a moiety of the debt. This moiety, £664,263, was the germ of our present national debt, and is the only part contracted before the revolution. Thus, previously to the establishment of the Bank of Eng-

\* 'Cambium Regius, or the Office of His Majesty's Exchanger Royal.'



and, the goldsmiths were the bankers of London, and laid the foundation of the present metropolitan banking system. Of the oldest private banks in London it is said that Child's, next to Temple Bar, can prove its existence from 1663, and the business has been carried on from that date to the present time on the same principles; Strahan, Paul, and Bates, in the Strand, represent the banking-house of the Jeremiah Snow, mentioned above, and their books go back as far as 1672; the origin of Hoare's bank, in Fleet Street, is traced to 1680. The firm of Stone, Martins, and Stones, of Lombard Street, claim to be the immediate successors to Sir Thomas Mowbray.

Soon after the Revolution several schemes were suggested by different individuals for the establishment of a national bank. The plan adopted was that of Mr. William Paterson, a Scotch gentleman, who, according to his own account, commenced his exertions for the establishment of a national bank in 1691. He had in view, from the first, the support of public credit, and the relief of the Government from the ruinous terms upon which the raising of the supplies and other financial operations were then conducted. The lowest rate, he tells us, at which advances used to be obtained from capitalists, even upon the land-tax, was 8 per cent., although repayment was made within the year, and premiums were generally granted to subscribers. On anticipations of other taxes, counting premiums, discount, and interest, the public had sometimes to pay 20, 30, and even 40 per cent.; nor was the money easily obtained when wanted, even on such terms. It was no uncommon thing for ministers to be obliged to solicit the Common Council of the city of London for so small a sum as £100,000 or £200,000, to be repaid from the first returns of the land-tax; and then, if the application was granted, particular Common Councilmen had in like manner to make humble suit to the inhabitants of their respective wards, going from house to house for contributions to the loan\*. Paterson, however, experienced considerable difficulty in prevailing upon the Ministry to investigate his scheme. King William was abroad when the proposal was brought before the Cabinet in 1693, and it was debated there at great length in the presence of the Queen. The project was ultimately laid before Parliament, where it was made a thorough party question. Notwithstanding the opposition, an Act was passed, which, in imposing certain duties, "towards carrying on the war with France," authorised their Majesties to grant a commission to take subscriptions for £1,200,000 out of the whole £1,500,000 which the new taxes were expected to raise, and to incorporate the subscribers into a Company under the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. Interest at 8 per cent. was to be allowed upon the money advanced, and also £4000 a year for management, making the whole annual payment to the Company £100,000. The Company were to be enabled to purchase lands, and to deal in bills of exchange, and gold and silver bullion, but were not to buy merchandise, though they might sell unredeemed goods in which they had made advances. This Act received the royal assent on the 25th of April, 1694. The subscription for the £1,200,000 was completed in ten days, 25 per cent. being paid down; and the Company received their royal charter of incorporation on the 27th of July. The new establishment soon proved its usefulness. Bishop Burnet, in his 'History,' says, "The advantages that the King and all concerned in allies had from the Bank were soon so sensibly felt, that all people saw into the secret reasons that made the enemies of the constitution set themselves with so much ear-

\* Paterson's 'Account of his Transactions in Relation to the Bank of England,' folio, 695; quoted in 'Pict. Hist. of England,' vol. iv. p. 692.



nestness against it." Paterson, the projector of the Bank, remarked that it "gave life and currency to double or treble the value of its capital;" and he ascribes to it no less an effect than the successful termination of the war. The Bank has ever since continued to make advances to the Government according to the necessities of the public service, upon what are called in the weekly returns issued by the Bank, Government securities, to an amount varying from £10,000,000 to £15,000,000, but averaging generally somewhat about £13,000,000. The permanent debt of the Government to the Bank on which they are allowed to calculate in their issue of notes is, altogether, £14,000,000. According to its original charter, the Bank was not to lend money to the Government without the consent of Parliament, under a penalty of three times the sum lent, one-fifth part of which was to go to the informer; but in 1792 an Act was passed abrogating this clause, with the understanding that the amount of sums lent should be annually laid before Parliament.

In 1718 the subscription for a loan to Government was made at the Bank instead of at the Treasury, and it has long had the entire management of the public debt. Since 1833 the allowance for that service has been reduced to £130,000 a year, having previously been £250,000; but before 1786 it was at a still higher rate, a reduction having then taken place from £562 10s. to £450 per million: the original allowance, however, was not less than £3333 6s. 8d. per million. In 1697 the Bank charter was renewed until 1711; in 1708 it was further continued to 1733; in 1712 to 1743; in 1742 to 1765; in 1763 to 1786; in 1781 to 1812; in 1800 to 1833; and in 1833 it was renewed until 1855, with a proviso that if, in 1845, Parliament thought fit, and the money owing by the Government to the Bank were paid up, the charter might be withdrawn. On the renewal of the charter in 1708, the Bank received a most important addition to its privileges by the prohibition of partnerships exceeding six persons carrying on the business of bankers. This privilege, however, has been since withdrawn. The period of renewing the charter has usually been made use of for the purpose of securing more advantageous terms for the public.

Almost as soon as it had been established, the Bank was called upon to assist the Government and the country in the entire recoinage of the silver money. The notes of the new bank and Montague's Exchequer bills were destined to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the calling in of the old coin; but as these notes were payable on demand, they were returned faster than coin could be obtained from the Mint, and during 1697 the Bank was forced to resort to a plan tantamount to a suspension of payment—giving coin for its notes, first by instalments of 10 per cent. once a fortnight, and afterwards only at the rate of 3 per cent. once in three months. The Directors also advertised that, while the silver was recoinage, "Such as think it fit, for their convenience, to keep an account in a book with the Bank, may transfer any sum under £5 from his own to another man's account." During the crisis the notes of the Bank fell to a discount of 20 per cent., and the Directors made two successive calls of 20 per cent. each on the proprietors of the Bank, which were but feebly responded to. The Bank at length got through its difficulties, and started afresh in its course. Fortunately it escaped being drawn into the vortex of ruin occasioned by the South Sea bubble, though, being called upon by the Government at this crisis to act with a view of supporting public credit, it had at least a narrow escape.

We pass on to 1745, the year of the rebellion, when the march of the Pretender's army into England threw London into consternation, and a run on the Bank for gold was the consequence. Its affairs were highly prosperous, and its capital exceeded £10,000,000, but, unfortunately, it was not abundantly provided with specie, and the

directors, in order to gain time, resorted to the expedient of paying in silver, and even did not disdain the advantage of using sixpences to accomplish this object. During the riots of 1780 a danger of another kind was experienced, and the Bank was certainly in some risk of being plundered. Since this affair a party of the foot-guards is stationed within the walls of the Bank every evening, and the Directors keep a table for the officer in command.

Before 1789 the Bank issued notes for no lower sum than £20, but in that year it commenced issuing notes for £15 and £10; in 1794 notes for £5; and in 1797 its whole economy was changed by the restriction of cash payments, and the issue of £1 and £2 notes. This was by far the most important epoch in the history of the Bank. The precious metals may be transmitted to any of the great commercial capitals of the continent at an expense of 5*s.* or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and whenever the balance of payments to those capitals is adverse to this country to such an extent as to render it more economical to send gold than to remit bills, the Bank is drained of its treasure. In this way there was a great efflux of bullion in 1795 and 1796, which was increased by the necessity of importing foreign corn, and by the enormous prices to which competition with the French had raised the price of naval stores in the Baltic. The domestic circumstances of the country aggravated the effect of this drain of the precious metals. The transition from peace to war had suddenly interrupted the labours of many great branches of industry; and a number of country banks had failed, spreading consternation and alarm in every direction, and creating an internal demand for specie as well as the one from abroad. Coincident with these circumstances was the alarm of invasion, which induced many to hoard the sums drawn from the banks. These causes were in full operation up to Saturday, the 26th of February, 1797, when the Bank treasure was reduced to £1,086,170. On that very day a Gazette Extraordinary was published announcing the landing of some troops in Wales from a French frigate. The alarm on the subject of invasion was deep and universal. At this critical juncture it was determined by an order in council to restrain the Bank from paying its notes in cash; and a messenger was sent to George III. at Windsor, requesting him to come to town on the following day to be present at the council. The newspapers of the day state that it was the first time during his reign that the King had come to town or transacted business on a Sunday. The order suspending cash payments was drawn up at this council. In this document the unusual demand for specie was attributed to "ill-founded and exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country;" but as there was reason to apprehend an insufficient supply of cash to meet this demand, it was determined that the Bank "should forbear any cash in payment until the sense of Parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures thereupon adopted for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important juncture."

The next morning the crowds assembled at the Bank with a view of demanding gold, received a hand-bill containing an official notice, in which the Directors stated that, in pursuance of the order in council communicated to them on the previous evening, they would "continue their usual discounts for the accommodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in *bank-notes*; and the dividend warrants will be paid in the same manner." The Directors assured the public that "the general concerns of the Bank were in a most affluent and prosperous situation, and such as to preclude any doubt as to the security of its notes." On the same day a meeting was held of merchants, bankers, and others, at which a declaration was



agreed to, which received above four thousand signatures, binding the parties to use bank-notes to any amount both in paying and receiving money. As Parliament was sitting, a Committee of Secrecy was appointed, which reported that the Bank had a surplus beyond its debts of £3,825,890, exclusive of the debt of £11,684,800 due from the Government.

The consequences of the Bank suspension are memorable, and a number of important monetary operations immediately became necessary. On the 6th of March the Bank announced that they were ready to issue dollars, valued at 4*s.* 6*d.* each. They were Spanish dollars, with the impress of the London Mint. Before they were issued it was ascertained that their value was about twopence more than stated, and on the 9th of March another notice appeared, stating that they would be issued at 4*s.* 9*d.* each. In 1804 the Bank issued five-shilling dollars, and subsequently "tokens" for 3*s.* and for 1*s.* 6*d.* Ten days after the Bank suspended cash payments, namely, on the 10th of March, 1797, an Act was passed authorising the Bank to issue, for the first time, notes for £1 and £2.

The first Bank Restriction Act was passed on the 3rd of May following the suspension of cash payments. It indemnified the Bank Directors against the consequences of complying with the order in council, and prohibited them paying cash except for sums under twenty shillings. The Act was to be in force until the 24th of June, only fifty-two days; but two days before it expired a second Act was passed, continuing the restriction until a month after the commencement of the succeeding session; and accordingly, on the 30th of the ensuing November, a third Act was passed to continue the restriction until six months after the termination of the war. On the Peace of Amiens the restriction was renewed until the 1st of March, 1803; and hostilities having re-commenced, it was continued until a definitive treaty of peace should be concluded. During the existence of the Bank restriction, Acts were passed declaring it illegal to take bank-notes at less, or gold for more, than the nominal value. In 1810 the famous Bullion Committee declared that gold and Bank paper were of equivalent value.

At length the great struggle was brought to a close; but 1816 being a period of great commercial distress and embarrassment, the Bank restriction was continued until July, 1818. In April, 1817, the Bank gave notice that after the 2nd of May ensuing all notes of £1 and £2, dated prior to the 1st of January, 1816, would be paid in cash; and in September of the same year the Directors stated that they would be prepared to pay cash for notes of every description dated prior to 1st of January, 1817. While the Bank was fulfilling these engagements, a Bill was carried through both Houses of Parliament, in 1819, in two days, restraining it from paying away more of its gold in pursuance of the notices of April and September, 1817. Above five millions sterling in gold had already been paid, the greater part of which had been re-exported and coined in foreign money. The bill commonly known as Peel's Act was passed in the same year. It provided for the absolute resumption of cash payments by the 1st of May, 1823, continuing the restriction as to payments in paper until February 1, 1820; and in the intervening period from the latter date to May, 1823, the Bank was required to pay its notes in bullion of standard fineness, but was not to be liable to a demand for a less quantity than sixty ounces at one time. The Bank Directors had now to raise £20,000,000 sterling of gold from foreign countries in the course of four years, to pay off first their own £1 notes, amounting to £7,500,000, and then the small notes of the country bankers, about £8,000,000 more, besides providing for the convertibility of all their own liabilities. After the



1st of May, 1821, they commenced paying off their notes under £5 in a new gold coinage, consisting of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, of which above £9,500,000 sterling had been received from the Mint. In 1822 the Bank was prepared to pay off the country small notes, when, "without any communication with the Bank, the Government thought proper to authorise a continuation of the country small notes until 1833."\* The bullion which the Bank had thus fruitlessly provided to facilitate this operation amounted to £14,200,000.

In December, 1825, occurred the "Great Panic." One of the great predisposing causes of this event was the reduction, in 1822 and 1823, of the interest on two descriptions of public stock comprising a capital of £215,000,000. The Bank agreed to advance the money to pay off the dissentients, of whom, amongst so large a body, there would no doubt be a considerable number. Many of these persons, annoyed at finding their incomes diminished, were disposed to invest their capital in speculations of very doubtful if not hazardous character. The years 1823 and 1824 were remarkable for the feverish excitement with which all sorts of projects for the profitable employment of money were regarded. England had not been in such a whirligig of speculation since the unfortunate South Sea scheme, above a century before. Besides many millions of foreign loans which were contracted for, the total number of joint-stock projects amounted to 626, and to have carried them all into execution would have required a capital of £372,000,000 sterling†. There were not fewer than 74 mining companies, with an aggregate capital of £78,000,000 sterling. The imagination revelled in visions of unbounded wealth to be realised from the mines of Mexico, of Brazil, of Peru, of Chili, of the Rio de la Plata, or from one or other of the six hundred schemes which dazzled the eyes of the public. "In all these speculations only a small instalment, seldom exceeding 5 per cent., was paid at first; so that a very moderate rise on the price of the shares produced a large profit on the sum actually invested. If, for instance, shares of £100, on which £5 had been paid, rose to a premium of £40, this yielded on every share a profit equal to eight times the money which had been paid. This possibility of enormous profit by risking a small sum was a bait too tempting to be resisted; all the gambling propensities of human nature were consequently solicited into action; and crowds of individuals of every description hastened to venture some portion of their property in schemes of which scarcely anything was known except the name."‡ The wildness of speculation was not, however, confined to joint-stock projects, but reached at length to commercial produce generally. Money was abundant, and circulated with rapidity; prices and profits rose higher and higher; and, in short, all went merry as a marriage bell.

At length the tide turned, and there was a fearful transition from unbounded credit and confidence to general discredit and distrust. In February, 1825, the bullion in the Bank had been reduced by some £3,000,000 sterling since the commencement of the previous October, but it still amounted to £8,750,000. In consequence, however, of the previous heavy demand for the produce of other countries the exchanges were unfavourable, and the drain of bullion still continued. In August the Bank treasure was diminished to £3,634,320; and thus, when the period of discredit arrived,—and

\* Memorandum by the Bank Directors delivered to the Parliamentary Committee in 1832.

† English's 'Complete View of the Joint-Stock Companies formed during the years 1824 and 1825.'

‡ 'Annual Register' for 1824.

such a reaction was the necessary consequence of the previous madness of speculation,—the Bank was ill able to sustain the violent pressure. The real panic began on the 5th of December, when a London bank failed at which the agency of above forty country banks was transacted. The effect of this single event was tremendous. Lombard Street was filled with persons hastening to the different banks to withdraw their investments, or to ascertain if they had succumbed to the general shock. On the 6th several other banks failed. The Bank had ceased to issue its own notes for sums under £5; but the country bankers, whose small notes were still in circulation, were subject to a run in every part of the country, and the demands for gold through so many channels of course finally affected the Bank; but it boldly kept its course, paying away gold as soon as called for in bags of twenty-five sovereigns each\*. Instead of contracting their issues, as the Directors of 1797 had done under a similar crisis, they resolutely extended them. On one day they discounted 4200 bills. On the 8th of December the discounts at the Bank amounted to £7,500,000; on the 15th they were £11,500,000; and on the 29th £15,000,000. All mercantile paper that had any pretensions to security was freely discounted. On the 3rd the circulation of the Bank was £17,500,000, and on the 24th it was £25,500,000. Mr. Jarman, one of the Directors at this period, stated to the Parliamentary Committee of 1832 the steps which the Bank took during this crisis:—"We took in stock as security; we purchased Exchequer bills; we not only discounted outright, but we made advances on deposits of bills of exchange to an immense amount; and we were not upon some occasions over nice, seeing the dreadful state in which the public were." The severest pressure was experienced during the week ending 17th December, when fortunately a pause occurred. Mr. Richards, who was Deputy-Governor of the Bank at this time, in his evidence before the same Committee, said: "Upon that Saturday night (17th December) we were actually expecting gold on the Monday; but what was much more important, whether from fatigue, or whether from being satisfied, the public mind had yielded to circumstances, and the tide turned at the moment on that Saturday night." And being asked if the supplies expected on Monday would have been sufficient to have saved the Bank from being drained, he said: "During the week ending on the 24th there was a demand; but the supply that came in fully equalised it, if it did not do more; and the confidence had become as nearly as possible perfect by the evening of the 24th." In this latter week a box containing between 600,000 and 700,000 one-pound notes, which had been placed on one side as unused, was discovered, it is said by accident, and these were immediately issued. Mr. Jarman, alluding to this circumstance, said: "As far as my judgment goes, it saved the credit of the country." This, however, is probably attributing too much weight to the matter, seeing that the great pressure was over in the previous week. To use the words of another Bank Director: "Bullion came in, and the mint coined; they worked double tides; in short, they were at work night and day, and we were perpetually receiving gold from abroad and coin from the mint." On the 24th of December the Bank treasure was reduced to £426,000 in coin, and £601,000 in bullion; together, £1,027,000.

\* The largest amount of gold coin that could be paid during banking hours (from nine to five) in one day, by twenty-five clerks, if counted by hand to the persons demanding it, is about £50,000. On the 14th of May, 1832, when £307,000 in gold was paid, the tellers counted 25 sovereigns into one scale and 25 into the other, and if they balanced, continued the operation until there were 200 in each scale. In this way £1000 can be paid in a few minutes. The weight of 1000 sovereigns is 21 lbs.: 512 bank-notes weigh 1 lb.



On the 28th of February, 1797, when the Bank suspended cash payments, its stock of coin and bullion was rather greater, being £1,086,170. The Bank, however, was only just saved from a second suspension; but the Government absolutely declined to entertain such a proposition when the Directors intimated the probability of their being run dry. The panic of 1825 hastened several changes in the constitution of banks.

On the 13th January, 1826, the Government made a communication to the Bank Directors, proposing the establishment of branch banks in some of the principal towns, and that the corporation should surrender its exclusive privilege restricting the number of partners in a bank, except within a certain distance of London, thus paving the way for the introduction of Joint-Stock Banks. In pursuance of those suggestions the Bank established branches at Gloucester, Manchester, and Swansea, and at several other places in the following year, much to the dissatisfaction of the country bankers: the number of branches is now twelve. In 1826, also, an Act was passed permitting banks to be established beyond sixty-five miles of London with any number of partners. In 1833, on the renewal of its charter, the Bank surrendered other of its privileges, in consequence of which Joint-Stock Banks issuing their notes might be established at a distance of sixty-five miles from London, and within that distance—that is, in the metropolis—provided they issued only the notes of the Bank of England. There are now above a hundred Joint-Stock Banks in England, several of which are established in London; and many private banks in the country have been thrown open to joint-stock associations. The first joint-stock banks in the country were established at Lancaster and Huddersfield; the first in London was the London and Westminster Bank, which commenced business in 1834.

A slight run on the Bank occurred in 1832, when the Reform Bill received a check. The largest sum paid in one day in exchange for notes was £307,000.

But the most important measure of recent legislation as regards banking was the 7 and 8 Vict., cap. 32, passed July 19, 1844. It enacts, that from the following August the issue of the Bank of England promissory notes is to be carried on separately from the general banking business, under the title of "The Issue Department of the Bank of England;" that securities, consisting of the public debt due to the company to the amount of £14,000,000, are to be set apart, together with so much gold coin and gold and silver bullion as is not required in the banking department; whereupon an equal amount of bank-notes is to be transferred to the banking department, issued on the credit of such securities, coin, and bullion; the amount of silver bullion is never to exceed in value a fourth part of the gold coin and bullion held at the same time, and all persons may demand from the Issue Department notes for gold bullion at the rate of £3 17s. 9d. per ounce. From the passing of the Act no banking firm which had not previously been in the practice of issuing their own notes can hereafter do so; any one discontinuing the issue cannot resume it, but such as had hitherto issued notes were allowed to continue on making certain returns to the Commissioners of Stamps and Taxes, who were to certify the amount of bank notes authorised to be issued, such amount depending on the average amount in circulation in the first four weeks following the 10th of October, 1844. On any banking firm ceasing to issue their own notes the Privy Council may authorise the Bank of England to increase their securities beyond the sum of £14,000,000, and issue additional notes, not to exceed the amount of the securities, nor to exceed two-thirds of the amount of the notes which the bank so ceasing may have been authorized to issue. Notes issued by the Bank of England are exempted from the stamp duty. The accounts of the Bank of England and all other banks are rendered weekly to the Stamp Commissioners,



and are published in the 'London Gazette.' The return for March 29, 1851, is as follows:—

## ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued . . . .	£27,556,410	Government Debt . . .	£11,015,100
		Other Securities . . .	2,984,900
		Gold Coin and Bullion .	13,523,035
		Silver Bullion . . . .	33,375
	£27,556,410		£27,556,410

## BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital . .	£14,553,000	Government Securities (in-	
Rest . . . . .	3,622,726	cluding Dead Weight An-	
Public Deposits (includ-		nuity) . . . . .	£14,145,250
ing Exchequer, Savings		Other Securities . . .	14,063,963
Banks, Commissioners		Notes . . . . .	8,594,275
of National Debt, and		Gold and Silver Coin . .	689,769
Dividend Accounts) . .	8,999,881		
Other Deposits . . . .	9,266,234		
Seven-day and other Bills	1,051,416		
	£37,493,257		£37,493,257

The total circulation of notes in the United Kingdom for the month ending Feb. 22, 1851, was—

Bank of England . . . . .	£19,107,119
Private Banks . . . . .	3,473,939
Joint-Stock Banks . . . . .	2,689,104
Scotland . . . . .	3,138,226
Ireland . . . . .	4,741,051
	£33,149,439

In 1815 the Bank had £27,500,000 in circulation in notes. In 1850 the total amount of the issue to the banking department averaged during the year £30,000,000, but the amount in circulation fluctuated between £19,000,000 and £21,000,000. Its notes are a legal tender, except at the Bank and its branches, where they are convertible to gold on demand. The Bank never re-issues the same notes, even if they are returned on its hands the day they are sent out. The machinery for manufacturing the paper, and for printing and numbering the notes (which is done in the Bank), is very ingenious. In 1820 an Act was passed authorising the Directors to impress by machinery the signatures to the notes, instead of being subscribed by hand. The notes now issued, from the various intricate processes adopted in their manufacture, are as difficult of imitation as in the first instance they were easy, and the facility led to very deplorable results.

The first forgery of a bank-note occurred in 1758, when the person who forged it was convicted and executed. Forgery at common law was originally only a misdemeanour, but with the extension of commerce, and particularly the adoption of a paper currency, Acts were passed rendering the crime capital. In 1781 it was decided that the Bank was not liable for the payment of forged notes. A more easily fabricated instrument was never issued, and detection only ensued when the note reached a certain department of the Bank, where its spuriousness was detected from certain *private* marks. The consequence was that forgery, which was a comparatively rare

crime before 1797, became a very common offence ; and every year public feeling was outraged by the execution of numerous victims to the facility with which the wretchedly-engraved notes of the Bank were imitated. In 1820 there were 101 persons convicted of forgery, and 272 for having forged notes in their possession. In 1818 the number of persons executed for forgery was 24. Two remarkable cases of forgery, by which the Bank was a loser to a large amount, occurred in 1803 and 1824. In the former year Mr. Astlett, one of the chief cashiers, by re-issuing Exchequer bills, defrauded the Bank to the amount of £320,000. The other case was that of Mr. Fauntleroy, the acting partner of a bank in Berners Street, who, in order to keep up the credit of the house, forged powers of attorney, by which he sold out of the funds large sums of money belonging to different persons, continuing to pay the dividends upon them until his detection. A statement was found at the banking-house, in Fauntleroy's handwriting, acknowledging his crime. It was dated May, 1816, and a postscript was added to the following effect:—"The Bank began first to refuse to discount our acceptances, and to destroy the credit of our house: the Bank shall smart for it." The total loss to the Bank from Fauntleroy's forgeries amounted to £360,000.

By the Act 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Wm. IV., cap. 66, the punishment of death for forgery was abolished, and a punishment varying from transportation for life to imprisonment for two years was substituted.

Little or no alteration has been made in the constitution of the Bank since it was first incorporated. The government of the Bank rests entirely with the Governor and Deputy-Governor and twenty-four Directors, eight of whom go out every year, and eight others are elected by proprietors holding £500 of Bank Stock ; but, practically, the eight who come in are nominated by the whole court,—that is, a "house list" containing their names being submitted at a general meeting, no opposition is made to their appointment. There are four general meetings in the course of the year ; but beyond these, and the regular communications which take place between the court and the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there is no control over their proceedings ; and the Ministers of the Crown have no legal authority to enforce any alteration in the policy of the Directors, though their views are of course always considered with attention. The Governor and a select committee of three Directors who have passed the chair sit daily at the Bank. On the Wednesday a court of ten Directors sit to consider all London bills sent in for discount. On another day there is a full meeting of the Directors, when all London notes of more than £2000 come under review, and a statement is read of the exact position of the Bank. The "Bank parlour" is an expression commonly used in reference to the decisions of the Bank Directors. The total allowance of the Directors is about £8000 a year. They are not usually large holders of Bank Stock. The qualification for Governor is £4000 ; Deputy-Governor, £3000 ; and Director, £2000.

The profits of the Bank are derived from the interest paid by the Government on their capital lent, from the interest on Exchequer bills and other Government securities, from mercantile bills discounted, the management of the public debt, from its permanent capital, its notes in circulation, and from the use of the deposits, on which it does not allow interest.

It is not necessary to give a minute account of the extensive pile of buildings in which the business of the Bank is carried on. The business was conducted for many years at Grocers' Hall, in the Poultry. On the 3rd of August, 1732, the Governors and Directors laid the first stone of their new building in Threadneedle Street, on the site of the house and garden formerly belonging to Sir John Houblon, the first Governor of the Bank : it was from the design of Mr. George Sampson, and was



opened for business on the 5th of June, 1734. At first the Bank buildings comprised only the centre of the principal or south front, the Hall, Bullion Court, and the courtyard. The east and west wings were added by Sir Robert Taylor, between the years 1766 and 1786; and the remainder of the structure was completed by Sir John Soane, who was appointed the Bank architect in 1788. He rebuilt many of those parts constructed by Sampson and Taylor, and the whole of the edifice as it now stands may be said to be from his designs. The effect on the whole was good, though scarcely lofty enough to be impressive. In 1848 Mr. C. R. Cockerell, the successor of Sir John Soane, was instructed to remedy this defect, and he succeeded in effecting a great improvement by very slight alterations. The centre of the south front, the most unsatisfactory part of Soane's building, received a better and richer cornice, and a handsome balustrade crowned with vases was added to the height with great advantage to the general effect. In the wings the alterations were greater: the attic was raised several feet, formed into bold masses over the end pavilions of each wing, and connected together with a balustrade, behind which the intermediate portion of the attic is set considerably back, by which a happy variety and play of light and shade is obtained; nor are the advanced masses less happily treated, the windows introduced obviate the appearance of heaviness which might otherwise have attended the increased height, while they render more apparent the solidity of the lower part of the edifice. It now covers an irregular space of four acres, comprising the greater part of the parish of St. Christopher. The exterior walls of the south side measure 365 feet; the length of the west side is 440 feet; of the north side 410 feet; and of the east side 245 feet. This area comprises nine open courts—the Rotunda, committee-rooms, apartments for officers and servants, and the rooms appropriated to business. The principal suite of rooms is on the ground-floor, and, having no apartments over them, the light is admitted from above by lantern lights and domes. The number of rooms beneath this floor and below the surface of the ground is greater than of those above ground. Here are the vaults in which the Bank treasure is deposited. The material used throughout the greater part of the edifice is stone, and every means have been taken to render it indestructible by fire. Any person may walk into the Rotunda and most of the principal apartments. Speaking of the Pay Hall, where bank-notes are issued and exchanged for cash, Baron Dupin, in his 'Commercial Power of Great Britain,' says, "The administration of a French bureau, with all its *inaccessibilities*, would be startled at the view of this hall." It is 79 feet long by 40 wide, and forms a part of the original building by Sampson. A statue of King William III., who is called "the founder of the Bank," was placed here when the business was transferred from Grocers' Hall. Amongst the principal apartments of the Bank is the Three per Cent. Consol Office, 90 feet long by 50 wide, designed from models of the Roman baths, and constructed without timber. The Bank Stock Office is designed in a similar style. The Dividend Warrant Office is a new room, constructed in 1835 by Mr. Cockerell. It is situated in the west wing of the south front, and is divided longitudinally into three spaces by two series of coupled Corinthian columns, forming six wide inter-columns on each side, five of which on the side towards the court correspond with as many Venetian windows. The centre avenue is much loftier than the others, offices having been formed above the lateral ones, which offices are lighted by a series of windows in the upper part of the central division. The side divisions of the room are also parted off in the middle by an open Venetian window with double columns and pilasters. The architectural ornaments are rich and becoming, and the ceiling of each compartment of the lateral divisions is of particularly rich and bold design. Emblematic figures in bas-relief are placed over the entablatures on each side of



the Venetian windows and the corresponding blank compartments. The Chamberlain's Office, simply decorated and lighted by large and lofty windows, No. 30. The Court Room is a handsome apartment, of the Composite order, after Sir Robert Taylor's design. It is lighted on the south side by Venetian windows, and opens upon a pleasant area planted with trees and shrubs, which was formerly the garden of St. Christopher's.

The bankers of London are the successors of the "new-fashioned bankers," who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, added the trade of money-lending to that of goldsmiths. An alteration in the state of the law relating to promissory notes, in 1695, was very favourable to the increase of private banks; but it was not till the middle of the century that they became distinguished for their great and extensive business. The number of private banks in London fifty years ago was 100, of which only 24 are now in existence. The number is at present 74, including 10 colonial and 9 joint-stock banks. Lombard Street still maintains its position as the great centre of the dealers in money.

We conclude this paper with a short notice of the Clearing Establishment, first set on foot by the private bankers in 1770. The present Clearing House is situated in the corner of a court at the back of the Guardian Insurance Office in Lombard Street. The business was originally managed by the clerks of the banks, who met in the street, or in a public-house parlour. The insecurity of the system led to its being transacted first in a room at Messrs. Barnett and Co.'s, and then at Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith's. The object of the Clearing House is to clear the cheques and bills of exchange, on the authority of which payments and receipts of money by bankers are made, are taken to the clearing-bankers to the Clearing House several times in the day, and the bills drawn on one banker are cancelled by those which he holds on the other. Joint-stock banks are excluded from this association of private bankers. Private bankers, from the nature of their business, do not require the aid of the Clearing House, and others are too distant to maintain the necessary communication with the Clearing House. Perhaps there are not more than 100 persons in London, unconnected with banking, who have entered of this celebrated establishment; but an authentic detail of its arrangements some years ago published by Mr. Tate, author of the 'Modern Cambist,' to assist and refer those who desire something more than a general idea of the Clearing House is fitted up with desks for each of the present twenty-five banks, whose names, taking the first of each firm, are arranged in the following order as follows, over each desk:—

Mr. A. B.	Fuller	Prescott	Stevenson
Mr. C. D.	Glyn	Price	Stone
Mr. E. F.	Hanbury	Roberts	Veres
Mr. G. H.	Hankey	Rogers	Weston
Mr. I. J.	Jones	Smith	Williams
Mr. K. L.	Lubbock	Spooner	Willis
Mr. M. N.	Masterman		

Mr. Tate says, "The rapidity with which the last charges are required to be entered, the bustle which is created by their swift distribution through the room, and the order to be conceived. It is, then, on the point of striking four, and on days of

**System of the London Bankers' Clearances Explained and Exemplified.**

heavy business, that the beauty of the alphabetical arrangement of the clearers' desk is to be seen. All the distributors are moving the same way round the room, with no further interference than may arise from the more active pressing upon or outstripping the slower of their fellow-assistants. With equal celerity are their last credits entered by the clearers. A minute or two having passed, all the noise has ceased. The deputy-clearers have left with the last charges on their houses; the clearers are silently occupied in casting up the amounts of the accounts in their books, balancing them, and entering the differences in their balance-sheets, until at length announcements begin to be heard of the probable amounts to be received or paid, as a preparation for the final settlement. The four o'clock balances having been entered in the balance-sheet, each clearer goes round to check and mark off his accounts with the rest, with 'I charge you,' or 'I credit you,' according as each balance is in his favour or against him."

In the Appendix to the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Banks, there is a return of the payments made through the Clearing House for the year 1839, and, omitting all sums under £100, the total was £954,401,600. The average for each day would consequently be rather more than £3,000,000 sterling (the actual payments range from £1,500,000 to £6,250,000), while that of the sums actually paid was about £213,000. It has, however, sometimes happened that a single house has had to pay above half a million of money. The payments through the Clearing House of three bankers, in 1839, ranged from £100,000,000 to £107,000,000 each.

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## THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

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"This country," said the late Mr. Rothschild, in 1832, "is, in general, the Bank for the whole world—I mean, that all transactions in India, in China, in Germany, in Russia, and in the whole world, are all guided here, and settled in this country." The centre of these operations, the heart, as it were, of this "Bank for the whole world," is a circumscribed spot lying eastward of the Mansion House. Here are the Bank and the Royal Exchange, the Stock Exchange, the great private and Joint-stock Banks, the offices of the bullion, bill, and discount brokers, and of the stock and share brokers. Some years ago, in pulling down the French church in Thread-needle Street, there was exposed to view a tessellated pavement, which, at least fourteen centuries ago, had borne the actual tread of Roman feet; and the immediate neighbourhood was probably the most opulent part of Roman London. A greater power than the Roman, a power of which the masters of the old world had no conception, now reigns supreme on this very spot. As a witty writer (the Rev. Sydney Smith) has remarked, "The warlike power of every country depends on their Three per Cents. If Cæsar were to re-appear on earth, Wettenhall's List would be more important than his Commentaries; Rothschild would open and shut the Temple of Janus; Thomas Baring, or Bates, would probably command the Tenth Legion; and the soldiers would march to battle with loud cries of Scrip and Omnium Reduced, Consols and Cæsar."

Three centuries ago the centre of the money-power of Europe was at Antwerp. But, in 1566, Clough, the agent of Sir Thomas Gresham in the Low Countries, ex-



used an opinion that, were proper means taken to create confidence, "there would more money found in London than in Andwerpe, whensomever the Queene's Ma-y should have need;" and in 1570 Gresham proceeded to act upon this opinion. King to Cecil, he urged upon him the expediency of raising the necessary supply money for the Queen from her own subjects, "wherebie all other princes maie see at a Prince of power she ys." A loan was therefore proposed to the Merchant-venturers, who referred it to a common hall, where it was negatived by a show of hands, a proceeding not very imprudent, considering the bad faith of Her Majesty as borrower of money. In our account of the Royal Exchange we have related how Gresham overcame this reluctance, and how, as the confidence of the merchants was tried by punctuality in the payment of the interest and principal, loans were afterwards frequently negotiated between them and the state. This was a great improvement on the practice which Elizabeth had been in the habit of resorting to for raising most paltry sums, which she was accustomed to demand peremptorily of one or other of the City Companies.

The growth of the National Debt, and with its increase the extraordinary development of the financial capabilities of the country and its high credit, would astound men who lived only a century ago, while to us the wonder is that less than a century and a half since (in 1702) the public debt of the nation was little more than seven millions sterling. Such a debt as this could now be paid off at a day's notice. In 1736 the debt did not exceed fifty millions; in 1756 (not a century ago) it amounted to about seventy-four millions; in 1776 (within the memory of persons living) it was no more than one hundred and thirty-two millions. The American war added it to two hundred and sixty-eight millions; and the first war with France, ending with the Peace of Amiens, increased it to six hundred and twenty-two millions. At the conclusion of the Peace in 1815, the debt was eight hundred and sixty-five millions; and after nearly forty years' peace it is little less than eight hundred millions. In 1792 the entire public expenditure, including the interest of the debt, was under twenty millions; and in 1814, for that one year, it exceeded one hundred millions; while from 1806 to 1815 the average was above eighty-four millions. The excess of expenditure over income in these twenty-four years of war was upwards of four hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. Large fortunes were made during this period by loans and stock-jobbing. At the commencement of the struggle with France nothing could exceed the energy and spirit of the country. In December, 1796, a loan of £18,000,000 was raised with extraordinary rapidity. Negotiations for peace had been for some time pending between the British Government and the French Directory. The French authorities seemed to be unwilling to come to terms, and their reluctance was supposed in this country to arise from an opinion that the pecuniary resources of England were crippled, or, perhaps, nearly exhausted. Mr. Pitt, who was then minister, to show that his power of raising money was as great as ever, asked for a loan of £18,000,000 for the service of the ensuing year (1797). The plan by which this large sum was to be raised he communicated to the Bank Directors in the following notice:—"Every person subscribing £100, to receive £2 in 5 per cent. stock, to be irredeemable, unless with the consent of the owner, until the expiration of three years after the present 5 per cents. shall have been redeemed or reduced, but with the option of the holder to be paid at par, at any other period, not less than two years from the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. Payment in either case to be made in money, or, at the option of the holder, at 3 per cent. stock valued at 75, liable, if wished, to be converted for a certain proportion into a life annuity. The first payment on the 13th of January, the second in



March, the remaining instalments between March and the October following. The receipts not to be issuable till after the second instalment, or till after £20 has been deposited on each £100. Discount, as usual, on prompt payment." The hopes of the nation were strong that by a great demonstration of the unexhausted power of England to continue the war, they would destroy the unfounded notion of the French Directory, and thus accelerate the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

The subscription was opened on Thursday, December 1st. The Bank, in its corporate capacity, subscribed one million sterling, and each of the Directors individually £400,000. When the books were closed the first day five millions had been subscribed, and when they were closed on Friday, the second day, the subscriptions amounted to £11,900,000 and upwards. The eagerness to subscribe was not less on the Saturday. On Monday, the 5th, the country subscriptions were entered first, before the doors were opened, and when this was done little remained to complete the eighteen millions. The lobby was crowded. When the doors were opened at ten o'clock as usual, numbers could not get near the books at all, and many persons called to those who were signing to enter their names for them. So great and so general was the desire to subscribe, that the room was a scene of the utmost confusion. At twenty minutes past eleven the subscription was declared to be full, and great numbers were compelled reluctantly to go away without having subscribed. Persons continued to come long afterwards, and a vast number of orders were sent by post which were too late to be executed. It is a curious fact that the subscription for this enormous sum was completed in fifteen hours and twenty minutes, that is, December 1st, two hours; December 2nd, six hours; December 3rd, six hours; December 5th, one hour and twenty minutes. Most of the corporations in the City (one of which, about two centuries before, reluctantly raised £60 for Queen Elizabeth) subscribed £200,000, and most of the bankers £50,000. The loan, from the stimulus of national excitement under which it was raised, was designated the *Loyalty Loan*.

The South Sea Bubble created so much prejudice against speculators in the public securities that, in 1720, the House of Commons passed a vote without opposition to the effect "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit than preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." A pamphlet, published in 1719, entitled 'The Anatomy of Exchange Alley,' shows that all the ordinary artifices for raising or depressing the prices of stocks by false rumours were in full practice by the ingenious speculators of that day. "If they meet with a cull, a young dealer that has money to lay out, they catch him at the door, whisper to him, 'Sir, here is a great piece of news; it is not yet public; it is worth a thousand guineas but to mention it. I am heartily glad I met you, but let it be as secret as the black side of your soul, for they know nothing of it yet in the Coffee House; if they should, stock would rise ten per cent. in a moment, and I warrant you South Sea stock will be at £130 in a week's time after it is known.' 'Well,' says the weak creature, 'prithee, dear Tom, what is it?' 'Why, really, sir, I will let you into the secret upon your honour to keep it till you hear of it from other hands. Why, 't is this; the Pretender is certainly taken, and is carried prisoner to the Castle of Milan.'" The "cull" is referred to the Secretary of State's office, and there, according to the pamphlet, a confederate meets him and gives a pretended confirmation of the rumour. In the end the unwary man is "bubbled." At this period the great resort of the speculators was Jonathan's Coffee House, in Change Alley, or "the Alley," as it was called. In 1762, an action was brought against the proprietor of Jonathan's for pushing the plaintiff out of the house; and it being proved that the place had been a market, time out of mind, for buying and selling Government securities, the jury, under the direction of Chief Jus-

tice Mansfield, brought in a verdict in the plaintiff's favour, with one shilling damages. As the business of stock-jobbing increased, a more commodious room was opened in Threadneedle Street, to which, as we are informed, admission was obtained on payment of sixpence. The Bank Rotunda was, at one period, the place where bargains in stocks were made. Towards the close of the last century the increased scale of transactions in the Funds, and the new loans which were continually being raised, induced the principal frequenters of the stock-market to subscribe for the erection of a building for their accommodation. Capel Court, on the east side of Bartholomew Lane, once the residence of Sir William Capel, Lord Mayor in 1504, was fixed upon as a convenient situation for the purpose. The first stone was laid on the 18th of May, 1801, and contains an inscription, which states, for the information of remote posterity, that the National Debt was then upwards of five hundred millions. This building, which is the present Stock Exchange, was opened in March, 1802. The entrance to Capel Court is nearly opposite the door at the east end of the Bank leading to the room in that building called the Rotunda.

No one is allowed to transact business at the Stock Exchange unless he is a member. If a stranger unluckily wanders into the place he is quickly hustled out. There are about three hundred and fifty firms of stock-brokers in London, whose places of business are situated in the streets, courts, and alleys within five minutes' walk of the Royal Exchange. To these we must add thirty or forty bullion, bill, and discount brokers. All the more respectable of these money-dealers are members of the Stock Exchange, and the total number of members is at present about six hundred and fifty. The admission takes place by ballot, and the committee of the Stock Exchange, which consists of twenty-four members, is elected in the same manner. Every new member of the "house," as it is called, must be introduced by three respectable members, each of whom enters into security in £300 for two years. At the end of two years, when the respectability of the party is supposed to be fairly ascertained and known, the liability of the sureties ceases; but, as each member of the house is re-elected every year, if in the course of the preceding twelvemonth there is anything discreditable in his conduct, he is not re-elected. If a member becomes a defaulter, he ceases to be a member; though, after inquiry, he may be re-admitted on paying a certain composition; but he must be re-admitted, if at all, by vote of the committee. When a member becomes unable to pay his creditors, there are certain official assignees who receive all the money due to him and divide it amongst his creditors. No man can be re-admitted unless he pays 6s. 8d. in the pound, from resources of his own, over and above what has been collected from his debtors. As some of the practices of the Stock Exchange are contrary to law, and cannot be enforced in the courts, the members are only to be held to them by a sense of honour, and such restraints in the way of exposure and degradation as the governing committee may be authorised to apply by the general body of members. Cases of dishonourable or disgraceful conduct are punished by expulsion. The names of defaulters are posted on the "black board," and, in the language of the Stock Exchange, they are then technically called "lame ducks." In short, the committee have the power of effectually destroying the credit of a member whose transactions are of a dishonourable nature. They investigate the conduct of members whenever called upon by other parties, and give their award according to the evidence.

The two leading classes of men who have dealings on the Stock Exchange are the jobbers and the brokers, though the business peculiar to each is not unfrequently transacted by one person. Some members deal for the most part in English stocks, others in foreign, and many confine their attention principally to shares in mines,



railways, canals, joint-stock banks, and other public companies; some call themselves discount-brokers and money-dealers, and transact business to a large extent in commercial securities—that is, in bills drawn by merchants and tradesmen on mercantile transactions. Bargains are made in the presence of a third party, and the terms are simply entered in a pocket-book; but they are checked next day, and the jobber's clerk (their clerks are members also of the house) pays or receives the money, and sees that the securities are correct. There are but three or four dealers in Exchequer Bills, and the greater number of these securities pass through their hands. The majority of the members of the Stock Exchange employ their capital in any way which offers the slightest chance of profit, and keep it in convertible securities, so that it can be changed from hand to hand almost at a moment's notice. The brokers are employed to execute the orders of bankers, merchants, capitalists, and private individuals; and the jobbers on 'Change are the parties with whom they deal. When the broker appears in the market he is surrounded by the jobbers. One of the "cries" of the Stock Exchange is "Borrow money? borrow money?" a singular one to general apprehension; but it must be understood that the credit of the borrower must either be first-rate or his security of the most satisfactory nature; and that it is not the principal who goes into this market, but his broker. "Have you money to lend to-day?" is a question asked with a nonchalance which would astonish the simple man who goes to a "friend" with such a question in his mouth. "Yes," may be the reply. "I want £10,000 or £20,000." "On what security?" for that is the vital question; and that point being settled, the transaction goes on smoothly and quickly enough. Another mode of doing business is to conceal the object of the borrower or lender, who asks, "What are Exchequer?" The answer may be, "Forty to forty-two." That is, the party addressed will buy £1000 at 40s. and sell £1000 at 42s. The jobbers cluster around the broker, who perhaps says, "I must have a price in £5000." If it suits them they will say, "Five with me, five with me, five with me," making fifteen; or they will say each, "Ten with me;" and it is the broker's business to get these parties pledged to buy of him at 40, or to sell to him at 42, they not knowing whether he is a buyer or seller. The broker then declares his purpose, saying, for example, "Gentlemen, I sell to you £20,000 at 40s.;" and the sum is then apportioned among them. If the money were wanted only for a month, and the Exchequer market remained the same during that time, the buyer would have to give 42 in the market for what he sold at 40, being the difference between the buying and the selling price; besides which he would have to pay the broker 1s. per cent. commission on the sale, and 1s. per cent. on the purchase again on the bills, which would make altogether 4s. per cent. If the object of the broker be to buy Consols, the jobber offers to buy his £20,000 at 96, or to sell him that amount at 96½, without being at all aware which he is engaging himself to do. The same person may not know on any particular day whether he will be a borrower or lender. If he has sold stock and has not repurchased, about one or two o'clock in the day he would be a lender of money; but if he has bought stock, and not sold, he would be a borrower. Immense sums are lent on condition of being recalled at the short notice of a few hours. These loans are often for so short a period, that the uninitiated, who have no other idea of borrowing than that which the old proverb supplies, that "He who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing," would wonder that any man should borrow £10,000 or £20,000 for a day, or at most a fortnight, and which is liable to be called for at the shortest notice. The facilities which the Stock Exchange affords for the easy flow of capital in any direction where profit is to be secured will explain the mystery. The directors of a railway company, whose receipts are £12,000 or £14,000 per week, instead of locking up this



in every week in their strong-box, as a premium for the ingenuity of the London jobbers, authorise a broker to lend it on proper securities. Persons who pay large duties to Government at fixed periods, and are in receipt of these duties from the time of their last payment, make something of the gradually accumulating sum by lending it for a week or two. A person whose capital is intended to be laid out in mortgage on real property finds it advantageous to lend it out until he meets with a suitable offer. The great bankers have constantly large sums which are not required for their till, and they direct their brokers to lend this surplus cash on the Stock Exchange. One banker lends about £400,000 to the jobbers on every settling day. Bankers are also borrowers at times, as well as lenders. The Bank of England sometimes, and also the East India Company, employ their brokers to raise money on the Stock Exchange. Some members of the Stock Exchange call themselves, appropriately enough, "managers of balances." Whatever the market rate of interest may be, it is more advantageous to a capitalist to employ his resources at the smallest rate of profit rather than that it should remain idle. Sometimes the jobber, at the close of the day, will lend his money at 1 per cent. rather than not employ it at all. But the extraordinary fluctuations in the rate of interest, even in the course of a single day, is a sufficient temptation to the money-lender to resort to the Stock Exchange. During the shutting of the stocks money is invariably scarce; but as soon as the dividends become payable, it is again abundant. At other times, on one day the rate of interest will be 10 per cent. and the next day only 2. The rate of interest offered in the morning will also frequently differ from that which can be obtained in the afternoon. Instances have occurred in which everybody has been anxious to lend money in the morning at 4 per cent., when about two o'clock money has become so scarce that it could with difficulty be borrowed at 10 per cent. For example, if the price of Consols be low, persons who are desirous of raising money will give a high rate of interest rather than sell stock. Again, an individual wants to borrow £100,000 Consols, but they happen to be in great demand, and the jobber may borrow on them at 2 per cent., and lend the very same money on another description of Government security at 5 per cent. The constant recurrence of these opportunities of turning capital is of course the life and soul of the Stock Exchange.

The profit of the jobber, after he has concluded a bargain, depends upon the state of the market, which may be depressed by extensive sales, or by the competition of buyers. These jobbers are middle men, who are always ready either to buy or sell on a minute's notice, and hence a broker, in dealing for his principal, who wants to borrow money, has no need to hunt after another broker, who has money of another principal to lend, but each resorts to the jobber, who is both a borrower and lender. The following information as to the extent of the transactions of a firm of stock-brokers, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, of money-dealers, or, to use the technical phrase, "managers of balances," is official, and may be fully relied on:—"Our business, in addition to that of mere stock-brokers, extends to the dealing in money, that is, borrowing of bankers, capitalists, and others, their surplus or unemployed moneys, for the purpose of lending again at advanced rates, the difference of rate being our remuneration for the trouble and risk attendant thereon. By the general facility thus afforded, from our being almost always ready either to borrow or lend, we have become, as it were, a channel directly or indirectly for a great portion of the business between Lombard Street and the Stock Exchange; and the magnitude of our money-dealings will be at once understood when I state that we have both had and made loans to upwards of £200,000 at a time with one house; that the payments and receipts through our banking account on each side amount to eighteen or twenty

millions per annum, but our loan transactions far exceed that sum, and extend to the vast amount of from thirty to forty millions a year. Our loans for the year ending October, 1841, exceeded thirty millions, being an average of three millions a-month, or £100,000 a-day; and generally, upon four or five days in every month, the loans have amounted to 150, 2, 3, 4, 5, and even £700,000 in a single day."

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the business created by the National Debt, an income of upwards of £50,000,000 a year from the taxes, an annual circulation of Bills of Exchange amounting to between £500,000,000 and £600,000,000, a circulation of Exchequer Bills varying from £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 a year, the perpetual transfer of shares in railways, besides the traffic in shares in canals, banks, insurance offices, and public companies, and in the foreign Funds, the gentlemen of the Stock Exchange would scarcely find sufficient employment, if all the transactions which take place there were absolutely of a *bona fide* character, and led in every case to an actual transfer of the property which was the object of speculation. "Time-bargains" fill up their leisure, and the excitement which attends such transactions is rather agreeable than otherwise to those who are accustomed to the atmosphere of the Stock Exchange. The origin of these transactions was legitimate enough. At certain periods, which occur half-yearly, the transfer-books at the Bank are "shut" for several weeks, in order to afford time for the preparation of the dividend warrants. During this interval a person who buys or sells stock must necessarily do so speculatively, "for the opening," that is, for transfer on the day on which the transfer-books are re-opened. These half-yearly opportunities for speculative transactions were not sufficient to gratify the desire for "doing business" which prevails amongst speculators, and, accordingly, periodical dates have been fixed upon by the Committee of the Stock Exchange similar to the "opening," at intervals of about six weeks, making altogether about eight settling days, as they are called, in the course of the year, two of these "settling days" corresponding with the first days of the opening of the Bank books for public transfer. The price at which stock is sold to be transferred on the next settling day is called the price "on account." A party engages to sell to another for a certain sum a certain amount of stock on the next "settling day," the calculation of the seller being that by the day in question the market-price of stock will be lower than the price agreed upon; that of the buyer, that it will be higher. The matter, however, instead of being arranged by an actual transfer of stock, is settled simply by the losing party paying the "difference," that is, the seller, in case of the price on the "settling day" turning out to be below that stipulated for, gains by the difference between the two sums, and the buyer loses; but, if the price rises above that stipulated for, exactly the reverse would happen. The whole transaction is founded on the anticipation of a rise by one party and a fall by the other, and is, in fact, essentially a bet. The amount of the bet which is won and lost is the difference between the price agreed upon and the actual selling price. These bargains are illegal, and cannot be enforced by law. The jobbers, therefore, depend upon each other's honour. The terms "Bull" and "Bear," which are familiar to every reader of a newspaper, are used, the former to designate those who speculate for a rise, and the latter for those who endeavour to effect a fall in prices, as the bull tosses the objects of its attack in the air, and the bear endeavours to trample it under foot. The "Bull" who buys £50,000 Consols for the settling day, or "for the account," as it is technically called, endeavours to sell them again in the interval at a higher price; and, on the other hand, the "Bear" would endeavour to sell the £50,000 (which, nevertheless, he does not possess, as no transfer actually takes place) "for the account," with a view of buying them in for the purpose of balancing the transaction at a lower



rice than he originally sold them at. Wars and rumours of wars, favourable turns of the public fortune, every circumstance which can affect the most sensitive of political barometers, re-acts upon the interests of either the speculator for a rise or a fall in the public funds. When the account is not closed on the settling day, the stock is carried on to a future day, on such terms as the parties may agree on. This is called "continuation," which is nothing more than interest for money lent on security of stock, which fluctuates in the most agreeable manner for a speculator, according to the scarcity or abundance of money. Operating upon the "continuation" is a favourite mode of speculation amongst those who can command large capitals, and the foreign stocks offer the most tempting inducements to this kind of enterprise, as they are subject to greater fluctuation than the English stocks; and though the security is not so good, the rate of interest is higher, being sometimes equal to 15 per cent. per annum.

Of all the means of making a fortune none is so rapid as speculation in the Funds,—if good fortune do but smile on the speculator,—nor any more uncertain. No Stock Exchange in Europe affords such facilities for speculation as that of London, for the dealings are not confined to English Government Securities, but embrace every description of transferable security, shares in railways, mines, canals, insurance companies, joint-stock banks, and indeed all property, the sign of which can be passed from hand to hand, besides including every description of foreign Funds. The foreign capitalist is attracted from every capital in Europe to the English Stock Exchange, and the Jews flock to it from every quarter under heaven. It would scarcely be possible to arrange under any number of general heads all the "skyey influences" that are capable of elevating or depressing the Funds, which fluctuate with every breeze of popular exhilaration or nervous despondency, every fit of suspicion or confidence, every hope and fear, almost every hope, passion, or caprice of the human breast. In 1797 the prospects of this country, owing to the successes of the French, the mutiny of the fleet, and other adverse circumstances, were so unfavourable, that the price of the Three per Cents. sunk on the 20th of September, on the intelligence transpiring of an attempt to negotiate with the French Republic having failed, to 47½, being the lowest price to which they have ever fallen. The same Stock is now at 96. Such events as the battle of Leipzig, the escape of Napoleon from Elba, the battle of Waterloo, which influenced the hopes and fears of mankind throughout the civilised world, are not likely to occur in these times, and we must content ourselves with a more prosaic life.

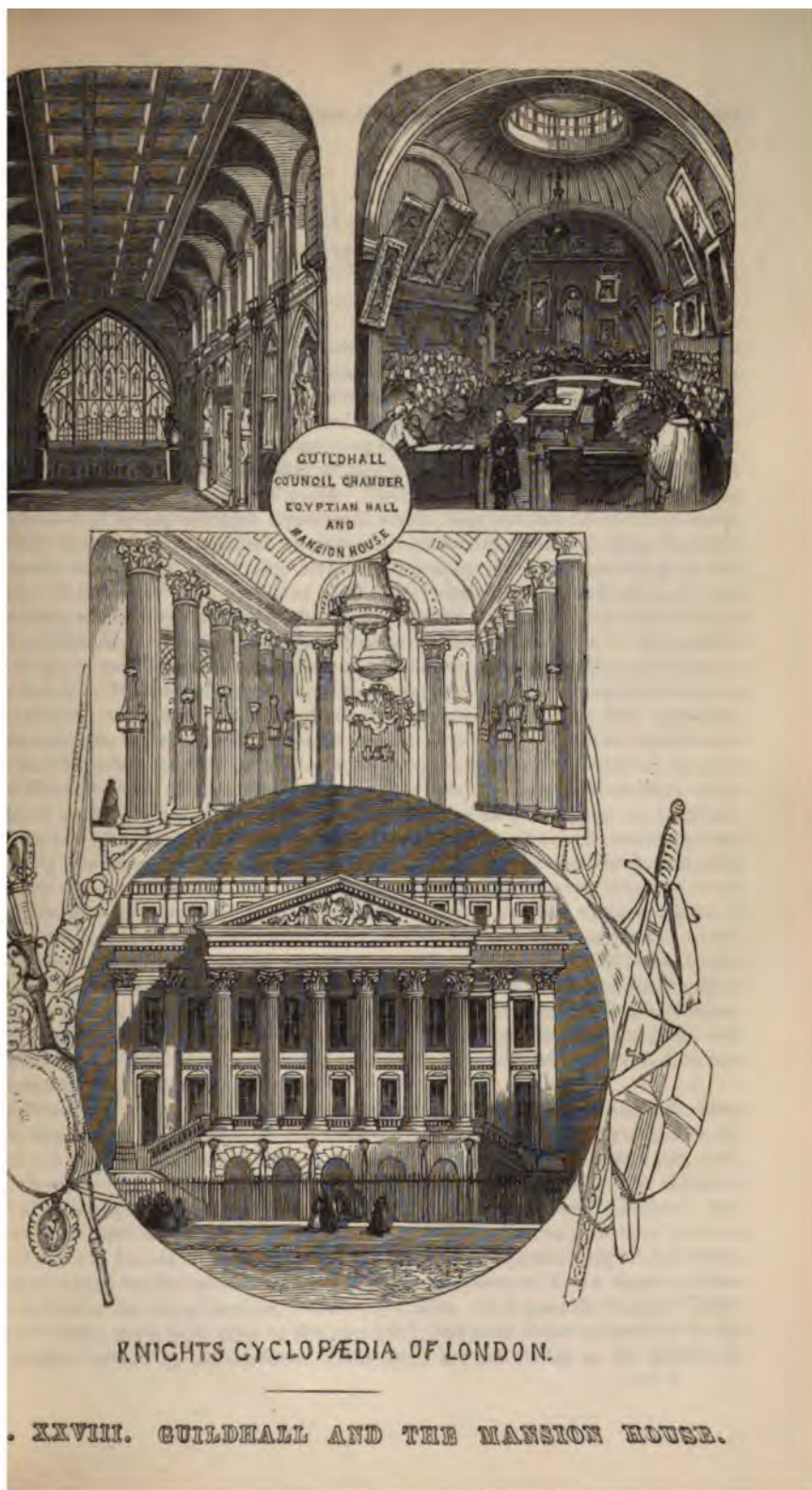
During the war many frauds were practised on the Stock Exchange, under various names of false intelligence; but one of the most daring, complicated, and complete, was that executed in February, 1814, by A. C. Johnstone, the uncle of Lord Cochrane, who thus became implicated, and a number of subordinates. The whole, except Johnstone, who fled to the Continent, were tried and found guilty, fined, and imprisoned. Lord Cochrane and two others were sentenced also to stand in the pillory, but this part of the sentence was not carried into execution; Lord Cochrane was also expelled the House of Commons, struck off the Navy List, and degraded from the neighbourhood of the Bath. So strong, however, was the public feeling in favour of his innocence, that his fine of £1000 was paid by a penny subscription; and this feeling has been subsequently so strongly confirmed, that he has been restored to his naval rank and honours, which he now enjoys under the title of Earl of Dundonald.

The effect of the great panic of 1825 upon the public Funds was more astounding than the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. In January, 1825, the Three per Cents. were above 93, and twelve months afterwards they were under 80. A brief account



of this "Panic" has been given in our account of the Bank of England. The daily newspapers commenced giving at this period an article under the head of 'Money Market,' which is now an indispensable feature in every newspaper, daily or weekly. In 1815 the 'Courier' newspaper did not even give the price of stocks.

Perhaps the next circumstance in point of interest connected with the money market, in the last twenty years, was the extraordinary forgery of Exchequer Bills by Beaumont Smith, the senior clerk in the Issuing Office, discovered in October, 1841. This case is remarkable not only for the large amount of money obtained, but for the length of time during which it escaped detection, that is, from the spring of 1836 to nearly the end of 1841. His confederate was Ernest Rapallo, a foreigner who had been long resident in this country. This fraud related exclusively to the species of Exchequer Bills called Supply Bills, which are issued from the Exchequer under authority of successive Acts of Parliament. The periods of issue are March and June, and each bill is either paid off or exchanged, at the option of the holder, at the office of the Paymaster of the Exchequer, after the expiration of a year. There are therefore two exchanges of Exchequer Bills every year—in March and June. The bills have a blank left for the name of the payee, which, however, is rarely filled up, and they pass, like a bank note, by mere delivery; they are numbered, in each successive issue, in regular progression, and are signed with the name of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, but in practice the signature was generally made by the Deputy-Comptroller. As a check to forgery, they are cut from a counterfoil, by comparison with which their genuineness may be ascertained. The number of these forged bills was 377, they were generally made out for the sum of £1000, and in paper, stamp, and every other particular, they were genuine, with the exception only of the signature, which was an imitation of that of the Deputy Comptroller-General. Each of the forged bills was a duplicate of a genuine bill; so that suspicion was only likely to arise in the case of two of the same number coming into the hands of the same person. All the forged bills emanated from Smith, and were passed through Rapallo. In raising money on these instruments it was essential to abstain from sale; for, if thus brought into general circulation, there would not only be a great probability of duplicates falling into the hands of the same person, but a certainty of being carried at the regular periods of exchange to the office of the Paymaster, where the duplicates would of course come also, and thus infallibly lead to detection. The plan adopted by Smith and Rapallo, in every case, was to raise the money upon loan, and before the next period of exchange came round to redeem it by payment of the money, or to exchange it for another bill of more recent date. This method rendered it necessary to repay in every case the money advanced, as well as to pay the interest due upon the loan; but the opportunity which it afforded of employing large sums of money in extensive speculations in the stock market probably flattered the confederates with the hope of realising large fortunes as the result. Smith pleaded guilty when placed on his trial in December, and was sentenced to transportation; no indictment was preferred against Rapallo.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

. XXVIII. GUILDEHALL AND THE MANSION HOUSE.





## XXVIII. GUILDHALL AND THE MANSION HOUSE.

ANTIQUARIES tell us that there was an ancient Saxon law—one of the laws of Ina—imposed probably by the rulers of that people after the conquest of this country, the better to keep its wild and conflicting elements in order—which ordained that every freeman of fourteen years old should find sureties to keep the peace; and that, in consequence, “certain neighbours, consisting of ten families, entered into an association, and became bound to each other to produce him who committed an offence, or to make satisfaction to the injured party. That they might the better do this, they raised a sum of money amongst themselves, which they put into a common stock, and when one of the pledges had committed an offence, and was fled, then the other nine made satisfaction out of this stock, by payment of money according to the offence. In the mean time, that they might the better identify each other, as well as ascertain whether any man was absent on unlawful business, they assembled at stated periods at a common table, where they ate and drank together.” This primitive custom, so simple and confined in its operations, was to beget mighty consequences in the hands of the amalgamated Anglo-Saxon people. We find its associating principle following them into the fortified places or burghs where they first assembled for the purposes of trade and commerce (the nuclei of our towns), and affording to them an infinitely safer defence against aggression than any fortifications could give, in the *Trade Guilds*. If, therefore, there be one of the great and still existing institutions of antiquity, possessing in its history matters of deeper interest and instruction than any other, it is that of our municipal government, whose very meeting-places constantly remind us by their designation what they were—the guild-halls, and what we owe to the system, which has, unfortunately, through causes into which it is not our province to enter, enjoyed of late years more of the popular contempt than of popular gratitude: a feeling which, if it promised to be permanent, might well excite the apprehension of the political philosopher as to the ultimate well-being of the country. All considerations, then, tend to invest the very word guildhall with a more than ordinary sense of the value of the associations that may belong to a name, and which is of course enhanced when it refers, not merely to a hall of a guild, but to the hall of the guilds generally of the metropolis, as in that we are about to notice in connection with Civic Government.

The Guildhall of London, as we now approach it from Cheapside, through King Street, appears no unapt type of the discordant associations that have grown up around the institution: the old hall, in the main, is there still, but with a new face, which shows how ludicrously inadequate were its builders to accomplish their apparent desire of restoring it in harmony with, but improving upon the general structure; and they seem to have had some misgivings of the kind themselves; for they have so stopped short in the elevation, as to leave the dingy and supremely ugly brick walls, with their round-headed windows, added by their predecessors to the upper portion of the hall after the fire of London, obtrusively visible. It is possible that the “little college” which stood here prior to the year 1411, had been either in itself or in its predecessors founded by the Confessor, whose arms are yet visible in the porch; at

the time mentioned, the present hall was begun by the corporation, Thomas Knowles being then Mayor. Among the modes adopted of obtaining the requisite money are some which, though common enough in connection with ecclesiastical structures, are remarkable as applied to a guildhall: Stow, whose authority is Fabian, having remarked, in his 'Survey of London,' that the companies gave large benevolences towards the charges thereof, adds, "Also offences of men were pardoned for sums of money towards this work, extraordinary fees were raised, fines, amercements, and other things employed during seven years, with a [partial, probably is meant] continuation thereof three years more." Even then the whole was not completed; a variety of miscellaneous items of a later date occur in connection with the edifice, such as that in 1422-3 the executors of Whittington gave £35 towards the paving of the hall with Purbeck marble; about the same time was also erected the Mayor's Court, the Council Chamber, and the porch; in 1481, Sir William Harryot, Mayor, defrayed the expense of making and glazing two louvres in the roof of the hall; the kitchen was built by the "procurement" of Sir John Shaw, goldsmith and Mayor, about 1501; finally, tapestry, to hang in the hall on principal days, was provided about the same time by Sir Nicholas Aldwyn, another Mayor. If we add to this, that a new council chamber was erected in 1614, that after the Great Fire the walls remained so comparatively uninjured, that only roofs and out-offices had to be rebuilt, and that it was towards the close of the last century that the "truly Gothic façade," as Brayley satirically calls it, using the word in its less usual but sufficiently evident acceptance, was built, we shall not need to dwell any longer on the general history of the erection. Before we enter the porch, we may cast a brief glance at the surrounding buildings. The one on the left is the Justice Room of Guildhall, where the ordinary magisterial business of that part of the City which lies west of King Street is conducted, under the superintendence of an Alderman; the other, or eastern portion, forming the business of the Justice Room at the Mansion House, where the Mayor presides. The building opposite, on the right, contains the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer, in which the judges from the courts at Westminster hold their sittings during certain days of each term, and have done so from time immemorial. The City receives 3s. 6d. for each verdict given in these Courts, in payment for the use of the buildings provided; and there the connection ends at present, whatever may have been the case in former times, when the custom originated. In both courts the excessively naked and chilly aspect of the walls is somewhat relieved by the portraits of the judges who, after the fire of London, sat at Clifford's Inn, to arrange all differences between landlord and tenant during the great business of rebuilding; and who thus, as Pennant observes, prevented the endless train of vexatious lawsuits which might have ensued, and been little less chargeable than the fire itself. Sir Matthew Hale was the chief manager of the good work in question, which so won upon the City, that, after the affair was concluded, they determined to have the portraits of the whole of the judges painted and hung in their hall, as a permanent memorial of their gratitude. Lely was to have been the artist, but, being too great a man to wait upon the judges at their respective chambers, Michael Wright, a Scotchman, obtained the commission. He is the painter of a highly-esteemed portrait of Lacy, the actor, in three characters, preserved in the collection at Windsor. Sixty pounds each was his remuneration for the portraits at Guildhall, and it certainly seems as much as they were worth. On the site of these Law Courts, there was standing, till the year 1822, a chapel or college, which was built so early as 1299, and had, in its palmiest days, an establishment of a custos or warden, seven priests, three clerks, and four choristers. "Here," says Pennant,

"used to be service once a week, and also at the election of the Mayor, and before the Mayor's feast, to deprecate indigestion and all plethoric evils"—the chapel having been given by Edward VI. to the City at the dissolution of the college. Adjoining the chapel there had been, before Stow's time, "a fair and large library," belonging to the Guildhall and College, which that wholesale pillager, the Protector Somerset, laid his hands upon during the reign of the young Edward, on the plea of merely borrowing the books for a time. In consequence, till the present century, the citizens of London, in their corporate capacity, had scarcely a book in their possession; but in 1824, an annual grant of £200, and a preliminary one of £500, for the formation of a new library, was made; and the collection, already rich in publications on civic topography and history, promises to become, in course of time, not unworthy of the body to which it belongs. We may mention, among its more important recent additions, the autograph of Shakspeare, appended to a deed of conveyance of a tenement near Puddle Wharf, purchased in 1841 for the sum of £140, a purchase denounced in the court of Common Council as "a most wasteful and profligate expenditure;" a large collection of early pageants; and some of the more valuable of the relics of antiquity found in excavating the foundations of London Bridge and the Royal Exchange.

As we enter the porch, the genuine architecture of the original structure strikes upon the eye with a sense of pleasurable surprise. Its arch within arch, its beautifully panelled walls, looking not unlike a range of closed up Gothic windows, the pillars on the stone seat, and the numerous groins that spring from them intersecting the vaulted ceiling; and, lastly, the gilt bosses, so profusely scattered about, all seem to have remained untouched—certainly uninjured—from the days of their erection, during the reign of Bolingbroke. They are, however, the only things here unchanged. A citizen of that period would be a little puzzled, we suspect, to understand, for instance, the long bills which hang on each side of the doors leading from the porch into the hall, containing a list of the brokers authorized by the Mayor and Aldermen to exercise their vocation in the City: the funded system would certainly be too much for him. We enter the hall, and it does not need many glances to tell us that it has been a truly magnificent place, worthy of the extraordinary exertions made for its erection, and of the City—we might almost say, considering its national importance—of the empire, to which it belonged. Nay, it is magnificent still, in spite of the liberties that have been taken with it, such as closing up some of its windows with enormous piles of sculpture; and above all, in spite of the miserable modern upper story, with its vile windows, and of the flat roof, which has taken the place of the oaken and arched one, with its carved pendants, its picturesque combinations, and its rich masses of shade, such as we may be certain once rose from the tops of those clustered columns. But the vast dimensions (152 feet in length, 50 in breadth, and about 55 in height), the noble proportions, and the exquisite architecture are still there, and may possibly at no distant period lead to the restoration of the whole in a different spirit from that which at once mangled and burlesqued it, under the pretence of admiration, in the last century: the restoring of the roof has been long talked of, but nothing has been yet done. The crypt below the hall has been but little interfered with, and still shows the original design of the architect. It is a fine and almost unique relic of the magnificence of London before the fire, with its clustered pillars and groined arches, but it was long suffered to remain encumbered with rubbish and covered with dust, the public were shut out, and even solitary visitors allowed access with difficulty; the corporation acting in this respect as though



they were ashamed of a monument in which they might justly have taken a pride, or, perhaps, feeling unwilling to afford an object of contrast to their own performances in the building line. But better feelings have been awakened: some few years ago it was rescued from entire neglect, and a little was done—not to its restoration, but to preserve it from dilapidation. It extends beneath the Hall through its whole length, is in excellent preservation, divided lengthwise into three aisles, but, from the rise of the soil on the exterior, and the blocking up of windows, was so dark and gloomy, that its size and beauty were scarcely discernible. It is now undergoing a further process of reparation, and is, it is stated, to be open to the public; it will be then seen how far the corporation have deserved the praise of the antiquary and the lover of art, and how far they excel their predecessors in taste.

The contents of the Hall do not need any lengthened description; they comprise in one department of art the monuments of the great men whom the City has delighted to honour, and in another the renowned giants Gog and Magog. Among the former is that of William Beckford, Esq., who so astonished George III. by addressing him, against all courtly precedent, on receiving the unfavourable answer vouchsafed by the monarch to the Remonstrance of the City on the subject of Wilkes's election; and so delighted the citizens, that they caused this memorial to be erected after his death, which is said to have been accelerated by the excitement of the times acting upon ill health. The speech is engraved on the monument, though Gifford says, (*Ben Jonson's Works*,") that of it "he never uttered one syllable." The others are Lord Nelson's, the Right Hon. William Pitt's, and his father, the Earl of Chatham's; the last by Bacon, the only one that seems to us deserving even of criticism. Allan Cunningham says, an eminent artist remarked to him one day, "See, all is reeling—Chatham, the two ladies [Commerce and Manufacture], the lion, the boys, the cornucopia, and all the rest, have been tumbled out of a waggon from the top of the pyramid." There certainly never was, in the history of art, men capable of such great things making such melancholy mistakes as our modern sculptors in a large proportion of their more ambitious productions. The author of the strange jumble here so justly satirised is also the same man of whom Cowper no less justly says—

"Bacon there  
Gives more than female beauty to a stone,  
And Chatham's eloquence to marble lips:"

referring, in the last line, either to the chief figure on this very monument, or to that on Bacon's other Pitt memorial in Westminster Abbey. The inscriptions on the monuments of Nelson and the two Pitts seem to have called forth the literary powers of our statesmen in a kind of rivalry: Burke wrote the Earl of Chatham's, Canning William Pitt's, and Sheridan Nelson's. Of the giants, the origin, and even the names are uncertain. As early at least as 1415, giants—or rather a giant and giantess—were stationed by the City at the Southwark entrance of London Bridge, and then and afterwards frequently used in pageants and processions. Two giants, it would appear, perished in Guildhall during the great fire in 1666, and were again in their stations in 1699. These old giants were, as has been stated, of wicker, and took their places in the city processions. The late William Hone bestowed much pains in investigating the subject (in a paper at the end of his *'Ancient Mysteries described, especially the English Miracle Plays,' &c., 1823*), and he ascertained that the present figures were carved by a Richard Saunders, a train-band captain, in 1707, for whose "work by him done," a receipt exists among the city records for the sum of £70. They

are of wood and hollow, but far too substantially built to be able to take part in a procession, wherefore, in the present pageant on Lord Mayor's day, they are occasionally represented by paste-board proxies.

It may appear at first glance a curious circumstance that the greatest events of which the edifice has been the scene should be those which have had the least direct connection with its general objects or character. Instead of the election and banqueting of a Mayor, the repression of some new system of swindling; or—what to some would seem to be almost synonymous—of some new proposition of municipal reform, each alike, figuratively speaking, stirring the very hair of civic heads with horror; or, lastly, instead of an inquiry into some delectable police case, the principal matters that now agitate Guildhall, or draw public attention towards it,—we find here, in former times, sceptres changing hands, new religions proscribed, and their disciples sent to martyrdom, trials of men who would have revolutionised the state, and who might, by the least turn of Fortune's wheel in a different direction, have changed places in the court with those who sat there to decide upon their lives, or rather to destroy them in accordance with a previous decision—the more common state of things in our old crown prosecutions. But the connection of such events with Guildhall was not so remote, still less so accidental, as it seems. When Guildhall was the concentrating point towards which, in all matters affecting the independence, prosperity, and government of London, the intellect, wealth, and numerical strength of London generally systematically tended, it is evident that no place throughout England was so favourable for those royal and political manœuvres of which the historical recollections of Guildhall furnish such memorable examples. If Gloster wishes to be king, it is to Guildhall that he first sends the wily Buckingham to expressly ask the suffrages of the people: if the bigoted council of the savage Henry determine to express in some exceedingly decisive manner their abhorrence of the spreading doctrines of the Reformation, and of the error of supposing that because Henry favoured them when he wanted a new wife, that he still did so when unable to think of anything but his own painful and disgusting sores, it is at Guildhall that the chosen victim—a lady, young, beautiful, and learned—receives her doom! If Mary would damage the Protestant cause whilst trying Protestant traitors, or James, the Catholic, at a similar opportunity, Guildhall is still the favourite spot. Whatever the effect sought to be produced, it was well known that success in London was the grand preliminary to success elsewhere.

It was on Tuesday, the 24th of June, 1483, that the citizens were seen flocking from all parts towards the Guildhall, on some business of more than ordinary import. Edward IV. had died a few weeks before, and his son and successor was in the Tower, under the care of his uncle, the Protector, waiting the period of his coronation. Doubt and anxiety were in every face. The suspicious eagerness shown to get the youthful Duke of York from the hands of his mother in the Sanctuary at Westminster, the almost inexplicable death of Hastings in the Tower, the severe penance inflicted on Jane Shore, the late King's favourite mistress, and the sermon which followed that exhibition on the same day, the preceding Sunday, at Paul's Cross, where the popular preacher, Dr. Shaw, spoke in direct terms of the illegitimacy of the young princes, and of the right nobleness of their uncle, all produced a growing sense of alarm as to the future intentions of the principal actor, Gloster. As they now entered the hall, and pressed closer and closer to the hustings, to hear the Duke of Buckingham, who stepped forth to address them, surrounded by many lords, knights, and citizens, it was not long before those intentions, startling as they were, became sufficiently manifest. "The deep revolving, witty Buckingham" seems to



have surpassed himself that day, in the exhibition of his characteristic subtlety and address. Commencing with a theme which found a deep response in the indignation and bosoms of his listeners, the tyrannies and extortions of the late King (which the Londoners had especial reason to remember), he gradually led them to the consideration of another feature of Edward's character, his amours, which had, no doubt, caused many a heart-burning in the City domestic circles, and thence by an easy transition to his illegitimacy; Buckingham alleging that the late King was not the son of the Duke of York, and that Richard was. To give confidence to the citizens, he added that the Lords and Commons had sworn never to submit to a bastard, and called upon them accordingly to acknowledge the Protector as King. The answer was—*drawn out*—silence. The confident orator and bold politician was for a moment “marvellously abashed,” and calling the Mayor aside, with others who were aware of his objects, and had endeavoured to prepare the way for them, inquired “What meaneth this that the people be so still?” “Sir,” replied the Mayor, “perchance they perceive [understand] you not well.” “That we shall amend,” said Buckingham; and “therewith, somewhat louder, rehearsed the same matter again, in other order and other words, so well and ornately, and nevertheless so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that heard him; and thought that they never heard in their lives so evil a tale so well told. But were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before; but all were as still as the midnight, not so much rounding [speaking privately] among them, by which they might seem once to commune what was best to do. When the Mayor saw this, he, with other partners of the council, drew about the Duke, and said that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the City, and haply to him they will answer. With that the Recorder, called Thomas Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding thereunto commanded by the Mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that which the Duke had twice purposed himself; but the Recorder so tempered his tale that he showed everything as the Duke's words were, and no part of his own; but all this no change made in the people, which alway after one stood as they had been amazed.” Such a reception at the outset might have turned some men from their purpose altogether—not so Buckingham, who now, after another brief converse with the Mayor, assumed a different tone and bearing. “Dear friends,” said he to the citizens, “we come to move you to that thing which, peradventure, we so greatly needed not, but that the lords of this realm and commons of other parts might have sufficed, saying, such love we bear you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you that thing in which to be partners is your weal and honour, which, as to us seemeth, you see not or weigh not; wherefore we require you to give us an answer, one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble Prince, now Protector, to be your King?” It was scarcely possible to resist this appeal by absolute silence. So, “at these words, the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor base, but like a swarm of bees, till at the last, at the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the Duke's servants, and one Nashfield, and others belonging to the Protector, with some prentices and lads that thrustured into the hall amongst the press, began suddenly, at men's backs, to cry out as loud as they could, ‘King Richard! King Richard!’ and then threw up their caps in token of joy, and they that stood before cast back their heads *marvelling thereat, but nothing they said*. And when the



uke and the Mayor saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear *every man with one voice*, and no man saying *ay*." This scene, so graphically described by Hall (from Sir T. More), would form of the richest bits of comedy, were it not for the tragic associations which surround the whole. As it is, one can scarcely avoid enjoying the perplexity of Buckingham and the Mayor at the unaccountable and most vexatious silence, or the backward look of the people at the lads and others, who at last did shout, or without adding the tact and impudence of Buckingham in acknowledging with a grave face, and in grateful words, the cry that was at once so goodly, joyful, and so very unanimous. It will be perceived how closely Shakspeare has followed the account here subscribed, in the third act of his *Richard III.*; and as is usual with him, by so doing, made the passage scarcely less interesting, as illustrating him, than for its own historical value.

Passing from the craft and violence which formed the two steps to power during so many ages, and of which the incident narrated, with its well-known concomitants, furnishes a striking example, we find, but little more than half a century later, new trains of thought and action at work among men, high passions developed, struggles taking place for objects which by comparison make all the intrigues and feuds of rival and aspiring nobles appear contemptible, and maintained with a courage unknown to the days of chivalry. The Reformation came; and sufficiently terrible were its first effects. Division and strife extended throughout the land. By a kind of poetical justice, Henry himself, who drew the gospel light from Bullen's eyes, was fated in later years to see an emanation from that light come in a much less pleasing shape, namely, in the disputatious glances of his wife Catherine Parr, who, as he grew more helpless and impatient, ventured to engage in controversy with him, and had well nigh gone to the scaffold for so doing. And though she escaped, a victim was found sufficiently distinguished to gratify the inhuman and self-willed tyrant, who burned people not so much on account of their having any particular religion, as the daring to reject the one he proposed, or to keep it when accepted, if he altered his mind. This was Anne Askew, a young lady who had been seen very busy about court distributing tracts among the attendants of the Queen, and heard to speak vehemently against the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation. She was the daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire, and the wife of a neighbouring gentleman named Kyme, a violent Papist, who turned her out of doors when, after long study of the Bible, she became a Protestant. She then came to London to sue for a separation, and was favourably noticed, it is supposed, by the Queen, and certainly by the ladies of the court. But neither Henry nor his council, including such men as Bishop Bonner and the Chancellor Wriothesley, were to be quietly bearded thus. Anne Askew, as she called herself, was arrested, and carried before Bonner and others. Among the questions put to her was one by the Lord Mayor, inquiring whether the priest cannot make the body of Christ? Her reply was very striking: "I have read that God made man; but that man can make God I never yet read." However, some sort of recantation was obtained from her, probably through the natural and graceful timidity of her youth and sex overpowering for the moment, in the presence of so many learned and eminent men, the inherent strength of her convictions. Such triumphs, however, are of brief duration. Anne Askew was discharged, but quickly apprehended again, and, after examination by the Privy Council, committed to Newgate. Her next public appearance was at Guildhall, where she was condemned, with some more unfortunates, to death for heresy. And now this poor, solitary, but brave and self-possessed woman was subjected to treatment that makes one blush for human

nature. The grand object of the Council was, it appears, to find what ladies of the court they could get into their toils, since the Queen herself had escaped them. After a vain attempt made by Nicholas Shaxton, the former Bishop of Salisbury, to induce her to imitate his example, and save her life by apostasy, for which attempt he got in answer the solemn assurance that it had been better for him if he had not been born, she was carried to the Tower, and examined as to her connexions at court. She denied that she had had any, but was told the King knew better; and then follows a question that shows the privations she had already been intentionally exposed to: How had she contrived to get food and comfort in prison if she had no powerful friends? "My maid," said Anne, "bemoaned my wretched condition to the apprentices in the street, and some of them sent me money, but I never knew their names." It was probably at this period of the examination that she was laid on the rack, and that Wriothesley and Rich, having both applied their own hands to the instrument, obtained an admission from her that a man in a blue coat had given her maid ten shillings, saying they came from Lady Hertford, and another time a man in a violet coat eight shillings from Lady Denny; but as to the truth of the statements she could say nothing, and constantly persevered in her assertion that she had not been supported by these or any of the Council. To the eternal honour of her sex, it is understood that no amount of anguish could wring anything more from her, and in consequence Henry and the Council were compelled to be content with the victim they had. So, whilst still unrecovered from the effects of the rack, she was hurried off to Smithfield on the 16th of July, 1546, and chained with three others to stakes. Near them was a pulpit, from which poor Shaxton, as if not already sufficiently humiliated, was chosen to preach. At the conclusion of his discourse, a pardon was exhibited for the whole if they would recant; but there was no such stuff in their thoughts. Anne Askew and her companions died as heroically as their own hearts could have ever desired they should die.

After all, martyrdom, it must be acknowledged, is not a pleasant thing; and we need not wonder that, through the period extending from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of James I., so many indications present themselves of Protestants and Catholics alike changing passive endurance for active warfare, and determining that it was as easy to run the risk of conviction for treason as for heresy, with a much greater probability of improving their position by success. As to each party, whether in power or not, applying its own dislike of the flames, its own sense of the monstrous injustice of such influences, its own knowledge of their inefficacy, to the case of the other, no such supposition seems to have been conceivable in the philosophy of the sixteenth century. So burnings, plots, and insurrections follow each other in rapid succession through this terrible period, disturbing even the comparative repose of Elizabeth's brilliant reign. Two of the most striking of these events belong to the history of Guildhall—the one arising out of Sir Thomas Wyatt's attempt against the Catholic Mary, and the other from the Gunpowder Plot, destined to overthrow the Protestant James: each, we may add, forming one of the most interesting features of the altogether interesting history to which it belongs. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, himself a Protestant, was the son of a zealous Papist, Sir George Throckmorton, who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and been imprisoned in the Tower many years by Henry. On his release in 1543, Nicholas, his son, received the appointment of Sewer to the King, and, having accompanied the latter in the French expedition, was rewarded by a pension for his services. During the reign of Edward VI. he still further distinguished himself by his conduct at the battle of Pinkie (or Musselburgh), and rose still higher in kingly favour. Edward knighted him, received him



close personal intimacy, and, besides making him under-treasurer of the Mint, him some valuable manors. Everything, therefore, concurred to deepen the impression in favour of Protestantism made first on his mind, no doubt, by study and conviction. How little inclined Throckmorton was to interfere with the ordinary laws of legitimacy and succession to the crown under ordinary circumstances, may be inferred from his conduct at the commencement of Mary's reign. He was present at Greenwich when Edward died; and, although aware of the designs of the friends of Lady Jane Grey, towards whom, as a Protestant, his sympathies must have tended, yet he did not hesitate to depart immediately for London, and dispatch Mary's goldsmith to her with the intelligence of her accession. It is evident, therefore, that when, only a few months later, we find him on his trial for treason, he must, supposing the charge to have any truth in it, have experienced some great disappointment as to the policy he had hoped to have seen pursued, or some new event must have occurred utterly unlooked for, and most threatening to the Protestant interests. Such, no doubt, seemed, to a large portion of the nation, the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, one of the most inexorable bigots in religious matters that ever existed, and whose power seemed to be almost as ample to accomplish as his temper and fanaticism were prompt to instigate the destruction of the new faith wherever his influence might extend, and who did destroy it in the Spanish peninsula, however signal his failures elsewhere. One little incident tells volumes as to Philip's character. Whilst present at an *auto-da-fé*, when forty persons were marching in the horrible procession towards the stake, to which they had been sentenced by the Inquisition, one of the poor creatures called out as he passed the King for Mercy! mercy! "Perish thou, and all like thee," was the reply: "if my own son were a heretic, I would deliver him to the flames." Such was the man whom the Protestants of England heard, with natural terror, was about to be connected by the closest ties to the country, and enabled to exercise the most direct influence on its government: for no man in his senses could place any reliance upon the promises of non-interference, non-innovation, &c., which were to be exacted as guarantees for the national freedom. If we add that the Catholics themselves, rising above the narrow views so common at the period, and looking at the alliance as Englishmen rather than as Catholics, disliked it, what must have been the feelings of their religious opponents? The answer is to be found in the insurrection which broke out within a few days after the intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty of marriage became generally known. Sir Thomas Carew took arms in Devonshire, and obtained possession of the castle and city of Exeter, whilst Sir Thomas Wyatt threatened from a still nearer locality, Kent. Their objects appear to have been very uncertain, even among themselves. There can be little doubt, however, that if they had succeeded Mary would have been dethroned; for how else could they be sure they would not lose all they had gained, and probably their lives into the bargain? Equally doubtful does it seem as to the party who would have taken the vacant seat. If Elizabeth was concerned in the scheme, as it still seems very probable she was, there can be no doubt as to her views on the question: but, on the other hand, the movement seems rather to have inclined in favour of Lady Jane Grey; for, not only does the early attack on the Tower, where she had been confined from the time of her relatives' attempt to make her queen on the death of Edward, seem to intimate as much, but it is hardly to be conceived that, for any less personal advantage, the selfish and unprincipled Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, just released from an apparently inevitable death on account of the said attempt, would have joined in a new one. Modern political tactics no doubt explain the whole. The parties acted together to meet the one evil which threatened



all, leaving the after measures to be determined by chance, or by the intrigues, and power of the individuals who might rise most prominently out of the combination, and turn the whole to their or their party's benefit. And if the most mature tact and unflinching courage, joined to entire devotedness, could at such a crisis have secured the crown to Elizabeth, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton would have been the man to have accomplished that task. Attachment to her was, indeed, most probably the cause of the great prominence given to the trial of a man who had taken no public part whatever in the insurrection, and of the exceeding bitterness and animosity with which such charges as could be brought together against him were pressed. In the whole range of criminal proceedings, it would be difficult to find a more exciting trial than the one we are now about to describe, which commenced on the 17th of April, 1554, only six days after his friend Wyatt's execution. It is reported by Holinshed at great length, but the trial owes its chief attractions to Throckmorton's wonderful eloquence, adroitness, and self-possession, and therefore to abridge the passages in which they are displayed would be to destroy their vital spirit. We give one passage only, to show the spirit of the parties and the general conduct of the trial. The examination of Sir Nicholas Arnold being read, which stated that Throckmorton told him that John Fitzwilliams was very much displeased with William Thomas, the Attorney-General remarked, alluding, we presume, to the general facts detailed in the examination, which Holinshed does not give, "Thus it appears that William Thomas devised that John Fitzwilliams should kill the Queen, and Throckmorton knew of it."

"I deny that I said any such thing to Sir Nicholas Arnold," replied the prisoner; "and though he is an honest man, he may either forget himself, or devise means how to rid himself of so weighty a burden as this is, for he is charged as principal: this I perceived when he charged me with his tale; and therefore I blame him the less for it, that he endeavours to clear himself, using me as witness, to lay the contrivance at the door of William Thomas. But truly I never said any such words to him; and the more fully to clear the matter, I saw John Fitzwilliams here just now, who can bear witness he never told me of any misunderstanding between them; and as I knew nothing at all of any misunderstanding, so I knew nothing of the cause. I desire, my lords, he may be called to swear what he can as to this affair." Then John Fitzwilliams drew to the bar, and offered to depose his knowledge of the matter in open court.

*Attorney-General.* "I pray you, my lords, suffer him not to be sworn, nor to speak; we have nothing to do with him."

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.* "Why should not he be suffered to tell the truth? and why are you not so willing to hear truth for me, as falsehood against me?"

*Sir N. Hare.* "Who called you hither, Fitzwilliams, or bid you speak? You are a very busy fellow."

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.* "I called him, and humbly desire he may speak and be heard as well as Vaughan [a witness, and the only one, who had been called personally against him], or else I am not indifferently used, especially as Mr. Attorney doth so press this matter against me."

*Sir R. Southwell.* "Go your way, Fitzwilliams, the court has nothing to do with you; peradventure you would not be so ready in a good cause."

And so John Fitzwilliams went out of the court, and was not suffered to speak. It is probable, however, that this rejection of evidence affected the prisoner's interests with the jury at least as favourably as the evidence itself could have done if heard. And Throckmorton took care to press the consideration directly home to them.

ace," said he, "this gentleman's declaration may not be admitted, I hope you of jury will take notice that this was not for anything he had to say against me, on the contrary, for fear he should speak for me. Now as to Master Arnold's position against me, I say, I did not tell him any such words; so that, if they material, there is but his Yea and my Nay for them. But that the words may be so much strained against me, I pray you, Mr. Attorney, why might I not have Arnold that John Fitzwilliams was angry with William Thomas, and yet not in the cause of the anger? Who proves that I knew anything of the design of William Thomas to kill the Queen? No man; for Arnold says not one word of it, only that there was a difference between them; and to say that implies neither son, nor any knowledge of treason. Is this all the evidence you have against me, in order to bring me within the compass of the indictment?"

*Serg. Stamford.* "Methinks those things which others have confessed, together with your own confession, will weigh shrewdly. But what have you to say as to rising in Kent, and Wyatt's attempt against the Queen's royal person in her palace?"

*Chief Justice Bromley.* "Why do you not read to him Wyatt's accusation, which makes him a sharer in his treasons?"

*Sir R. Southwell.* "Wyatt has grievously accused you, and in many things which have been confirmed by others."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Whatever Wyatt said of me in hopes to save his life, he said it at his death; for, since I came into the hall, I heard one say, whom I do not know, that Wyatt on the scaffold cleared not only the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the Tower, saying none of them knew anything of his commotion; of which number I take myself to be one."

*Sir N. Hare.* "Nevertheless, he said that all he had written and confessed before council was true."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Nay, sir, by your patience, Wyatt did not say so; that is Master Doctor's addition."

*Sir R. Southwell.* "It seems you have good intelligence."

*Sir N. Throckmorton.* "Almighty God provided this revelation for me this very day, when I came hither; for I have been in close prison for eight-and-fifty days, where I could hear nothing but what the birds told me, who flew over my head."

He law of the lawyers fared no better in Throckmorton's grasp than their facts. He made a rapid and masterly review of, and answer to, all that had been alleged against him, he took up new ground, namely, that according to the only two statutes in force against treasons, he could not, even if guilty, be attainted within the indictment. These statutes he now desired to be read, which request was refused; but he quoted them so exactly, and cited cases so much in point, that the chief justice was silenced. Sergeant Stamford exclaimed, "If I had thought you were so well prepared with cases, I would have come better prepared for you." When Sergeant Stamford told him the Judges did not sit there to make disputations, but to declare the law; one of those Judges (Hare) having confirmed the observation, by telling Throckmorton he had heard both the law and the reason, if he could but understand it, he spoke out passionately, "Oh, merciful God! Oh, eternal Father! who seest all things, what manner of proceedings are these? To what purpose was the statute of repeal made in the last Parliament, where I heard some of you here present, and several members of the Queen's learned counsel, grievously inveigh against the cruel and bloody laws of Henry VIII., and some laws made in the late King's time? Some termed



them Draco's laws, which were written in blood; others said they were tolerable than any laws made by Dionysius or any other tyrant. In a word, men, so many bitter names and terms those laws. . . . Let us look with impartial eyes, and consider thoroughly with ourselves, whether, as Judges, handle the statute of Edward III., with your equity and construction not now in a much worse condition than when we were yoked with those laws. Those laws, grievous and captious as they were, yet had the very property according to St. Paul's description, for they admonished us, and discovered plainly to us, and when a man is warned he is half armed; but these laws are handled, are very baits to catch us, and only prepared for that purpose; no laws at all: for at first sight they assure us that we are delivered from bondage, and live in more security; but when it pleases the higher powers to man's life and sayings in question, then there are such constructions, interpretations and extensions reserved to the Judges and their equity, that the party tried, am, will find himself in a much worse case than when those cruel laws were. But I require you, honest men, who are to try my life, to consider these things: clear these Judges are inclined rather to the times than to the truth; for their judgments are repugnant to the law, repugnant to their own principles, and repugnant to the opinions of their godly and learned predecessors."

After a summing up by the Judge, in which Sir Nicholas had to help his "bad" as to the answers given to the charges, and after a most solemn address to the jury, the case was left to them—the final judges, fortunately, of the trial. They were the only ones in whom the prisoner could have had any hope from the commencement of the trial. As they were dismissed, Throckmorton, who had escaped, who was as shrewd and sagacious one moment as impressive and eloquent the next, through the whole proceedings, took care to demand that no one should have access to the jury. What terrible hours must those have been that night before the return of the jury into the court!—but at last they came. After a preliminary form, followed the momentous question, "How say you? is Sir Throckmorton, knight, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of the treason for which he has been indicted and arraigned? Yea or no?" The foreman of the jury answered, "No;" upon which the Lord Chief Justice would fain have frightened the prisoner with another verdict; and when that did not succeed, began to consult with the other judges, but Sir Nicholas gave them not a moment, steadily but respectfully repeating his demand for his discharge; and at last it was given. Thus ended an interesting trial perhaps on record, for the exhibition of intellectual power. The prisoners were not allowed to escape unpunished; imprisonment and fines fell heavily upon them, for daring to do what they had the absurdity to believe they were planned to do—decide according to their conscience, even though it were in a case of capital execution.

The trial of Garnet, though deeply interesting in itself, and still more interesting in a political sense than Throckmorton's, reads but flatly after the latter; and with all his double-dealing and wily caution, fell into a trap at which Throckmorton would have laughed. A brief record of the case, therefore, as a whole, will be once more attractive and suitable to our remaining space. When the Gunpowder first frightened the isle from its propriety, and alarmed James to that degree that a veritable explosion, had he escaped, could hardly have increased, the conscience of the wrongs he had done to the Catholics,—and which they sought to avenge by a monstrous and wholesale act of slaughter,—coupled with the instincts of self-preservation and destruction, which the weak so often exhibit after danger, seem to have



ably upon his mind, and to have induced him not to remain content with the lives of the conspirators, and their aiders and abettors,—taken though they were in a mode, to an extent, that reduces the Government of the day to a level with the men it punished for barbarous inhumanity,—but to strive also to fix upon the entire Catholic pale the guilt of sharing in the conspiracy. Again and again, therefore, did the Commission examine Fawkes and his companions, with the usual accompaniment of examinations in those days—torture, aided by the searching minds of Popham, Coke,

Bacon; and at last sufficient matter was extorted, chiefly from Bates, Catesby's servant, to warrant the issue of a proclamation for the apprehension of three priests: Gerard, Greenway, and the Superior of the Jesuits in England, Garnet. The two men escaped to the Continent, whilst the latter, having sent a letter to the Lords of

Council strongly asserting his innocence, disappeared, and for a long time baffled attempts at discovery. At last, Humphrey Littleton, condemned to death at Worcester for harbouring two of the conspirators, in order to save his own life, told the sheriff that some Jesuits named in the proclamation were at Hendlip, a spacious manor, about four miles from Worcester, which was only pulled down in the present century. Thither, on receiving Littleton's information, went Sir Henry Bromley of Holt Castle, with elaborate instructions from Lord Salisbury as to the modes of search to be adopted. For some time Sir Henry was perfectly unsuccessful, and, as he says, "out of all hope of finding any man or any thing," until he discovered "a number of Popish trash" hid under boards in three or four several places, which stimulated him to continue a watch, and, at last, two unhappy men came forth "from hunger and cold," one of whom it was thought was Greenway. With fresh vigour the search now prosecuted, and one of the men, on the eighth day, discovering an opening into a cell not previously known, there came forth two more persons, both in suits, and one of them the anxiously sought-for Garnet. He was immediately conveyed to the Tower, where he was examined almost daily for ten days, but without any conclusive proof being furnished of his own guilt, or the guilt of the others named in the proclamation. Especial reasons of state seem to have saved Garnet from the torture, but his servant Owen and the other two Jesuits, Oldcorne and Lambers (who with Garnet made the four found at Hendlip), were not only tortured, but one of them (Owen) with such infamous severity, that the unhappy man ripped his own body with a table-knife to escape any further infliction. A new scheme was now tried, worthy of the institution from which it had probably been derived—the Spanish Inquisition—and Garnet was at once caught. He and Oldcorne were placed in adjoining cells, and informed by the keeper, under strong injunctions of secrecy, that, by opening a concealed door, they might confer together. And here every day or two they met, their whole conversation at the mercy of two listeners, who made regular written memorandums of it for the Council. And thus was laid the groundwork of the great body of criminatory evidence subsequently established against Garnet at Guildhall, where, in order, as both Lord Salisbury and Sir Edward Coke stated on the trial, to compliment the loyalty of the citizens by so exemplary a display of Popish treason, the trial took place, on the 28th of March, 1606; and ended in his conviction and execution, amidst a general feeling among the Catholics at he was a martyr. Of the other events in what we may call this episodic history of Guildhall, there are but two possessing any high claims to recollection—the trial of the poet Waller, in the period of the Commonwealth, and that of the poet Marvell, in the reign of Henry VIII.

Some of the present uses of the great civic hall are well known. On the dais at the west end are erected the hustings for the parliamentary elections of the City of London.

The Corporation banquets are also given here; and their history from Sir John Shaw—excellent man!—built the kitchen, in 1501, down to the present Majesty, or even to the year 1851, would furnish rich materials for the art and science of good living, for that the latter is both, cooks and unanimously agree. The most magnificent of these feasts seems to have been in 1814, after the overthrow of Napoleon, when the chief guests were the Prince the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia; when the dinner was served on plate, valued at above £200,000; when all the other arrangements were on a correspondingly sumptuous scale; and when, in a word, the expenditure amounted at £25,000. On some occasions the Guildhall banquets have had an interest attached to them. A good dinner, it is well known, is often the most effectual way of opening an Englishman's heart. Charles I., acting this maxim, dined with the citizens just at that critical period of his history, when a recourse to arms must have appeared to all thoughtful minds the only solution of the contest between him and the people. The long Parliament had been arrested, tried, and executed: the City exhibiting its sympathy with regard to that nobleman, while his fate was yet undecided, by presenting a petition for justice against him, signed by 20,000 citizens. To arrest these similarly dangerous symptoms was, therefore, an object of the highest importance. The banquet took place on the very day of the King's return from Scotland, the 25th of November, 1641, the Corporation having come out to meet him on the day. Its conduct was, of course, marked by every possible indication of respect, and Charles took care to return their compliments in a truly royal manner. When the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and others met him, in the Kingsland Room, he made a very gracious reply, in which he told them that he had a great thought of one thing as a particular affection to them, which was the giving of the city that part of Londonderry (Ireland), which had been formerly taken from them; and, in conclusion, he knighted both the Lord Mayor—Actor and Recorder. Then they all went on together in stately procession to Guildhall, where the dinner gave such high satisfaction to their Majesties (the Queen being present) that, after it was over, Charles sent for Mr. John Pettus, a gentleman says Maitland, of an ancient family in the county of Suffolk, who had married the Lord Mayor's daughter, and knighted him too. The royal visitors were then conducted to Whitehall, where his Majesty could not part with the Lord Mayor, who had most graciously embraced and thanked him, and charged him to thank the city in his name. Whether it was feared enough had not been done yet to show the harshness of the city politics, or whether the first move was so successful that the thing might be hoped for from a second of a like kind, we know not; but, in the cause, not many days elapsed before the Mayor received a patent of nobility instead of the knighthood so recently conferred (he was a *new* Mayor, he inherited the 9th of November having only just passed); and when a deputation of citizens, consisting of the Mayor and certain Aldermen, with the Sheriff, Recorder, went to Hampton Court to thank their Majesties for all favour, and to ask them to winter at Whitehall, &c., Charles agreed to their request, and his Majesty had ended his answer, and that Mr. Recorder and Sir George Villiers had kissed his royal hand, the next alderman in seniority kneeled down to receive like princely favour, when suddenly and unexpectedly his Majesty drew him up, and instead of giving him his hand to kiss he laid his sword upon his shoulder and knighted him; the like he did to all the other aldermen and the two sheriffs in number seven;” whilst as an appropriate conclusion, we presume, to



ately favour, his Majesty commanded that they should dine before they left the city.

The annual feast in Guildhall, on Lord Mayor's Day, is but the suitable close to the general business of the installation of the new chief magistrate, which takes place the day before, and to the somewhat tedious honours involved in the pageantry of the ceremony. The twenty-six aldermen and two hundred and forty common-councilmen of the City have seen with their own eyes that the existence of the Corporation has not been endangered by the bare presumption of any momentary lapse as to its possession of a head; in other words, they have seen the Lord Mayor elect and the Lord Mayor in possession sitting side by side, and then changing chairs; and the public have had their share of the enjoyment attached to the event, namely, the Lord Mayor's coach and the men in armour; and now all parties, except the public, sit down comfortably to enjoy themselves after their toils, still further solaced by the fair faces and radiant eyes which glow and sparkle in every direction: the concentrated loveliness of the civic domestic world, which these occasions, with a few others of a more social character, as a fancy ball for the benefit of the Poles, alone adequately reveal to us. The election of the Mayor takes place on the preceding 29th of September, and the electors are the liverymen of the several companies met in Common Hall, where it is called. To these the crier reads a list of Aldermen, in the order of seniority, who have served as sheriff (who alone are eligible), and who have not already passed the chair of mayoralty. In ordinary cases the first two persons named are accepted, but the Livery, if it pleases, may depart from that order, or even select those in preference who have already been elected and served. If the decision of a show of hands be not accepted, a poll is taken. The two names finally determined upon are announced to the Mayor and Aldermen by the Common Sergeant; these also generally elect the senior Alderman, but may reject him, as has happened in various instances, and elect the other. The person elected then declares his acceptance of the office (rejection subjects him to a fine of £1000), and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Common Sergeant, returning to the Hall, declare the result, and proclamation accordingly made. There remains but to present him to the Lord Chancellor, in order to receive his assent on the part of the Crown to the election; to administer the usual oaths before the Mayor and Aldermen on the morning of the 8th, after which the proceedings before alluded to take place; and, lastly, the presentation to the Barons of the Exchequer, when he is again sworn, a custom that is an interesting memento of the state of things after the Conquest, when the chief municipal officers were the knights appointed by the king as the instruments of his pecuniary exactions, and who, when, in lapse of time, again elected by their respective municipalities, were sworn to pay duly into the Exchequer the crown rent then accepted in lieu of the former certain and arbitrary imposts: London had two of these officers, called bailiffs, and paid £300 yearly.

The mummeries and sensual enjoyments which seem to round in and to form so large a portion of London municipal life has had one bad effect, which is as much to be regretted for the sake of its chief officers themselves as for the institution: they have turned aside the public attention, not merely from the capacities of the officers, but have made it estimate very inaccurately the real nature and amount of the services performed by the other. Looking at it as a whole, it would be difficult to find a more arduous and responsible position than that of the mayoralty of London. Consider for a moment the Mayor's duties. He presides at the sittings of the Court of Aldermen, both in their own and in what is called the Lord Mayor's Court, at the Court of Common Council, and at the Common Hall. He is Judge of the Court of



Hustings, which, however, does not make any extensive demands upon his Judge of the Central Criminal Court, and the same of the London Sessions Guildhall. He is a justice of the peace for Southwark, where he usually sits in Sessions, and continues subsequently to preside. He is escheator in London and Southwark when there is anything escheatable, not a matter now of very frequent occurrence. He is conservator of the Thames, an office that involves, among other duties, the holding eight courts within the year, and occasionally a ninth. He is to sign affidavits to notarial documents required for transmission to the colonies, attend, when necessary, committees of the municipal body, and the meetings of the Sewage Commissioners, of which he is a member. Then, in matters of a more important nature in which the City is concerned, or in which it feels interested, he is called upon to take the lead, and in consequence is in continual communication with the Corporation; he presides at public meetings; distinguished foreigners have a kind of scriptive claim on his attention and hospitality. He attends the Privy Council, the accession of a new sovereign; at coronations he is chief butler, and receives the cup as his fee. And as if his time were still insufficiently occupied with his corporate business, and the things naturally growing out of it, other institutions call upon him for assistance: he is a governor of Greenwich Hospital; a governor of St. Thomas's Hospital, receiving a visit from the boys in that establishment every Easter; a governor of King's College; a trustee of St. Paul's; and connected with many other schools, hospitals, and public foundations. Lastly, not that he is exhausted, but that our space is, he sits daily in his own justice-room at the Guildhall, or in the Mansion House for scarcely less than four hours a day on the average. We are not surprised how the mere enumeration of such an overwhelming amount of business as he is called upon to perform affects the fancy of the sportive wits who amuse themselves at the expense of the officer, but we do know that the latter need desire no better revenge than to be allowed to catch one of these said gentlemen, and place him in the civic prison for a single week.

Yet it must be owned that some of the interest formerly attached to the office of Mayor, and most of the romance, have been lost. There are no opportunities now for the ambitious Walworths to show their prowess; no government, be it Whig or Tory, is now of making the Lord Mayor an occasional inmate of the Tower, as it used to be, drawing his attention, as a wealthy and benevolent citizen, to its financial state, and though he still claims precedence of all but the sovereign within the city, this has been successfully disputed by Sir James Shaw against the Prince of Wales, and George IV. The history of the Lord Mayors of London in the nineteenth century certainly looks rather insignificant beside the history of their predecessors of five centuries back. Take up any tolerably full index to a history of the City of London, and mark the expressive items enumerated under the word Mayor. Maitland's, which, beginning with the first chief magistrate (after the bailiff Fitz-Alwin, 1189, and proceeding chronologically downwards, tells us that at the death of the Mayor—submits to the king's mercy, at another—is arrested, and purchased his liberty at a dear rate—is committed to prison—is, with four of the aldermen, taken up to the prince to be fleeced—is degraded—presented to the Constable of the Tower—again committed to prison—reprimanded by the privy council—flies with his family—assaulted—fined; "warm work, my masters!" and this all in the space of a day and a half. The cause was, no doubt, to be found very much in the feeble conduct of the Mayor and his brethren in those days; they were neither called upon, on the one hand, to help the monarch to fleece their fellow-citizens, nor would they, on the other, to help themselves, without being delivered up, on the other. And, after all, one won-

h took so much trouble with men who were indignant at what he did rather  
ul for what he did not, but might have done ; and seeing how much more  
to seize and take care of a charter than a mayor—how much more profit-  
icious restoration. Possibly the fact that the citizens of London could, if  
use the arms with which they were then generally provided, may have had  
o do with the matter, and rendered subtlety as necessary as force in deal-  
em. Hence the interference of royalty in the earlier elections, and the  
nteresting events that sprang from this interference, among which is one  
ange has not been more dwelt upon, from the high interest attached to an  
n. It may surprise many to hear that one of the greatest of English poets,  
ght also to be looked upon as one of the most eminent on the roll of the  
ious : no portrait, no memorial of any kind, reminds you in Guildhall of  
et was he an exile in the cause of corporate freedom. Born in London, as  
tells us, and feeling more kindly love “to that place than to any other in  
vas not one to remain in inaction when its liberties were threatened with  
ction by Richard II. Fortunately, we possess his own statement of what  
this subject had been from an early period of his life. “In my youth,”  
et, “I was drawn to be assentant—and in my might helping—to certain  
[confederacies], and other great matters of ruling of citizens ; and thilke  
g my drawers-in and excitors to these matters, were so painted and  
ich at the prime face meseemed them noble and glorious to all the people.  
ing mickle merit [to] have deserved in furthering and maintenance of  
, busied and laboured with all my diligence, in working of thilke matters  
And truly to tell you the sooth, merought little of any hate of the mighty  
thilke city, nor of commons’ malice, for two skilles [reasons] : one was, I  
to be in such plight, that both profit were to me and to my friends ;  
, for common profit in communalty is not, but [unless] peace and tran-  
just governance proceedeth from thilke profit :” observations worthy of  
of the ‘Canterbury Tales ;’ and presenting an interesting glimpse of the  
at guided the poet in action. Prior to the event we are about to notice,  
shown an almost open hostility towards the citizens, partly, it is said, on  
heir manly remonstrances against the proceedings of his ministers, and  
envy of their wealth. Accordingly, it appears, “he was accustomed,”  
, “when they had fallen under his displeasure, to oblige them to purchase  
ss with large contributions in money ;” and he had also repeatedly im-  
wn creature, Sir Nicholas Brember, as Mayor, upon them, in defiance of  
and rights. It may be here noticed that the City records show that, in  
s, the election of the Mayor was claimed by some popular and large con-  
rich, no doubt, was the entire body of citizens ; we shall perceive, in  
n account of the matter, that this was an element of the struggle be-  
rd and the Londoners. Describing (in his appeal to the government from  
om which the foregoing passage is taken) the arguments used by his  
induce him to adopt the line of conduct which had brought him into so  
, he says, “The things which, quod they, be for common advantage, may  
it [unless] we be executors of these matters, and authority of execution  
lection, to us be delivered ; and that must enter by strength of your  
.” Again, “The government,” quod they, “of your city, left in the hands  
is [usurious or extortionate] citizens shall bring in pestilence and de-  
you, good men ; and therefore let us have the *common administration* to  
vils.” We have here still more clearly pointed out the motives that ac-



tuated Chaucer in engaging in the struggle between the King and the popular party in the City, and which rose to its climax in 1392: when the latter selected John Northampton to be the candidate for the Mayoralty in opposition to Brember, and most exciting contest ensued. Chaucer is supposed by Godwin to have had another motive besides his regard for the liberties of the City, namely, zeal for his patient John of Gaunt, towards whose ruin, it seems, the proceedings of the Court were looked upon as the first step. Of the details of the struggle we know very little. Chaucer says of it, "And so, when it fell that free election by great clamour of many people [who], for great disease of government, so fervently stood in their election [of their own candidate] that they themselves submitted to every manner face [or, in other words, every imaginable disadvantage] rather than have suffered the manner and the rule of the hated governors, (notwithstanding that [they], in the contrary, held much common meiny [followers] that have no consideration but only to voluntary lusts without reason), then thilke governor [Brember] so forsaken," and fearing "his undoing for misrule in his time," endeavoured to hinder the election and procured a new one in favour of himself; and then burst out the insurrection, or, in the poet's words, "mokyrl roar areared." The result shows how deeply he was himself concerned. After the "roar" had been quelled by a large armed body, under Sir Robert Knolles, on the part of the King, and Sir Nicholas Brember once more unduly installed in the chair, proceedings commenced against the principal leaders of the defeated party. Of these we find only two names mentioned—John of Northampton's, who was committed to confinement in Corfe Castle, and thence removed to Carisbrooke Castle whilst preparations for his trial were made, and Chaucer's, against whom a similar process was commenced, but who, knowing the men with whom he had to deal, fled to Zealand. There he seems to have suffered much distress, and chiefly through the conduct of some of those with whom he had been connected in the business of the election. In 1386 he ventured to return to London, where he received a mark of the public approbation of his conduct by his being elected a member of parliament for Kent. It may have been this very election which determined the government not to overlook his former conduct, and so to get rid of a man whose abilities they must have dreaded; for it appears that he was arrested in the latter part of the same year, sent to the Tower, and deprived of the offices he held, namely, the Comptrollership of the Customs in the Port of London and the comptrollership of the small customs. Touchingly beautiful are his laments over his sad estate at this time. Having alluded to the delicious hours he was wont to spend enjoying the blissful seasons, and contrasting them with his penance in the dark prison, cut off from friendship and acquaintances, "forsaken of all that any word dare speak" for him, he continues: "Although I had little, in respect [comparison] among others great and worthy, yet had I a fair parcel, as methought for the time, in furthering of my sustenance; and had riches sufficient to waive need; and had dignity to be revered in worship; power methought that I had to keep from mine enemies; and meseemed to shine in glory of renown. Every one of those joys is turned into his contrary: for riches, now have I poverty: for dignity, now am I imprisoned: instead of power, wretchedness I suffer: and for glory of renown, I am now despised and fully hated." He was set at liberty in 1389, though not, it is said, until he had purchased freedom by dishonourable disclosures as to his former associates: the whole subject, however, is too much enveloped in mystery for us to venture on any unfavourable decision; we can only be sure of the important fact, that no one suffered in consequence of Chaucer's liberation.

Ascending the steps opposite the entrance into the hall, which lead to the other



of the building, we find the room known as the Court of Aldermen, having a high and elaborate ceiling in stucco, divided into compartments, the principal of them containing paintings by Sir James Thornhill. The cornice of the room consists of a series of carved and painted arms of all the Mayors since 1780. The apartment, as its name tells us, is used for the sittings of the Court of Aldermen, who in judicial matters form the bench of magistrates for the metropolis, and in their more directly corporate capacity try the validity of ward elections and of claims to freedom, who admit and swear brokers, superintend prisons, order prosecutions, and perform a variety of other analogous duties: a descent, certainly, from the high position of the ancient eorculdmenn or superior Saxon nobility, from whom they derive their name and partly their functions. They were called "barons" down to the time of Henry I., as is probable, the latter term in the charter of that king refers to the Aldermen. A striking proof of the high rank and importance of the individuals so designated is to be found in the circumstance that the wards of London of which they were aldermen were, in some cases at least, their own heritable property, and as such bought and sold, or transferred under particular circumstances. Thus the aldermanry of a ward was purchased, in 1279, by William Faryngdon, who gave it his own name, and whose family it remained upwards of 80 years; and, in another case, the Knighten Guild having given the lands and soke of what is now called Portsoken ward to Trinity Priory, the Prior became, in consequence, Alderman, and so the matter remained in Stow's time, who beheld the Prior of his day riding in procession with the Mayor and Alderman, only distinguished from them by wearing a purple instead of a scarlet gown. As to the present constitution of the body, it may be briefly described as follows:—Each of the twenty-six wards into which the City is divided elects one alderman, with the exception of Cripplegate-Within and Cripplegate-Without, which together send but one; add to these an alderman for Southwark, or, as it is sometimes called, Bridge Ward-Without, and we have the entire number of 26, including the Mayor. They are elected for life at ward-motes, by such householders as are at the same time freemen, and paying not less than 30s. per annum to the local taxes. The fine for the rejection of the office is £500. Generally speaking, the aldermen consist of those persons who, as common-councilmen, have won the good opinions of their fellows, and who are presumed to be fitted for the higher offices to which they as aldermen are liable, the Shrievalty and the Mayoralty. Leaving the Court of Aldermen for the Council Chamber, towards which we now advance through an elegant corridor, we find ourselves surrounded by the chief artistical treasures of the Corporation. Before we notice these we may conclude our sketch of the component parts of the latter with a few words on the Common Council and the general body from which they are chosen. The members of the council are elected by the same class as the aldermen, but in very varying—and in comparison with the size and importance of the wards—inconsequential numbers. Bassishaw and Lime Street wards have the smallest representation—4 members; and those of Farringdon-Within and Without the largest, namely, 16 and 17. The entire number of the council is 240. Their meetings are held under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, and the aldermen have also the right of being present. The other chief officers of the municipality, as the Recorder, Chamberlain, Judges of the Sheriffs' Courts, Common Sergeant, the four City Pleaders, Town Clerk, &c., &c., also attend. Of the functions of the council it will be only necessary to observe, that it is the legislative body of the Corporation, and in that capacity enjoys an unusual degree of power, such as that of making important alterations in the constitution of the latter; that it dispenses the funds, manages the landed property, has the care of the bridges and of the Thames Navigation, with many other powers

and trusts. "In the earliest times," say the Corporation commissioners in their Report, "the words *Commune Concilium* appear to have been applied sometimes to the whole body of citizens, sometimes to the Magistracy (that is, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen), or the Magistracy and Sheriffs. In the reign of Henry III. a *Folkmote* seems to have been summoned to meet the Magistracy three or four times in the year, and on special occasions." We have already seen that the election of the Mayor was claimed by the citizens generally; and altogether it seems evident that, in the Saxon time, the *folkmote*, as the meeting of the entire body of people in the open air was called, or the husting or common hall, when within-doors, exercised the most important functions of local government. And although these rights were placed in abeyance during the first shock of the Conquest, they were again claimed and made the subject of frequent struggles, similar to that in which Chaucer was engaged, as reviving peace and prosperity afforded opportunities.

From the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, we descend to the Livery and the Freemen, from which, step by step, the former have risen. Until of late years the only path to freedom was through the halls of the companies (the ancient guilds), and they, in effect, still form the true base of the civic structure. The Livery are portions of the general body of freemen, who become members of some one of the various companies, possess the right of electing the Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, and other municipal officers, and form, in a word, the Common Hall of the present day. Glancing back over the general features of the entire corporate body, the analogy frequently pointed out between the national and the civic parliament appears no idle dream, such as we may fancy to have visited the slumbers of some ambitious aldermanic brain, but strikingly true, clear, and interesting. We perceive an elective head, as the sovereign once was elective, a comparatively irresponsible, and at a certain period—when, indeed, the very same parties probably sat as barons in both parliaments—hereditary second estate, and a Commons representing, or professing to represent, the citizens or the people. To carry it still farther, as Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council sit in one chamber, so sat the component parts of the national parliament when it first began to assume its present form; as the parliamentary constituencies really form but a fraction of the people, so do the Livery stand towards the general body of the citizens. But the most interesting result of the comparison is one that, we suspect, does not altogether agree with the popular view of the subject—that the lesser apes the greater: when municipal government in England was in its freest, most energetic, and most flourishing condition, parliaments, in any just sense of the term as applicable to their existing constitutions and powers, were unknown. In short, of our original local government, "enough is discoverable to show most clearly that it had never been moulded by a central authority, but that, on the contrary, the central authority had been, as it were, built upon the broad basis of a free municipal organisation."\*

The scene of these united assemblages owes little of its interest to its beauty or splendour. One would think, from the dingy appearance of the crimson lining of the walls, and the paltry matting of the floor, that the place belonged to the poorest rather than to the richest of municipalities, did not the numerous, and in some instances well-known, works of art around the walls, chiefly the productions of corporate patronage, show that it possessed no stinted exchequer. The sculpture consists of a full-length white marble statue of George III., by Chantrey, placed in a niche of a bluish-gray colour at the back of the seat of mayoralty, and of some busts, one of

\* Article, Boroughs of England and Wales, 'Penny Cyclopædia.'



them Granville Sharpe's, also by Chantrey, and one of Nelson, by the lady sculptor, the Hon. Mrs. Damer, who so worshipped its subject, that after the hero of the Nile had sat to her, she not only "loved to relate the conversations which she had with her 'Napoleon of the waves,'" but "it was one of her favourite ideas to form a little book of his sayings and remarks, for the use of her young relative, the son of Sir Alexander Johnston."\* Among the pictures are Northcote's 'Death of Wat Tyler,' Copley's 'Siege of Gibraltar,' Opie's 'Murder of David Rizzio,' with some interesting portraits by Sir W. Beechey, Sir T. Lawrence, Copley, and Opie; of which Alderman Boydell's, by Beechey, may be particularised for the sake of the public-spirited man to whose generous and enlightened zeal art owes so much. One feature of the collection is curious—the number of representations connected with Gibraltar: there are no less than three 'Defences,' and all by "R. Paton, Esq."

The other noticeable portions of Guildhall are the Old Court of King's Bench, the Chamberlain's Office, and the Waiting or Reading Room. In the first (where, among other pictures, is a pair of classical subjects—Minerva, by Westall, and Apollo washing his locks in the Castalian fountains, by Gavin Hamilton) the greater portion of the judicial business of the Corporation is carried on: that business, as a whole, comprising in its civil jurisdiction, first, the Court of Hustings, the supreme court of record in London, and which is frequently resorted to in outlawry and other cases where an expeditious judgment is desired; secondly, the Lord Mayor's Court, which has cognizance of all personal and mixed actions at common law, which is a court of equity, and also a criminal court in matters pertaining to the Customs of London; and thirdly, the Sheriff's Court, which has a common-law jurisdiction only: we may add that the jurisdiction of both courts is confined to the City and Liberties, or, in other words, to those portions of incorporated London known respectively in corporate language as Within the walls, and Without. The criminal jurisdiction includes the London Sessions, held generally eight times a year, with the Recorder as the acting Judge, for the trial of felonies, &c.; the Southwark Sessions, held in Southwark four times a year; and the eight Courts of Conservancy of the River. Passing into the Chamberlain's Office, we find a portrait of Mr. Thomas Tomkins, by Reynolds; and if it be asked, Who is Mr. Thomas Tomkins? we have only to say, in the words of the inscription on another great man—Look around! All these beautifully written and emblazoned duplicates of the honorary Freedoms and Thanks voted by the City, some sixty or more, we believe, in number, are the sole production of the late Mr. Thomas Tomkins. The duties of the Chamberlain are numerous; among them, the most worthy of mention, perhaps, are the admission, on oath, of freemen (till of late years averaging in number one thousand a year); the determining quarrels between masters and apprentices (Hogarth's prints of the Idle and Industrious Apprentices are the first things you see within the door); and lastly, the Treasurership, in which department enormous sums of money pass through his hands. The corporate receipts, derived chiefly from rents, dues, and market tolls, amount to about £156,000; and the expenditure to somewhat more. The Waiting Room is a small but comfortable apartment, with the table covered with newspapers, and the walls with pictures: among which Opie's 'Murder of James I. of Scotland' is most conspicuous. There are here also two Studies of a 'Tiger' and a 'Lioness and her Young,' by Northcote. Near the door, numerous written papers attract the eye—the useful daily memoranda of the multifarious business eternally going on, and which, in addition to the matters already incidentally referred to, point out one of the modes in which that business is

\* Cunningham's 'British Sculptors,' p. 263.



accomplished—the Committees. We read of appointments for the Committee of the Royal Exchange—of Sewers—of Corn, Coal, and Finance—of Navigation—of Police, and so on.

The personal state of the head of so important a municipality has always been an object of solicitude with the citizens. In his dignity they beheld the reflection of theirs. Hence the almost princely list of officers forming his household: his sword-bearer, his serjeant-at-arms, his serjeant-carver, serjeants of the chamber, his esquires, his bailiffs, and his young men: hence his heavy annual expenditure, which is expected to exceed the ordinary sum appropriated for that purpose, amounting to nearly £8000, by £3000 or £4000 more. Yet, strange enough, with such a household and such a sum to be expended, they never thought of giving him a house till the last century; and the Mayors, therefore, had to content themselves with their own, or to borrow the halls of their companies. The present pile, which stands on the site of the old Stocks Market, was finished in 1753, from the designs of Dance, the City Surveyor, after a plan by Palladio, sent by the Earl of Burlington, had been rejected. It is of course handsomely fitted up, and the plate, used on all important occasions, is valued at above £20,000. The Justice Room is immediately on the left of the chief entrance. A very interesting part of the business here is a remnant of a valuable old custom, which seems to show that the idea of a court of reconciliation is by no means a novelty in this country, though never fully developed. In this court private applications are continually made to the Mayor, for his advice and arbitration, and, we understand, with very beneficial results. The banquets which are here from time to time given, of a public character, as those to the chief members of the Government, or of a more private kind, as to the corporation, take place in the Egyptian Hall, an apartment of great size, with a detached range of large pillars, with gilded capitals, on each side, an ornamented roof in panels, and a throne for his lordship—the whole brilliantly illuminated by chandeliers. A long and very handsome corridor leads to the Hall, from which, near the centre, branch off the passages to the private apartments. As to the pictures, busts, and statues, which should give to all such mansions their principal charm, there is here a melancholy blank. What an opportunity for some new *Boydell*; what a rich gallery of civic historical portraiture might not be summoned at the call of the enchanter to people these now desolate walls. The Mansion House itself, as a building only a century old, can hardly be expected to have much historical interest attached to it. The most important event its annals can yet boast is, perhaps, the *Wilkes* riots, of which, during the mayoralty of *Wilkes's* friend, *Brass Crosby*, the neighbourhood was the frequent scene.



## KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXIX. COURTS OF LAW, JUSTICE, ETC.





## XXIX. COURTS OF LAW AND JUSTICE; PRISONS, ETC.

### COURTS OF LAW.

THE ancient practice of particular trades confining themselves for the most part to one spot, as in old London, would, in many instances, be about as convenient in London at the present day as a whole street of post-office receiving-houses, or the crowding together of all the members of the medical profession in one neighbourhood. The old custom may, however, still be traced faintly in some cases, and stronger in others; and in a great capital this will always be the case. So long, for instance, as the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, and the Royal Exchange shall exist, their vicinity will necessarily be the centre of the great monetary and commercial interests. Not less distinct and well defined, perhaps even more so, is the law quarter of London. Of the 10,115 attorneys in England who practise in the superior Courts of Law and Equity at Westminster, 3209 reside in London or its immediate suburbs, and fully one-half of them have their offices within half a mile of Lincoln's Inn. The majority of country attorneys employ London attorneys to transact their court business, and by far the greater number of these agents practise within a quarter of a mile of Lincoln's Inn. But in whatever part of London an attorney may reside, the law-offices draw him almost daily to the law quarter of the metropolis; and hence, both for convenience and dispatch, it is an important object with him to have his chambers in their vicinity. The offices attached to the Courts of Law are principally in the Temple and Lincoln's Inn, and those of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer chiefly in Chancery Lane. Not a step can be taken in suits of law without resorting to one or other of these offices. The Judges' chambers, where very important business is transacted before the Judges of each of the superior Common Law Courts are in Rolls' Gardens, Chancery Lane.

The Courts of Law, though for ages they have sat at Westminster, have not had the effect of drawing the law-offices after them, because it was absolutely necessary that these offices should be situated in the midst of the law district, that is, in or about the Inns of Court. Still, the fact that nine-tenths of the whole court business of the country is conducted in offices a mile or a mile and a half from the Courts at Westminster Hall, is a remarkable one. In one respect nothing can be more appropriate than the situation of the Courts of Law at Westminster, the ancient seat of the Kings of England. The origin of these courts may be traced to a period when the elements of the constitution were in their simplest state, and when legislative, administrative, and judicial functions were discharged more immediately by the Sovereign, assisted by the "wittena-gemote," or assembly of the wise, whom he consulted in each of these departments indiscriminately. After the Conquest the King was assisted in a similar way by the Great Council. The Aula Regis, so called from being held in the hall of the King's Palace, was the great court for dispensing justice and punishing crimes committed against his power. When the Great Council sat in their judicial capacity, they were assisted by the great officers of state who held

situations in the King's household, and the one who, in modern phraseology, is called the Lord High Steward, was not only at the head of the King's Palace, but of all the departments of the state, civil and military, chief administrator of justice, and leader of the armies in war. In the course of time the judicial functions were committed to an officer styled the Chief Justiciary; but to the office of Lord High Steward there still pertain remnants of his ancient authority, and it is his duty to preside at state-trials in the House of Lords. The Chief Justiciary presided in the *Aula Regis*, which was the only superior Court of Law. The functions of this tribunal had become gradually separated from the general business of the Great Council. It maintained the former power of the Great Council in punishing offences against the public, in controlling the proceedings of inferior courts, and in deciding on questions relative to the revenue of the Sovereign, and engrossed besides a great portion of the "common pleas," or causes between party and party. The different nature of the causes of which it took cognizance are styled by our earlier legal writers as pleas of the King, common pleas, and pleas of the Exchequer. The jurisdiction of the Chief Justiciary extended over each class of causes. In the reign of Edward III. (fourteenth century) the Great Council became essentially a legislative body, and as it now exists it is styled the High Court of Parliament, and is the court of ultimate appeal. The office of Chief Justiciary was abolished in the same reign, and thus not only the connection of the *Aula Regis* with the Great Council was destroyed, but the unity of that court was broken in upon, and separate jurisdiction was given to the three Courts of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. One of the articles of *Magna Charta* was, that common pleas should not follow the King's Court, but be held in certain places. Previously the poorer class of suitors, in cases which concerned neither the King's revenues nor his prerogative of prosecuting offenders on behalf of the public, were compelled, in civil actions between man and man, to attend the frequent and distant progresses of the court, or to lose their remedies altogether. The Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer still retain their peculiar jurisdiction, the former enjoying superiority as the remnant of the *Aula Regis*, and the latter having cognizance of all cases relating to the revenue. So recently as 1830 the appeal from the judgment of the Court of Common Pleas was by writ of error to the justices of the King's Bench. The Court of Exchequer is the lowest in rank of the superior courts, although formerly one of the first in importance. The judges are the Chief Baron and four other barons, who are so called from having been anciently chosen from such as were barons of the kingdom or parliamentary barons. Another relic of the original constitution of the superior courts, before they were carried out of the *Aula Regis*, appears in the appellation of "My Lord," which is always given to the Judges in their official character. In 1832 an Act was passed for assimilating the practice of the Common Law Courts; the great mass of causes may now, therefore, be tried in any of the three courts. Before 1832, besides the peculiar jurisdiction exercised by the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas had the exclusive right of trying all causes which related to freehold or realty. The right of practising in this court in term time was and is confined to Serjeants-at-Law, the attempt to deprive them of this privilege having failed. The Court of Exchequer consists of two divisions, one having jurisdiction in matters relating to the revenue; and the other is subdivided into a Court of Common Law where all personal actions may be brought, and a Court of Equity where suits in equity may be commenced and prosecuted. In the reign of Edward III. (in 1358) a court was erected, called the Court of Exchequer Chamber, to determine causes upon writs of error from the Common Law side of the Exchequer.

An appeal may now be made from each of the three courts to this chamber; and from whichever court it is brought, it is the Judges of the other two courts who decide upon it; but an ultimate appeal may be made to the House of Lords. The number of the Judges of England since 1830 has been fifteen, a Chief Justice and four puisne Judges in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and a Chief Baron and four other Barons in the Court of Exchequer. There were previously only four Judges in each court.

The Courts of Equity, which have jurisdiction in cases where an adequate remedy cannot be had in the Common Law Courts, are not confined to Westminster Hall. The Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and the Vice-Chancellors have their Courts there; and they sit at Westminster in term-time; but in the intervals, the Lord Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellors sit at Lincoln's Inn, and the Master of the Rolls, the second equity judge in point of rank, at the Rolls in Chancery Lane. Until 1841 there was but one Vice-Chancellor, but in that year two additional Vice-Chancellors were appointed by Act of Parliament; and the first Vice-Chancellor was distinguished by the title of Vice-Chancellor of England. On the death of Sir L. Shadwell, Vice-Chancellor of England, the office lapsed; but in 1851 it was found necessary to appoint a third Vice-Chancellor; and the three now rank alike. The Lord High Chancellor was originally a sort of confidential chaplain, or, before the Reformation, confessor to the King, and keeper of the King's conscience. In his capacity of chief secretary he was the adviser of his master in various temporal matters; he prepared and made out royal mandates, grants, and charters, and, when seals came into use, affixed his seal. The appointment to the office takes place by the delivery of the great seal. The authority of Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper were made the same by an Act passed in 1563; and the last Lord Keeper was Lord Henley, in 1757. From a small beginning the office of Lord Chancellor became one of great dignity and pre-eminence, and he now takes rank above all dukes not of the blood-royal, and next to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Before the Reformation the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper was usually an ecclesiastic. The last churchman who filled the office was Williams, Archbishop of York, who was Lord Keeper from 1621 to 1625. In the same century the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was neither an ecclesiastic nor a lawyer, was appointed Lord Chancellor. The jurisdiction with which the Lord High Chancellor is invested originated in the discretionary power of the King, whose special interference, as the fountain of justice, was frequently sought against the decisions of the Courts of Law, and also in matters which were not cognizable by the common Courts. The Lord Chancellor also exercises important political functions, and has a seat in the cabinet. He resigns office with the party to which he is attached. The Court of Chancery is a name which properly belongs to the Lord Chancellor's Court and the Vice-Chancellor's Courts together, but it is most frequently applied to all the Courts of Equity. The office of Vice-Chancellor is only of recent origin, having been created in 1813, and in 1841, as already mentioned, two additional vice-chancellors were appointed. The Master of the Rolls, another of the Judges in Equity, who has a separate Court, is an officer of great antiquity. He takes precedence next to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and before the Vice-Chancellors. The Master of the Rolls has the power of hearing and determining originally the same matters as the Lord Chancellor, with a few exceptions; but his orders or decrees must be signed by the Lord Chancellor before being enrolled. The Vice-Chancellor has nearly the same powers. Appeals (strictly speaking re-hearings) are made both from the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor's Court to the Lord



Chancellor, whose court of late years has chiefly been occupied with such appeals. The property "locked up" in the Court of Chancery amounts to the enormous sum of £40,000,000.

The public entrance to the Courts at Westminster is at the northern end of Westminster Hall. First is the Queen's Bench, next the Court of Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas, the Lord Chancellor's Court, and the Rolls Court. Few strangers omit paying a visit to the Courts of Law. The Courts themselves are very far from possessing any imposing architectural character; but the interest of the scene is independent of factitious circumstances. This spot has been the seat of justice for nearly a thousand years; and the history of our judicial tribunals, from the period when the sovereign dispensed justice in his great hall to the present time, is full of instruction as well as of interest. But, strong as may be the *religio loci* which a visit to the courts may excite, the associations connected with the administration of justice will command respect wherever the tribunal may be fixed. The purity and dignity of our judicial procedure is no longer sullied by the vulgar abuse and clamour of a Jefferies to beat down the defence of an innocent man. The time has gone by since the sovereign (Queen Elizabeth) could say of a criminal that "she would have him racked to produce his authority;" for the practice then existed, even in England, of obtaining confession or evidence by means of torture. In the present day a prisoner, in the language of Erskine, "is covered all over with the armour of the law." Lastly, the judges are completely independent of the sovereign or his ministers. The Courts of Law, therefore, apart from the living realities which they present, exhibit a systematic spirit of tenderness and humanity, united with firmness and the absence of corrupt influence, which constitute the perfection of a judicial tribunal. The ordinary scenes witnessed in a court of justice are so well known as scarcely to need description. In their general appearance the Courts at Westminster do not very much differ from each other. The Lord Chancellor's Court is the smallest, and the Exchequer Court the largest. The Queen's Bench is inconveniently small. Nothing can be worse than the absence of accommodation for counsel, attorneys, jurymen, suitors, and witnesses. A witness has to make his way into the witness-box through the crowd, and, after he has struggled through this difficulty, it is possible that the excitement may have given him the air of a culprit rather than of a witness. There are no waiting-rooms for witnesses attached to any of the Courts, and no means of obtaining refreshment, except from the hotels and coffee-houses at the foot of Westminster Bridge. Scarcely any arrangements exist for facilitating consultations, and they are often held in the passages and avenues, or at one of the adjacent coffee-rooms, where five or six consultations are possibly taking place at the same time.

The Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, also hold sittings for three several days during each term, and the next day but one after each term, at Guildhall, in the City of London, where the accommodations are in no respect of a higher character than those at Westminster. There has been much talk of providing Courts of Law more fitting the dignity and wealth of the nation, and a site has been indicated between Chancery Lane and Fetter Lane, fronting towards Fleet Street; but nothing has been yet done, nor even decided upon. The plan for the new palace of Westminster also contemplates new law-courts—at one or other place we may hope to see them provided soon.

## THE OLD BAILEY.

One of the most essential requisites in criminal law—*speedy justice*—has certainly been obtained at last in this Court. Whilst justice through the country generally continues to hold its sittings at long intervals, to try prisoners, many of whom, even if guilty, may have already suffered a greater punishment than their crimes deserved, and if innocent, have endured irreparable wrong and misery,—whilst thus justice, in mockery of its own name, moves sluggishly on out of London, we find in London a striking contrast. One may pass many times through the Old Bailey without discovering that the greatest of English criminal courts is ever shut. Month after month invariably presents the same scene,—the narrow street, covered with straw to deaden the noise of the vehicles (till the introduction of the wooden pavement), having on the one side the solid granite walls of Newgate, divided only from the lofty building (with that gigantic ventilator on the top) containing the famous courts of justice, by the open area through which prisoners pass from confinement in the former to their trial in the latter, and on the other side, waggon-yards, public-houses, and eating-houses, filled with a heterogeneous assemblage similar to that in the street before us. Merchants and professional men, fretting at the loss of their valuable time and the uncertainty of the period when they may be wanted; country farmers looking anxious and puzzled, and gaping rustics appearing even more foolish than ever; small tradesmen, whose Sunday coats are evidently donned for the occasion, and the many varieties of that extensive and peculiarly London genus, the costermonger, who, acting on the poet's precept, "beauty unadorned," &c., pay as little respect to dress as to many other social conventionalisms; these, with a plentiful admixture of policemen in their neat blue clothes; females, chiefly of the poorer classes; thieves of every gradation, from the member of the aristocratic swell mob down to the area sneak, curious to know how matters are going with their friends and associates, and with a small spice of curiosity as to any little revelations that may come out affecting themselves; and, lastly, the frequent apparition of a bustling sharp-faced attorney, of Old Bailey notoriety, gliding like an eel through the press, or of that much more imposing-looking member of the law who delights in flowing gown and powdered wig, the barrister: such are the ordinary staple of an Old Bailey crowd on court days. And how much insight into men may not one derive here from half an hour's silent but attentive examination! Mark the meeting of that policeman and that dashing youth with the long flowing hair, the fashionable loose coat, so carefully velveted—collar, wrists, and pocket-holes—and the large diamond in his gay stock; see how exactly they understand each other in that exchange of most significant glances: the face of the one a little flushed, but gay and assured—the policeman knows him, but has just now no case against him; and of the other—quiet, penetrative, and full of meaning: "I shall have something to say to you some day, my fine fellow, depend upon it:" and so for the present they part. Look again at that group of miserable women surrounding one who is passionately telling, for the twentieth time, the story of her boy apprehended and condemned, to her surprise and horror, for some petty felony, and who, she now declares, in a voice almost choked with emotion, is sure to leave his prison at the twelvemonth's end a confirmed thief. In the corner there, apart from the crowd, you may read a history in the attitude, gestures, and faces of those two men; it is a prosecutor and his chief witness preparing for the crucifying cross-examination which they well know awaits them. Move a few yards, and it is a fair chance you meet with the fellow of the picture—witnesses fortifying themselves to swear very hard for the defence: yet with their



courage oozing out, not, like Acres', at the fingers' ends only, but at every pore of their body, as they think of that unpleasant feature of the law, prosecutions for perjury: "They would do much for Jem, but—" One group more and we have done. See where, opposite the entrance into the chief court, a body of policemen are handling out of a coach a tottering most venerable-looking old man, with his silver hair falling about his shoulders. What does he here? Why at such a period of life is he brought from the quiet privacy of his fireside in a remote agricultural county? Alas! he comes to-day to find a long-lost brother in the felon's dock, and to mitigate, if he can, his punishment by speaking as to his former character.

Frequent, however, as are the trials at the Old Bailey, there is a pause. Justice, probably, must nod sometimes, and therefore it is as well to provide for fitting repose elsewhere than on the judgment-seat. The sittings of the Central Criminal Court are held monthly, but as the whole of the month is not occupied in the trial of the list of prisoners on the calendar, the spare time forms a vacation, and such are the only vacations at the Old Bailey. In consequence, trials frequently take place which illustrate with a kind of practical epigrammatic force the advantages of that speedy justice to which we have referred; such, for instance, as the apprehension of a prisoner for theft one day, his committal by a magistrate on the second, and his trial, conviction, and sentence at the Old Bailey on the third or the fourth. This state of things dates from 1834, when the Act was passed for the establishment of a Central Criminal Court for the trial of offences in the City of London, the County of Middlesex, and those parts of the adjoining counties which lie within a certain distance of the metropolis: Woodford, in Essex; Woolwich, in Kent; and Richmond, in Surrey, are all within the jurisdiction of the New Court. It will thus be seen that no inconsiderable portion of the entire population of England enjoys the benefit it has conferred. Under the general title—Central Criminal Court, are joined two courts of trial, both sitting at the same time for the greater dispatch of business, the one the scene of most of the events which readers of the Newgate Calendar delight in, as well as of events which give a deeper and purer interest to the history of the Old Bailey; whilst the other, called the New Court, has been used only of recent years. Crimes of every kind, from treason down to the pettiest larceny, are tried by the tribunal in question; even offences committed on the high seas, formerly tried at special sessions by the judges of the Admiralty Court, are now submitted to its judgment. The judges of the Central Criminal Court are, the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor (such is the order in the Act), the Judges, the Aldermen, the Recorder, and Common Serjeant of London, and such others as the sovereign may please to appoint by way of assistants. Of these, the Recorder and the Common Serjeant are, in reality, the presiding judges at an immense proportion of the cases brought hither for trial, a judge of the law only assisting occasionally—when, for instance, unusual points of law are involved, or when conviction affects the life of the prisoner. As to the juries, they are summoned indiscriminately from London, and from the neighbouring counties over which the sphere of the Court extends. Let us now take a glance at the interior. The Old Court will be, in every point of view, the most interesting, that being the one to which the well-known words "Old Bailey" were so long exclusively applied. The name, we may observe in passing, is supposed, according to Maitland, in his 'History of London,' to be "a corruption of Bail hill, *i. e.*, the place of trial for prisoners (by the bailiff); as now we retain the name of the Bail Dock for a certain part of this court, in which the malefactors are confined till called up for trial;" whilst, in the 'Penny Cyclopædia' (article 'Ballium'), we find the phrase derived from the Ballium, or outer walled court, supposed to have existed here in connection



with the old city wall, which ran along at the back of the present street, where traces of it are yet to be found. To which source we are to attribute the name, therefore, is unknown, both being so likely; but it is highly probable there was a ballium at this part of the wall, and that that was also used from a very early period as a place of trial: at all events, the judicial sittings here are of such antiquity that we have lost all records of their commencement. We may premise that the present building was erected after the destruction of the old Justice Hall (as it is called by Strype) during the riots of 1780. Passing through a door in the wall which encloses the area between Newgate and the Courts, we find a flight of steps on our right leading up into the Old Court; this is used chiefly for prosecutors and witnesses. Farther on in the area, another flight of steps leads through a long passage into a corridor at the back of the Court, with two doors opening into the latter, by one of which the judges and sheriffs reach the bench, and by the other, the barristers their place in the centre at the bottom. Both doors also lead to seats reserved for visitors. We enter, pause, and look round. The first sentiment is one of disappointment. The great and moral power and pre-eminence of the Court makes one, however idly or unconsciously, anticipate a grander physical exhibition. What does meet our gaze is no more than a square hall of sufficient length, and breadth, and height, lighted up by three large square windows on the opposite wall, showing the top of the gloomy walls of Newgate, having on the left a gallery close to the ceiling, with projecting boxes, and on the right the bench extending the whole length of the wall, with desks at intervals for the use of the judges, whilst in the body of the Court are, first, a dock for the prisoners below the gallery, with stairs descending to the covered passage by which prisoners are conveyed to and from the prison; then, just in advance of the left-hand corner of the dock, the circular witness-box, and in a similarly relative position to the witness-box, the jury-box, below the windows of the Court; an arrangement that enables the jury to see clearly, and without turning, the faces of the witnesses and of the prisoners; that enables the witness to identify the prisoner; and, lastly, that enables the judges on the bench and the counsel in the centre of the Court below, to keep jury, witnesses, and prisoners all at once within the same or nearly the same line of view. We need only add to these features of the place, the formidable row of law-books which occupies the centre of the green-baized table around which are the counsel, reminding us of the passage in the 'Beggars' Opera'—

“The charge is prepar'd, the lawyers are met,  
The judges all rang'd, a terrible show;”

the double line of reporters occupying the two seats below us; the sheriff in attendance for the day, looking so spruce in his court suit, stepping noiselessly in and out; and lastly, the goodly personage in the blue and furred robes and gold chain, who sits in the centre on the chief seat, with the gilded sword of justice suspended over his head against the crimson-lined wall. Some abstruse document, apparently, just now engages his attention, for he appears utterly absorbed in it, bending over his desk. It must surely be the Lord Chancellor come to try some great case, thinks many an innocent spectator; but he rises, and we perceive it is only an ex-Lord Mayor reading the newspaper of the day. But we forget: Hazlitt said that a city apprentice who did not esteem the Lord Mayor the greatest man in the world would come some day to be hanged; and here everybody apparently is of the same opinion. Who, then, is the judge? one naturally asks; when, looking more attentively, we perceive, for the first time, beyond the representative of civic majesty, which thus asserts its rights, some one writing, taking frequent but brief glances at the prisoners or the witnesses,

but never turning his head in any other direction, speaking to no one on the bench, unspoken to—that is a judge of the land, quietly doing the whole business of the Court.

Quitting the Court, we notice, as we walk along the corridor, the various conveniences for the judges, sheriffs, and others, as robing-rooms and rooms for refreshment, &c., and returning into the area before mentioned, additional horrors of the old criminal law throng upon the recollection, in connection with the name of the spot, the "Pew Yard." To many of our readers the meaning of these words will be unknown. The advancing spirit of civilisation has swept away the fearful custom that gave the appellation, along with the torture, the browbeating of witnesses, twisting of law into any shape a government might desire, corrupt judges, and packed juries. The custom to which we allude is that of *peine forte et dure* (the strong and hard pain), a torture applied to persons who refused to plead when called upon at the bar, with the view of thereby saving their property, which would be forfeited to the crown on conviction for the crimes charged. Our best legal writers differ as to the origin of this custom, some believing it to have been in use before the reign of Edward I., others that it dates from that reign, when it was declared, in the statute usually known as the Statute of Westminster, that "such persons as will not put themselves upon inquests of felonies at the suit of the King shall be put into hard and strong prison, as those which refuse to be at the common law of the land." For a considerable period the punishment appears to have remained of the character here indicated, being simply imprisonment of a "hard" nature; that is, the prisoner was barely kept from perishing of cold and hunger. But a most important alteration had obtained by the reign of Henry IV., when we find from the 'Year Book' that the judgment upon persons standing mute, according to the advice of all the judges, was "that the marshal should put them in low and dark chambers, naked except about their waists; that he should place upon them as much weight of iron as they could bear, *and more*, so that they should be unable to rise; that they should have nothing to eat but the worst bread that could be found, and nothing to drink but water taken from the nearest place to the gaol, except running water; that on the day in which they had bread they should not have water, and *e contrà*; and that they should lie there till they were dead." And this was the custom that continued down to the last century, with the mere alteration, from humane motives, of making the weight sufficient to ensure death speedily, the placing a sharp stone or piece of wood under the back with the same view, and the addition of a preliminary process of tying the thumbs with whipcord, in order to compel the culprit to plead without resorting to the more terrible infliction. By the statute 12 Geo. III., it was provided that persons refusing to plead, when arraigned for felony or piracy, should be convicted of the same. By the present law, persons refusing to plead have a plea of 'not guilty' recorded for them, and the trial proceeds. One of the latest cases of the operation of the old law at the Old Bailey appears to have been in 1734. Previous instances at the same place are very numerous. In April, 1721, Mary Andrews, refusing to plead, had her thumbs tied with whipcord, but remained so firm under the infliction that three several cords were broken before she would plead. In the same year, Nathaniel Hawes suffered in a similar manner, without giving the slightest evidence of a faltering resolution.

Minor offences, not involving capital punishment, are also tried at the Middlesex Sessions, held at Clerkenwell and Westminster. A considerable number of offenders are tried at Clerkenwell, but very few at Westminster. The number of prisoners committed for trial or bailed in Middlesex, including London, but not including those sent for trial to the Criminal Court from the portions of Kent, Surrey, and

Essex, included in its jurisdiction, was—in 1845, 4440; in 1846, 4641; in 1847, 5176; in 1848, 4856; and in 1849, 3861; this is the latest return. In 1849 crime is classified as follows:—

	Total number of offenders.	Convicted.	Sentenced to death.	Transportation for various periods.	Imprisonment for various periods.
Offences against the person, including murder . . . . .	291	180	2	31	147
Offences against property, committed with violence . . . . .	187	155	5	32	63
Offences against property, committed without violence . . . . .	8089	2553	...	271	2282
Malicious offences against property . . . . .	11	5	...	3	2
Forgery, and offences against the currency . . . . .	137	113	...	29	84
Other offences not included in the above classes . . . . .	146	92	...	...	92
	3861	3098	7	416	2675

In no instance was the sentence of death carried into effect; all were commuted for transportation, in four cases for life.

#### COUNTY COURTS, ETC.

What the Act for instituting the Central Criminal Court did for facilitating justice in criminal matters in the metropolitan district, the Act 9 and 10 Vict. cap. 95, passed in 1846, for the more easy recovery of Small Debts and Demands in England, did for proceedings in civil causes throughout the kingdom by the institution of County Courts. Each of these Courts, of which there are 60 in the whole, are presided over by a judge, who is empowered to hear both plaintiff and defendant, with their witnesses, and to decide unless a jury is demanded by either party. The jurisdiction of the Court was at first limited to claims not exceeding £20; since extended by the 13 and 14 Vict. cap. 61, passed in 1850, to amounts not exceeding £50. Six of these Courts are in the metropolis, and two in the suburbs. All are held in buildings by no means well adapted for their purposes, or likely to give any idea of the value or the interest of the proceedings transacted in them, being in every case buildings hired for the purpose, fitted up cheaply with merely what is necessary, and destitute of even any indication of their nature, beyond a painted board. But, though unpretending in their appearance, their benefit has been very great, and their advantages so much appreciated, that an Act is now (May 1861) before Parliament for extending the jurisdiction of these Courts. In these Courts, throughout England and Wales, from January 1 to December 31, 1848, there were entered 427,611 plaints, of which 32,520 were for sums above £10; 42,627 between £10 and £5; 96,871 between £5 and £2; 90,565 between £2 and £1; and 165,028 for sums not exceeding £1. Of the number entered, 259,118 were tried. The total amount for which the plaints were entered was £1,346,802 16s. 7d., the amount for which judgment was obtained was £752,543 10s. 7d., exclusive of costs, and £86,292 15s. 1d. was paid into Court without proceeding to judgment. In 884 cases a jury was required, in 446 of which the party requiring the jury obtained a verdict. The total amount of officers' fees in the year was £234,274.

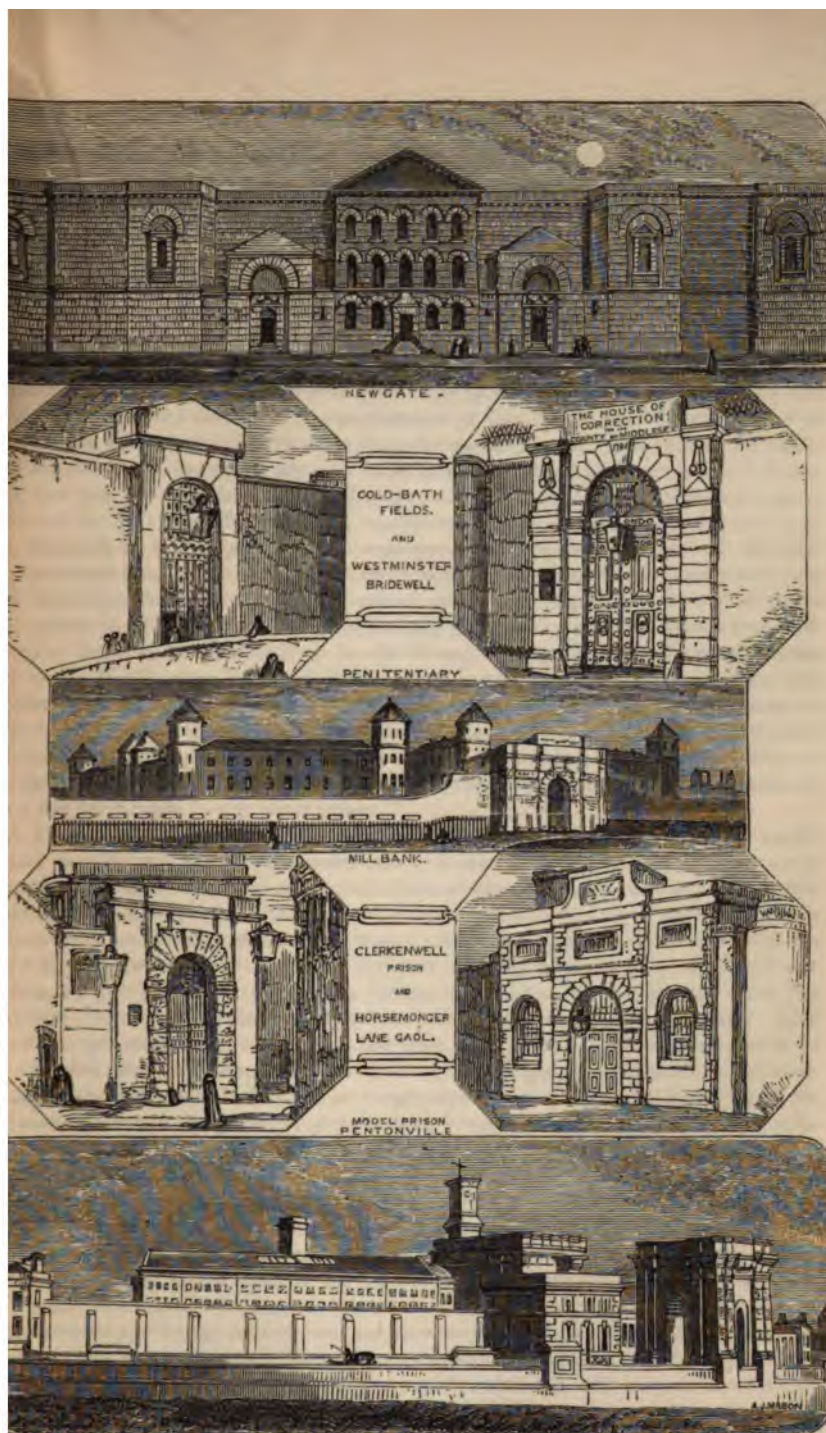


The ordinary business connected with bankruptcy is conducted before commissioners, of whom there are five, who sit in Courts provided for them in one building in Basinghall Street. The chief judge in bankruptcy cases is one of the Vice-Chancellors, who sits in Lincoln's Inn. There is also a Court for the relief of Insolvent Debtors, conducted by three Commissioners, who hold their sittings in a Court, somewhat more suitable in its appearance than are the County Courts, and more convenient in its arrangements, situated in Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

There are eleven Police Courts, presided over by magistrates for the metropolis and its suburbs, exclusive of Courts of a similar character for the city only, held at the Mansion House and Guildhall, presided over by the Lord Mayor and an Alderman, for the investigation of criminal charges previous to committal for trial, and for the decision of minor charges of disorderly conduct, trifling misdemeanors, &c.

#### PRISONS.

In 1796 there were eighteen prisons in London, some of them of very ancient date. Newgate (the City gate) was a gaol in the reign of King John. The prison-house pertaining to one of the Sheriffs of London, called the Compter, in the Poultry, hath been there kept and continued, says Stow, time out of mind, "for I have not read of the original thereof." About 1804, the old Poultry Compter became too much out of repair to be used as a prison, but the night charges were still taken there. The Marshalsea and King's Bench were both very ancient prisons. In 1381, the rebels of Kent, says Stow, "brake down the houses of the Marshalsea and King's Bench in Southwark, took from thence the prisoners, brake down the house of Sir John Immorth, the marshal of the Marshalsea and King's Bench," &c. It was to the latter prison that Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., was committed by Judge Gascoigne, for striking him when on the bench. During Lord George Gordon's riots the King's Bench was thrown open, about 700 prisoners released, and the prison set on fire. The Marshalsea was so called from having been originally placed under the control of the Knight Marshal of the royal household. Its jurisdiction extended twelve miles round Whitehall, the City of London excepted. The persons confined there before its discontinuance in 1842 were pirates and debtors; and it contained sixty rooms and a chapel. This prison stood near St. George's Church in the Borough. The King's Bench originally stood near the Marshalsea, in the Borough High Street. In Stow's time there was a prison in Southwark, called the White Lion, on St. Margaret's Hill (now called the High Street), near St. George's Church: it was originally the county gaol for Surrey, before the one in Horsemonger Lane was built, at the suggestion of Howard. It was called the White Lion, "for that the same was a common hostelry for the receipt of travellers by that sign;" that is, it was probably built on the site of an inn so named. Stow says: "This house was first used as a gaol within these forty years last," and it was then the county gaol for Surrey. In the thirteenth century the postern of Cripple-gate was used as a prison, "whereunto such citizens and others as were arrested for debt, or common trespasses, were committed, as they be now (says Stow) to the Compters." Speaking of Ludgate, he says: "This gate was made a 'free' prison in 1378;" and in 1382, "it was ordained that all freemen of this City should, for debt, trespasses, accounts and contempts, be imprisoned in Ludgate; and for treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences, committed to Newgate." Bridewell was given by Edward VI. to the City in 1553, to be a workhouse for the poor and idle persons of the City. The Tower was the great state prison, from the middle ages down to the present times.



PRISONS.





the number of the metropolitan prisons is now only thirteen. The Fleet Prison and the Marshalsea were discontinued in 1842, and the prisoners (debtors) were transferred to the Queen's Bench, now called the Queen's Prison. It is situated at bottom of the Borough Road, Southwark, contains 224 rooms, and the number of prisoners has often exceeded 500. The new Act for its regulation abolishes the day-fines. The old practice was for the "rulers" to pay ten guineas for the first £100, five guineas for each succeeding £100, for which they were in custody. Liberty out of the prison for three days was purchased at the rate of 4s. 2d. for the first day, 3s. 10d. for the second, and 3s. 10d. for the third. These days were specified on "liberty tickets." Of course good security was given to the Marshal that the prisoners should not decamp. The emoluments of this officer in 1813 were stated to be 3590 a year, of which £872 arose from the sale of beer, and £2823 from the rules. The regulations of the prison are now to be framed by one of the Secretaries of State; the Act provides for the classification of the prisoners. The Borough Compter, removed to Mill Lane, Tooley Street, was formerly used exclusively for debtors from the Borough of Southwark; but in consequence of the crowded state of Giltspur Street Compter, it is now occupied by convicted women: forty-five are there confined, the inspector, in his fourteenth report, gives a favourable account of its state. The prison in Whitecross Street is exclusively a debtors' prison for London and Middlesex. Debtors are also confined in the Surrey County Gaol, Horsemonger Lane, and the Westminster Bridewell, Tothill Fields; both likewise prisons for criminals. Debtors were confined in Newgate and Giltspur Street before the prison in Whitecross Street was built. The late Sir Richard Phillips, in a letter on the 'Office of Sheriff,' published in 1808, said:—"The very circumstance of being committed for debt to Newgate has a tendency to degrade an unfortunate individual, more than confinement for the same cause in any other prison."

It is very probable that the majority of the prisons will never be seen by the casual visitor to London; but this is not the case with Newgate, and its use is at once apparent, for there is not a more characteristic edifice in London, and it is admirable in spirit and design. Old Newgate prison, built after the fire of 1666, was partly pulled down to make room for the present edifice and partly destroyed during the George Gordon riots in 1780. The new building was begun in 1770, and not completed till 1783. It is from the designs of George Dance, who also built the Old House. At the commencement of the present century nearly eight hundred prisoners were confined at one time in Newgate, and in consequence of the crowded state a contagious fever broke out. Many improvements have been made since this period. In 1810, in consequence of the strenuous exertions of Sir Richard Phillips, a committee of the Common Council passed a resolution for building a new prison for debtors; and in 1815 Newgate ceased to be a debtors' prison, debtors being transferred to Giltspur Street Compter. This latter place ceased to be a debtors' prison in consequence of the erection of Whitecross Street prison. In the present public attention was strongly directed to the subject of penitentiary houses, some attempts were made at a classification of the prisoners in Newgate. Still it has often been stigmatised as one of the worst managed of the large prisons of London. The casual offender, committed on some slight charge, was thrust into the association of beings scarcely human, men transformed into demons by the vilest passions, and a life nurtured from infancy in the lowest depths of vice and infamy; young were placed with the old, the healthy with the sick, the clean with the filthy; and even the lunatic was there the sport or the fear of the prison. From the demoralising nature of such association there was no escape, and the young offenders

came out of prison fit for any desperate scheme of villainy. "I scruple not to affirm," says Howard, "that half the robberies committed in and about London are planned in the prisons by that dreadful assemblage of criminals and the number of idle people who visit them." Should the uninitiated in crime at first shrink from intercourse with the prison rabble, he was subjected to every species of annoyance until, openly at least, he was compelled to embrace the brotherhood. His contumacy, so long as it lasted, became the subject of mock trials, in which generally the oldest and most dexterous thief acted as judge, with a towel tied in knots hung on each side of his head for a wig; and he was in no want of officers to put his sentences into execution. "Garnish," or "footing," or "chummage" (for it was called by all the three names) was demanded of all new prisoners. "Pay or strip," was the order, and the prisoner without money was obliged to part with a portion of his scanty apparel to contribute towards the expense of a riotous entertainment, the older prisoners adding something to the "garnish" paid by the new-comer. The practice of the prisoners cooking their own food had not been long discontinued in 1818. Among other objectionable practices were the profits which the wardsmen derived from supplying prisoners with various articles, so that often they benefited by means which tended to promote disorder. The difficulty of introducing a proper classification of prisoners in Newgate led the Parliamentary Committee on Metropolitan Gaols, in 1818, to propose the classification of the prisons themselves, as Newgate for felonies before trial, and other prisons for different classes of convicted offenders.

It is now nearly forty years since the late philanthropic Mrs. Fry commenced her well-known attempts to improve the female prisoners in Newgate; and notwithstanding that gradually a number of improvements have taken place in the discipline and administration of Newgate, it is still defective, and radically so, for the present building does not admit of the application of a proper system of discipline. In 1836 the Inspectors of Prisons justly found fault with the evils of gaol-contamination which prevail within its walls. The prisoners were enabled to amuse themselves with gambling, card-playing, and draughts. They could obtain, by stealth it is true, the luxury of tobacco and a newspaper. Sometimes they could get drunk. Instruments to facilitate prison-breaking were found in the prison. Combs and towels were not provided, and the supply of soap was insufficient. In 1838 the Inspectors reported, that "this great metropolitan prison, while it continues in its present state, is a fruitful source of demoralization." In their Report (the Seventh), dated 5th April, 1843, the Inspectors say:—"It has been our painful duty again and again to point attention to the serious evils resulting from gaol association and consequent necessary contamination in this prison. The importance of this prison in this point of view is very great. As the great metropolitan prison for the untried, it is here that those most skilled in crime of every form, those whom the temptations, the excesses, and the experience, of this great city have led through a course of crime to the highest skill in the arts of depredation and to the lowest degradation of infamy, meet together with those who are new to such courses, and who are only too ready to learn how they may pursue the career they have just entered upon with most security from detection and punishment, and with greater success and indulgence. The numbers committed, nearly 4000 per annum, which have rapidly increased, and are still increasing, render this a subject of still greater moment. Of this number about one-fifth are acquitted; many of these return to their associates with increased knowledge and skill in crime; with lost characters; with more hardened dispositions from their association here with others worse than themselves; and with their sense of shame and self-respect sadly diminished, if not utterly de-

y exposure to others, and by increased gaol acquaintances. Many others are to short terms of imprisonment, and in like manner soon get back again to their courses and companions; and each of these becomes a source of greater to the public, and of danger and seduction to the unwary and inexperienced. seriously protest against Newgate as a great school of crime. Associated in large numbers and in utter idleness, frequently moved from ward to ward, by their prison acquaintance much enlarged, we affirm that the prisoners find this prison worse than they enter it. It is said that prisoners are here but a short time, and therefore that much mischief cannot be done. Many of them are in three weeks and more, and are locked up together in numbers from three to four, for twenty out of twenty-four hours, without the restraining presence even of a warden, without occupation or resource, without instruction, except that afforded by the daily chapel service, and by the short visits which a chaplain can pay from ward to ward in so large a prison, and by the books which are placed in the wards. In the space of three weeks, what remains to be learnt that any inmate of a ward can have had narrative of guilty or sensual adventure remains untold? what anticipation of future success and indulgence that has not been dwelt upon? Some few are able to fly from such mischievous companionship, and ask, after a few hours' absence, if any of the wards of Newgate, to be placed in the separate cells; but it is not to be expected that many will voluntarily fly from company which distracts thought, and from their own unhappy reflections. The arrangements, however, for the prisoners are such as to deter them from availing themselves of them. The solitary cells are the old condemned cells of Newgate, which are now used as refractory cells for those who offend against the discipline of the prison, or for those charged with unnatural crimes, or with the most brutal crimes; and if a young man, who has never been in prison—who wishes to retain the little good that remains to him—and is disgusted with the characters he has met in the prison, and the language and conduct which he has been obliged to hear, requests to be put apart, he is removed to these cells. They are cold, ill ventilated, dark, small, and even without a seat. At our last inspection we found two young men of comparatively respectable appearance, who, disgusted with the bad conversation, the oaths, and the language which they said they had heard in the wards, requested to be alone; they preferred solitude in these wretched cells to such companionship. One had been in separate confinement under the most unfavourable circumstances, and yet did not regret the choice he had made." Matters are now mended, even in the Fourteenth Report the Inspector states that "it still remains in a very inferior condition in respect to discipline and management when compared with other county gaols that have come under my inspection;" but this, he says, is not from no fault of the officials, but from the nature of the building, into which a crowd of offenders are poured, not only from Middlesex, but from the counties, when sent for trial at the Criminal Court. For about eight days before the Session the prison is crowded, and little or no classification can be made. In the reception-room, as it is called, 20 feet by 15 feet, it is stated that prisoners were confined in the dark, when transferred from the police courts to the prison of the day. The room has nine bed-places; those "who cannot find room on the floor." In the morning some classification is attempted; but the prisoners are placed together, and the dress is the chief guide in the arrangement; respectable, as they are styled, being placed in the chapel-yard. The clerk, however, now attends every day; a schoolmaster is provided for the boys, of whom two hundred to three hundred receive some instruction in the course of a



year; there is also a small library, and many of the prisoners read; and the health of the inmates is on the whole satisfactory. Some things, however, still exist that are scarcely credible. The cells are unlighted and unwarmed; the prisoners frequently suffer from cold, and after they are shut up for the night the strong do the weak of their blankets and rugs, and scenes take place which baffle description. The food when given is not eaten in presence of an officer; no knife or fork is allowed, only a spoon, and that the prisoner has to furnish himself with, so that they are compelled to tear their food with their teeth and nails. The number of prisoners who passed through this prison in 1848 was 3436, of whom 2797 were males, and 639 females.

Within less than a stone's throw from Newgate is Giltspur Street Compter, which is likewise a structure of Dance's, but in every respect greatly inferior to Newgate, now used for criminals only, the debtors having been removed on the completion of the Whitecross Street prison. It is under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and it is both a prison and a house of correction. Since July, 1842, no new charges have no longer been sent here, but to the police station-houses. The prison looks west upon St. Sepulchre's Church and down Skinner Street; on the south is bounded by the north side of Newgate Street; and on the east and north by the buildings of Christ's Hospital. The balls of the Christ's Hospital scholars often come into one of the prison-yards. What a contrast between the two institutions and their respective inmates! There is only one entrance, in the centre of the front building. The area within is occupied by a multiplicity of wards, yards, and sleeping-quarters, constructed without order or regularity, and which defy the application of the principles of prison discipline. Prisoners of every denomination and character are here crowded together, with as little classification as in Newgate. The Inspector complains of its over-crowded state, though he admits that it has been improved. He refrains from blame, as "the measure most condemnatory of its condition is the want of a new one." The numbers in it on May 7, 1849, were 229 males and 23 females; the committed prisoners are employed on the tread-mill, in picking oakum, &c., and the females in needle-work, washing, and cleaning. 3983 prisoners passed through the prison in 1848, of whom 2557 were males, and 1426 females. This is one of the least secure of the metropolitan prisons, and the escapes from it have been the most frequent. It is right to add, that many efforts at improvement have been made in the discipline and management of the prisons by the City Magistrates, who have shown a most laudable desire to amend the defects of a former period, though to a great extent negated by the faulty construction of the prisons themselves; and, as a proof of their zealous and enlightened spirit in this matter, they have a new and extensive prison built on the north of the Camden Road, Holloway, for the reception of all prisoners sentenced to confinement, which will enable them effectually to remedy the evils inherent in their present prison for criminals. This prison, now almost completed, occupies about eight acres of ground within the boundary wall; it is built in the castellated style; contains upwards of 400 separate cells, well warmed and ventilated; with two dwellings for the governor and chaplain, in the Tudor style, facing the road, and on either side of the entrance leading to the prison.

Bridewell, another place of confinement within the City of London, is under the jurisdiction of the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals, but it is supported out of the funds of the Hospital. The entrance is in Bridge Street, near the friars. The persons confined here are persons summarily convicted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and are for the most part petty pilferers, misdemeanants, vag

and refractory apprentices, sentenced to solitary confinement; which term need not mortify the said refractory offenders, for the persons condemned to "solitude" can with ease keep up a conversation with each other from morning to night. There are separate cells for 70 male and 30 female prisoners. The periods of confinement vary from three or four days to three months, the average being thirty days; about 1600 prisoners pass through annually. On May 31, 1849, there were 70 prisoners. In 1818 no employment was furnished to the prisoners. The men sauntered about from hour to hour in those chambers where the worn blocks still stood and exhibited the marks of the toil of those who, as represented in Hogarth's prints, were employed in beating hemp. The tread-mill has been now introduced, and more than five-sixths of the prisoners are sentenced to hard labour, the "mill" being employed in grinding corn at Bridewell, Bethlehem, and the House of Occupation. The Seventh Report of the Inspectors of Prisons on the City Bridewell is as follows: "The establishment answers no one object of imprisonment except that of safe custody. It does not correct, deter, or reform; but we are convinced that the association to which all but the City Apprentices are subjected, proves highly injurious, counteracts any efforts that can be made for the moral and religious improvement of the prisoners, corrupts the less criminal, and confirms the degradation of the more hardened, offender. The cells in the old part of the prison are greatly superior to those in the adjoining building, which is comparatively of recent erection, the whole of the arrangements of which are exceedingly defective. It is quite lamentable to see such an injudicious and unprofitable expenditure as that which was incurred in the erection of this part of the prison." In the Fourteenth Report the Inspector repeats almost the same statement, adding that the tread-mills are in the dark, and admit of the prisoners communicating with each other, and that they dine together without superintendence. The boys confined here have the option, previous to their discharge, of being removed to the House of Occupation near Bethlehem, where they would be taught a trade; but the Inspector states that few avail themselves of the opportunity.

If we proceed from Newgate in a north-west direction, there are two important prisons, Coldbath-fields and Clerkenwell. The former, according to the Inspectors of Prisons, "is the largest and most important in the kingdom for criminal purposes." Coldbath-fields House of Correction is in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, between the church and Gray's Inn Road, and is under the jurisdiction of fourteen magistrates, appointed at each Quarter Sessions, of whom four go out quarterly by rotation. It is for criminals from all parts of the county of Middlesex; but latterly debtors sued in the Small Debts Courts, and not paying, have been sent hither as convicted misdemeanants, a practice which the Inspector strongly condemns in the Fourteenth Report. The number of prisoners confined in the course of 1848 was 10,338, namely, 7743 males and 2595 females. Of this total probably about 600 were debtors sent hither by the Small Debts Courts. The number confined on May 19, 1849, was 1152. The management of so large a number, and the regulation of the details and routine of the daily discipline and proceedings of the prison, is a task which few men are qualified to undertake. The improved system of selecting for Governors of the great prisons, officers of the army or navy, has ensured, in this and other instances, the services of men of eminent administrative ability. The Governor is assisted by 54 paid officers, including two chaplains; and wardsmen and monitors are selected from the prisoners. There are 43 different kinds of books of account kept. The prison is surrounded by a high wall, varying in height from 18 to 23 feet; and the prison buildings are in three distinct divisions:—1. The principal, or old building, erected in 1794; 2. The new vagrants' ward, completed in 1830; and 3. The female prison or



wards, completed in 1832; but in 1850 a new arrangement was made, which rendered the classification of sexes unnecessary. All the female prisoners have been removed to Tothill Fields, and the House of Correction is now used solely for males. The old prison forms a square with two wings; and both the centre and the wings are divided into parts, eight of which belong to the centre and eight to the wings. These divisions facilitate the classification of the prisoners, though, from general structural defects, this classification is comparatively nugatory. The vagrant ward, used also for reputed thieves, consists of five radiating wings proceeding from a semicircular building, and these five wings, with the four intermediate courts, constitute four yards. There is divine service every morning. There is one schoolmaster, and he has 200 scholars, all under 17 being required to attend, and as many adults as can be received; the chaplains examine and test the progress of the prisoners; there is also a good supply of books. Sentences of hard labour are worked out on the tread-mill, or in picking oakum or coir, in menial offices, labour in the yards, in handicrafts necessary for the service of the place, and in scouring and washing. Labour of this kind, in a smaller proportion, is assigned to those who are not sentenced to "hard" labour. The discipline enforced is that called the "Silent System;" the prisoners working in bodies, and silence being preserved by great vigilance on the part of the officers of the prison, and the wardsmen, their assistants. Visitors are only received during two hours of the day, on week days; and an order must first be obtained from a magistrate, who only grants it under pressing circumstances. If granted, the visitor's interview lasts only a quarter of an hour, at a double iron grating, the visitor on one side and the prisoner on the other, a turnkey being stationed between the two gateways. The general practice, as it regards intercourse by letter, is to prohibit a convicted person receiving a letter until six months of his imprisonment have elapsed, and afterwards the permission only extends to one letter a month. It is impossible to practise gambling under the discipline adopted at this prison, which is highly distinguished for its efficiency. The Prison Inspector, in the Fourteenth Report, observes that this prison "was clean, orderly, and well regulated; and considering the obstacles opposed to its satisfactory management, from its being erected on no general plan, but a confused heap of buildings, built one after another, as the demand for prison accommodation increased, and the ordinary number of its inmates \* \* \* I consider its condition as reflective of the highest credit on all the authorities concerned in its superintendence, but particularly on the governor." The Inspector remarks that in a better constructed prison the Silent System might be more effectually enforced, and he objects to classifying men with boys, as is done here.

Clerkenwell Prison, or the House of Detention, St. James's Walk, is the general receiving prison of the county of Middlesex for persons committed either for examination before the police magistrates, for trial at the sessions, for want of bail, and occasionally on summary convictions. The prison was established by patent granted by James I. to the Liberty of Clerkenwell; but the greater part of the present building is of the date of 1816, when the prison was altered and enlarged at an expense of £40,000; but it is an ill-constructed edifice, and not at all in accordance with the present improved plans of prison construction. On two sides the prison yards are overlooked from the adjacent houses. The number of persons confined here on May 23, 1845, was 135, the number passing through in 1848 was 6328, of whom 4542 were males and 1786 females. The Inspectors of Prisons have frequently directed attention in their Reports to the demoralising effects of imprisonment in this gaol, and the Fourteenth particularises the ill effects of allowing indiscriminate visiting.



governor states that in nine months there were 15,579 visitors, who were admitted to the prison, and conversed with the prisoners at the cell doors. The prison is conducted on the separate system, but little is gained while visitors are admitted thus, great portion of them are of the same class as the prisoners themselves. Prisoners on re-examination are subjected to the hardship of associating with some of the criminal characters in the metropolis. The Fourteenth Report states that the prison is, under the circumstances, extremely well conducted.

Westminster Bridewell in Tothill-fields is a new building, erected at a cost of £100,000, and was first occupied by prisoners in June, 1834. It consists of three principal divisions:—the gaol for males before trial; the house of correction for male convicts; and the female prison; each on the radiating plan, and comprising eight acres with corresponding airing yards, 42 day-rooms, and 288 single sleeping-cells. The centre of the prison forms an octangular court-yard, 250 feet across each way. Prisoners are associated, and so are the convicted, but the latter are subjected to the discipline of the "silent system." The number passed through the prison during the year ending May 1, 1849, was 8199, of whom 5485 were males, and 2714 females. On June 1, 1849, it contained 17 occupants. The prisoners now here, as we have mentioned, are nearly all convicts. The Fourteenth Report gives a curious return of the religious profession of prisoners here: in May, 1849, there were 443 of the Church of England, 291 Roman Catholics, and 11 of other denominations.

Newgate Prison, in St. Mary's, Newington, is under the jurisdiction of Surrey county magistrates, and is a substantially-built structure, capable of receiving 364 criminals. It is of a quadrangular form, with three stories above the basement, and was completed for the reception of prisoners in 1798. One side, appropriated to debtors, consists of three divisions—one for the master-debtors, one for the inferior debtors, and the third for the inferior class of debtors and the female debtors. The criminal division occupies the other three sides of the building, arranged in wards, and the whole is surrounded, or nearly so, by the prison garden. The "silent system" is in operation for the convicted prisoners. The number of prisoners received during the year ending Michaelmas, 1849, was 4201, of whom 3323 were males and 878 females; and the number of prisoners on June 12 was 245, of whom 195 were debtors.

Before noticing the Millbank Penitentiary, and the Model Prison at Pentonville, we must briefly advert to the history of improvements in prisons and prison discipline. These began with the labours of Howard, who, in 1775, published a work on 'The State of the Prisons in England and Wales.' The manifest evils of association led to the publication of Bentham's 'Panopticon, or the Inspection System,' and in 1791 he presented to Mr. Pitt his plan for prison management, the principle of his 'Panopticon.' Mr. Pitt and several of the ministers entered into his views with the greatest readiness, but years were spent in a fruitless struggle to bring them into operation, and it is now well known that they were thwarted by the obstinacy of George III. The land on which the Penitentiary now stands was paid for at the price of £12,000, though a much more advantageous site could have been obtained at Battersea Rise for half the money. The Penitentiary at Millbank was not commenced until 1813. It was intended at first for 300 males and 300 females; but in 1816 an Act was passed authorising the completion of accommodation for 400 males and 400 females; and three years afterwards another Act extended the design, and 600 males and 400 females were to be provided for. In 1835 another Act further increased the extent of the Peniten-

tiary, and adapted it for the confinement of 800 males and 400 females. There are now above 1100 separate cells, and by subdividing a few of the larger ones, the number might be increased to 1200. The Separate System in England was first brought into operation in 1790, at the Gloucester County Gaol, under the auspices of Sir John Paul, a magistrate of enlightened views, who, in conjunction with Howel Jones, Judge Blackstone, devised a plan for a national penitentiary; and Sir George G. P. Colquhoun, then an active magistrate of Gloucestershire, induced the other magistrates of the county to give the plan a trial. It is an error to suppose that the separate system was first introduced in the penitentiaries of the United States. From 1790 to 1821 it was in most successful operation at Gloucester, until the increase of prisoners outgrew the accommodations of the prison.

The Millbank Penitentiary is in the parish of St. John, Westminster, but was passed for making it extra-parochial. It stands on the left bank of the Thames, about half a mile from the Houses of Parliament, and not far from the foot of London Bridge. The soil on which it is built is a deep peat, and the prison built on a mass of concrete. Still the lowness of the situation, the extent of the banks exposed at low tides to evaporation, and the number of deleterious miasmas carried on in the vicinity, render the prison anything but healthy. It was visited by prisoners in 1816, when a part only of the Penitentiary was completed; the whole was finished in 1821. At the end of 1823, in consequence of the prevalence of an alarming epidemic, the place was temporarily abandoned, the prisoners removed to the hulks, under a special Act of Parliament, and it was not re-opened until August, 1824. The cost of the buildings has exceeded half a million of pounds, or at the rate of £500 for each cell, but as the number of prisoners has only increased to 878 (in 1823), and the number for many years did not average more than 500, it is not extravagant to assume that the mere lodging of each prisoner involves an expenditure of capital sunk of not less than £1000, for which a builder would expect to receive the rate of £70 or £80 a year. By an Act passed in the session of 1843, the name of the Penitentiary was changed, and its proper designation is now the Millbank Prison. It is now under the control of a corporate body appointed by the Secretary of State, bearing the title of the Directors of Convict Prisons. They must be not less than five, and in them are vested the power for the management of convicts in this prison, and in the Model Prison at Pentonville, that at Parkhurst in the Isle of Wight, and of every other place of confinement for male offenders in England under sentence of transportation. The prisoners are chiefly persons sentenced to transportation or to death, but in many cases punishment has been commuted to imprisonment; and military delinquents. In their Report for 1840, the Superintending Committee remarked, that "in consequence of a distressing increase in the number of insane prisoners, the separate system has been relaxed." In their Report for 1841, the Committee state that eighteen months before the alteration of discipline took place, 15 prisoners became insane; in the eighteen subsequent months only 5. The Inspectors of Prisons, in their Report, state that the existing system of discipline "is neither calculated to deter from crime, nor contribute to the personal reformation of the offender." The health of the prisoners has always been a great obstacle to the maintenance of an efficient discipline. Much alteration has, however, been recently made to enable it to bear its part in the reformatory system in connection with the Model Prison at Pentonville and the establishment at Parkhurst. There are now 700 cells appropriated for prisoners undergoing their probationary punishment in separate confinement; the average duration lasts about eight or nine months. On Dec. 31, 1849, there were 955 male

male prisoners within the walls; the total number received during the year was 2689, and 458 females, and of this number 92 had died. The dietary and the general arrangements were stated in the Fourteenth Report to be satisfactory.

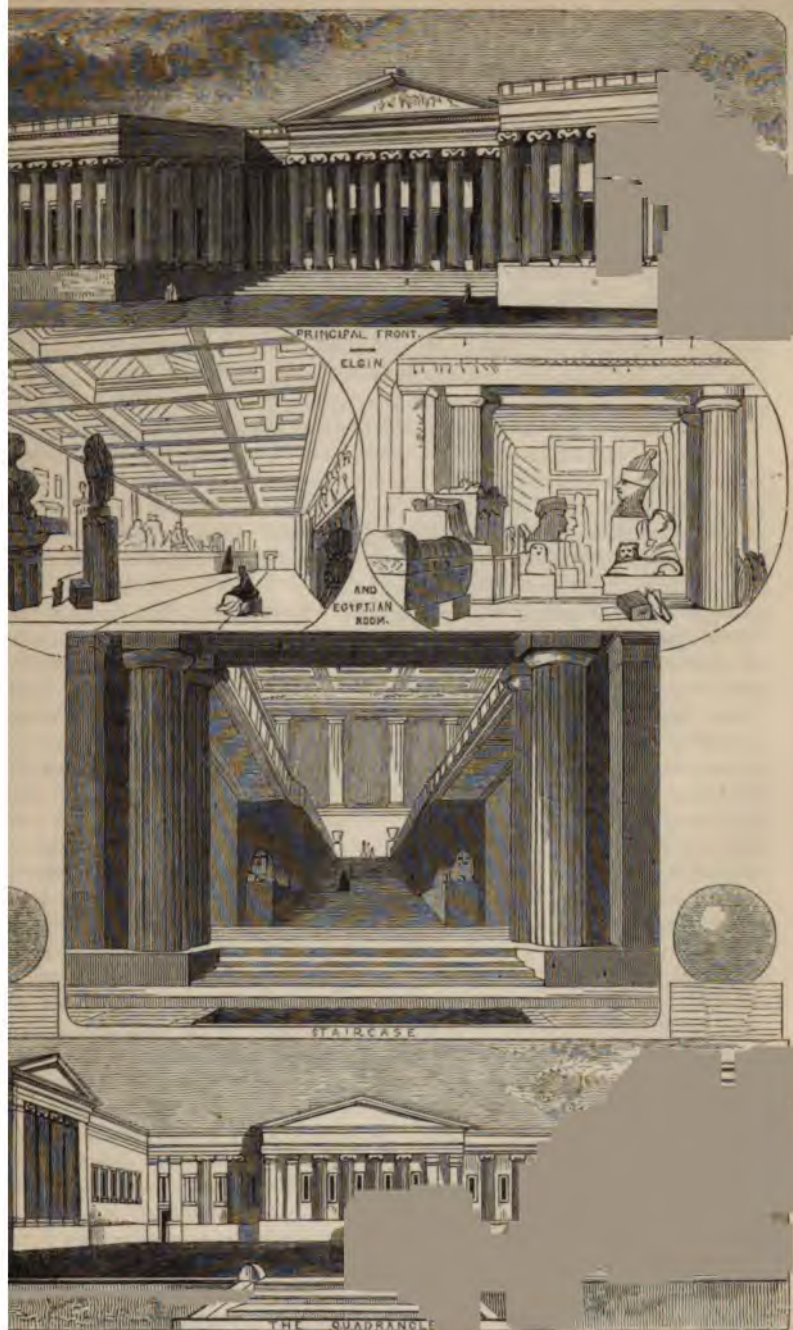
The boundary wall of the Millbank Prison is nearly three miles in extent, with only one entrance-gate. It encloses an area of sixteen acres, seven of which are occupied by the prison-buildings and thirty airing-yards, and the remainder is laid out as garden-ground. The plan of the prison-buildings is most intricate: arranged in the form of a pentagon, though a sixth angle has been added. In each division of the pentagon there are twelve cell-passages, each 152 feet long, or 1824 feet in each division, or 1044 feet in the six—a length of cell-passages two miles in extent. These passages are broken most inconveniently, by 54 angles, into lengths of 50 yards each; so that to command a view of 100 yards of the passages it is necessary to stand at one of the angles. Besides these cell-passages there are others communicating with the two armories, the two chapels, airing-yards, punishment-cells, &c. There are 28 circular staircases, and 12 square staircases, each of which is the same height as the building; making, in all, a distance of three miles to be traversed in going over that part of the building appropriated to prisoners. The Inspectors of Prisons state that, in consequence of the injudicious plan of construction, two or three times as many officers are required in the Penitentiary as would have been necessary under a better arrangement.

It is at the new Model Prison at Pentonville that we must expect to see carried out the views of the most enlightened minds of the present day on the subject of prison discipline. The contest between the "Silent System" (recommended by a committee of the House of Lords in 1835) and the "Separate System" seems to have gradually become most favourable to the latter mode of discipline, though the "Separate System" has often been confounded with the punishment of solitary confinement. The Model Prison is a place of instruction and probation, and not a gaol of repressive punishment. It is for adults between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five: the Reformatory Prison at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, for juvenile offenders, is on the same principle. The government is vested in the Directors of Convict Prisons, and the correct name of the place is "The Model Prison, on the Separate System." The objects to be kept in view are thus explained by Secretary Sir James Graham, in a letter addressed to the Commissioners in December, 1842:—"I propose that no prisoner shall be admitted into Pentonville without the knowledge that it is the portal to the penal colony; and without the certainty that he bids adieu to his connections in England, and that he must look forward to a life of labour in another hemisphere. But, from the day of his entrance into the prison, while I extinguish the hope of return to his family and friends, I would open to him fully and distinctly the fate which awaits him, and the degree of influence which his own conduct will infallibly have over his future fortunes. He should be made to feel that from that day he enters on a new career. He should be told that his imprisonment is a period of probation; that it will not be prolonged above eighteen months; that an opportunity of learning those arts which will enable him to earn his bread will be afforded under the best instructors; that moral and religious knowledge will be imparted to him as a guide for his future life; that at the end of eighteen months, when a just estimate can be formed of the effect produced by the discipline on his character, he will be sent to Van Diemen's Land, there, if he behave well, at once to receive a ticket of leave, which is equivalent to freedom, with the certainty of abundant maintenance, the fruit of industry; if he behave indifferently, he will be transported to Van Diemen's Land, there to receive a probationary pass, which will secure to him only a limited portion of his own earnings, and which will impose



certain galling restraints on his personal liberty; if he behave ill, and if the discipline of the prison be ineffectual, he will be transported to Tasman's Peninsula, there to work in a probationary gang, without wages, deprived of liberty, an abject condition. This is the view which should be presented to the prisoner on the day when he enters Pentonville; this is the view which should never be lost sight of, either by him or by those in authority over him, until the day when he leaves the prison for emigration; and when, according to the register to be kept of his conduct, the governor will determine in which of the three classes he shall be placed."

The Model Prison is situated between Pentonville and Holloway, and occupies an area of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  acres, surrounded by lofty boundary walls. The first stone of the present building was laid in April, 1840, and it was completed in 1842, at an expense of £85,000. It contains four radiating wings, with corridors running throughout, having cells on each side. The structure is massive, and the entrance arched gateway has more the air of the entrance to a feudal castle than to a modern prison. There are 1000 cells, each of which is 13 feet long, 7 feet broad, and 9 feet high, and are all of uniform dimensions. Each is provided with a stone water-closet pan, a metal basin supplied with water, a three-legged stool, a small table, a shaded gas-burner, and a hammock, with mattress and blankets. There is a bell in each cell, which, when pulled, causes a small iron tablet, inscribed with the number of the cell, to project on the wall to direct the officer on duty. Each cell is warmed by hot air, and the ventilation is effected by means of perforated iron plates above the door of the cell, which communicate with a lofty shaft. None of the prisoners are ever seen by each other, and in chapel each has his separate box. The officers wear felted shoes, and can inspect the prisoners, whether in the cell or in the airing-yard, without being either heard or seen. Each prisoner is visited hourly during the day by a keeper, daily by the deputy-governor and chief officer; and the surgeon and schoolmaster are frequently in attendance upon him. Some modifications of the plan, as detailed by Sir James Graham, have been introduced, but the main plan on the whole is still followed. The inmates in ordinary cases are subjected to three periods of discipline before serving out their sentence or obtaining a conditional pardon; the first is passed in separate confinement here, the duration of which depends on good conduct, but the maximum period is eighteen months; the second is passed at hard labour on public works for a period proportioned to the sentence, varying from two years to ten and a half; the third is passed with a ticket of leave in one of her Majesty's colonies, and arrangements are made for facilitating the conveyance of their wives and families to them. It can hardly be said that the plan has yet been successful, though some good has occasionally—perhaps frequently—resulted from it in the reformed habits of the criminals confined therein, and their consequent greater value in the colonies to which they were transported; thereby, to some extent, lessening the reluctance of the colonies to receive the offscourings of the villainy and ruffianism of the mother country. The expense also forms an objection, as the cost of each prisoner averaged £29 8s. 9d. for the year 1849, while the earnings amounted to £5 each. The number of prisoners on January 1, 1849, was 507; 599 were admitted during the year, and 486 was the average number in confinement.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXX. THE BRITISH MUSEUM.





### XXX. THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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the eleven hundred thousand persons who visited the British Museum in 1850; the thirty thousand who visited it in one single day (Easter Monday, 1851)—there are none who may not consistently feel proud of such an establishment—there are none who may not congratulate themselves that the invaluable collection there deposited is the property of one and all of us; that it is *ours*, and that the contents are becoming more and more appreciated every year by those to whom it has been given, by whom it has been purchased, and for whose benefit it has been founded.

The change produced within the last twelve or fifteen years in the appearance of this great national repository has been striking. Those who have watched the process of the Museum will well remember the old entrance, and the old painted staircase; the giraffes on the upper landing; the room containing 'Magna Charta,' in juxtaposition with a host of odds and ends to which that venerable document bore but little relation; the old suite of rooms, with the Sandwich Islands' curiosities, and the stuffed animals, and the minerals; the peep, through a glass door, into the long vista of rooms which constituted the Library; the little room upstairs where the exquisite Portland Vase was placed (how humiliating the thought, that through the mad folly of one mischief-maker, this fine work has been with difficulty restored from utter ruin, and is at present not exhibited in the public rooms!); the adjoining room with bronzes and coins and metal antiquities; and the passage on the left of the entrance, leading to the Townley and Elgin collections. Every fragment of the old building is now removed, except a few out-offices which have nothing to do with the collection. Those among our readers who may yet have in store the pleasure of a first visit may form some kind of vague notion of the wealth of the Museum, from the mere statements we have given of the numbers whom it annually attracts; but we think it may be safely affirmed that only personal and often repeated inspection, aided, too, by no inconsiderable amount of acquired knowledge and tastes, can give an adequate idea of this wondrous storehouse of objects brought hither from all parts of the globe, at an expense that is literally incalculable, owing to the variety of modes by which they have been obtained. Most regular and easiest managed of households is this, with all its ranks of conquerors and warriors, civilised and barbarian; its herds of animals, from the giraffe down to the tiniest of four-footed animals; its shoals of fish, and swarms of insects. Sesostris, or, as they call him here, Sesostris the Great, mightiest of statues of mightiest of monarchs, seems to look even more benignly placid than ever in such an atmosphere; the terrible-looking gods of the New Zealanders seem to whisper that, grim and blood-stained as they look for consistency's sake, they would not in reality hurt a hair of our heads; the very wild animals, looking so meek and domestic, would evidently roar gently, like Bottom the Weaver, if it were permitted to them in such an establishment to roar at all. But, in truth, there is something strangely interesting in the general appearance of such diversified assemblages and objects; and a fruitful fancy might find never-ending occupation in twisting and untwisting the fantastic links of connection that are continually presented to it.

Before describing the building and its treasures, we will briefly trace the history of this valuable collection.

## HISTORY OF THE MUSEUM.

The mode in which the British Museum has been formed illustrates, in a gratifying way, the good that results from a judicious gift, by inducing gifts from other quarters. In 1753 Sir Hans Sloane, who had accumulated a valuable collection of books, and of specimens in Natural History, which had cost him £50,000, directed that the collection should be offered to the government for £20,000, as the commencement of a national Museum; and the offer was accepted. How (it has been well remarked) bewildered and delighted would Sir Hans be if he could revisit the collection and see what has sprung from his bequest! Little would he have anticipated that the books and manuscripts, of which he was so proud, should have swelled into the almost unfathomable ocean of literature which we now call the Museum Library; or that his few and not very valuable works of art, then forming a mere appendage to the department of Natural History, would be the germ of a grand school for English sculpture, where the richest treasures of ancient Greece should be the daily text-book of a host of students! Above all, although of course he, and his parliamentary and other supporters, talked and thought about a *people* as the recipients of the benefit to be conferred by the new establishment, it is impossible that, with a knowledge of the tastes and education of the middle and poorer classes of the eighteenth century, they could have anticipated the future crowds among which one should with difficulty make way through the Museum halls.

Sloane's collection being thus secured, a fitting house had to be found for it; and Montague House (the old or late British Museum) was purchased with this object. Montague House was built by Ralph Montague, Esq., afterwards Duke of Montague, in the style of a French palace, though from the designs of an Englishman, the celebrated mathematician Hooke. The decorations, chiefly by French artists (Poussin 'sprawling Verrio' among them), were of the most sumptuous character; and the mansion, on its completion, was esteemed the most magnificent private residence in the metropolis. This, however, was not exactly the building purchased for the Museum, a fire having destroyed all but the walls in 1686. Not even a solitary countryman of the Duke was permitted to interfere with the pile which was quickly restored, and, if possible, with enhanced splendour, upon the burnt walls and foundations. This second building, in Great Russell Street, was purchased from Lord Hall for £10,250; and thither was removed the Sloane collection, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, the Cottonian library of manuscripts, and the library of Major Edwards; all of which had been acquired by the government from different sources. From that time purchases and donations succeeded each other rapidly. George II. presented the library of printed books, which had been collected by the kings of England since Henry VIII., and which included the libraries of Cranmer and Casaubon; and he also annexed to his gift the privilege—since become a very important one—which the Royal Library had acquired in the reign of Queen Anne of being supplied with a copy of every publication entered at Stationers' Hall.

Riches poured in from all quarters. During the long reign of George III. the collection received vast accessions. That monarch gave a collection of pamphlets relating to the Civil Wars of England. Sir Joseph Banks's Library of Natural History; Dr. Birch's Library; the Musical Libraries of Dr. Burney and Sir John Hawkins; Garrick's collection of Plays; and a large number of other collections—were either presented or purchased. To the manuscripts forming the Sloane, Cottonian, and Harleian collections, were added the Royal, the Lansdowne, the Hargrave, the Ormsby, the Arundel, the Bridgewater, and minor collections. To the Natural History

specimens of Sloane's collection were added those which Captain Cook, Vancouver, and other naturalists and men of science, brought home during their exploratory voyages; as well as a rich collection of British Zoology from Colonel Montague; a collection of minerals purchased from Mr. Hatchett; and various zoological and mineral specimens from other quarters. The Fine Arts, at the commencement of the Museum operations, were but little attended to; but this has become, by degrees, one of the most valuable departments. There were, at first, a few coins, medals, drawings, and engravings; but they were not formed into a distinct collection. In 1772, however, an important step was taken by the purchase of Sir William Hamilton's collection of vases, including some of the finest Greek and Roman specimens. In 1801 the Egyptian antiquities and sculptures, the acquisition of which had resulted from Abercromby's campaign in Egypt, were presented by George III. to the Museum. In 1805 the beautiful collection of Townley sculptures was purchased; and by that time the trustees found it desirable to establish a new department in the Museum—the department of Antiquities. In 1814 the Townley collection of bronzes, coins, gems, and drawings, was secured. In 1815 the Phigaleian sculptures were purchased; and in the following year the Museum obtained possession of that collection, which, in some essentials, is considered to be the finest in the world—the Elgin marbles.

Useless would be the attempt to notify all the accessions to the Museum since the time of George III.: they meet the eye of the visitor in every room of the collection. In 1823 George IV. presented the splendid library of his father to the Museum. Major-General Hardwicke bequeathed a collection of stuffed birds. In the department of Antiquities and Fine Arts, the Persepolitan sculptures; the collection of vases belonging to Mr. Payne Knight; the bronzes of Siris; the Babylonian antiquities—were successively added.

The later we come down, the more rapid do we find the accession to the collection to have become. The Xanthian marbles have been among the most notable acquisitions in Queen Victoria's reign; and the law of copyright, the liberal aid of Parliament, and donations from various quarters, have added to the various departments so rapidly, that it is difficult to keep pace with them. Every year the Trustees make report to the House of Commons, in which the chief acquisitions are enumerated, whether gifts or purchases. For instance, in 1843 the Museum acquired, in addition to a large number of other treasures, a portion of the Xanthian marbles; Sir Robert Porter's collection of drawings; Chinese curiosities, sent over by Mr. Tradescant; Mexican antiquities, from Captain Nepean; and African curiosities from the conductors of the Niger expedition. In 1844 the curious Chinese bell, and a large edition of Xanthian sculptures, reached the Museum. In 1845 fossil animals from India and America; mammalia and birds from Nepal; a collection of reptiles found during the expedition of the 'Erebus' and the 'Terror'; the two fine models of the Parthenon, by Mr. Lucas; and many minor objects, were added. In 1846 the bas-relief of the Boudrum Mausoleum; Mr. Stuart's collection of vases and terracottas; some Babylonian gems; some Anglo-Roman antiquities; and some very extensive collections in Natural History—were acquired. Since the year just named, further accessions have been made to the Xanthian or Lycian sculptures; while Dr. Layard's invaluable transmissions from Assyria have made us acquainted with the Nimroud or Nineveh sculptures. The Grenville Library, too, is one of the recent munificent donations to this establishment.

It is thus that this great national collection has gone on, growing and growing year after year. There are in fact, three institutions here combined in one—a National Library; a National Gallery; and a National Museum:—the three departments of



Literature, Fine Arts, and Natural History, being so completely distinct, that nothing but the circumstances under which the collection has been formed could have brought them all into such close union. Even now the keepers of some of the departments begin to hint that the day will come when each one of the three collections—growing equally in excellence and in bulk—will require a large building to itself. It was foreseen, half a century ago, that old Montague House could not afford room for the vast accumulations of which the National Museum consisted; and a plan was formed, after the acquisition of the Egyptian antiquities, in 1801, for rebuilding the entire structure on a greatly enlarged scale. Sculpture galleries were built on the western side; but it was not until 1823 that arrangements were finally determined upon for pulling down the whole of the old house, and erecting a new, extensive, and uniform structure. The works have been many years in progress: the public have complained, because the riches of the museum could not be well shown till the buildings were completed; and Sir Robert Smirke has complained, because the funds have not been advanced by Parliament so as to enable him to carry out his architectural plans with the rapidity he could have wished. But it is, at all events, satisfactory to know that the Museum buildings have now arrived at a degree of completeness which admits of a systematic classification of all the contents—a most important matter, if the collection is to be (as it ought to be) instructive as well as attractive.

What is the best mode of seeing the British Museum? How can a visitor so marshal his footsteps and his thoughts, that he shall not get confused by the multiplicity of objects which meet his eye? We would answer—*Classify your visits*. If you live in London, and can spare an hour, on four or five different days, make four or five visits, and direct your attention, on each visit, to departments which you had purposely omitted before. If you are a 'country cousin,' sojourning temporarily in the giant metropolis (whether the Crystal Palace be, or be not, the main object of your trip), perhaps one visit is all that you *can* make; but even then it may be worth while to pay a little attention beforehand to what you are about to see, in order that you may select those departments which are most likely to interest you. Many persons feel, that when they leave the Museum after a visit of two or three hours, their thoughts are so filled with a chaos of minerals, stuffed monkeys, Greek statues, beautiful shells, Hindoo idols, vases, humming-birds, Egyptian mummies, monstrous fossil animals, and Polynesian trinkets, that it is difficult to retain a clear idea of any of them. This is a pity. A visit to a *part* of the collection at one time is much more profitable than a vague attempt to see everything.

#### GENERAL GLANCE AT THE COLLECTION.

We may now say a few words concerning the general appearance and arrangement of the structure which contains the collection.

The history of the new building is simply this. When George IV. made the donation of his father's library, the Government ordered drawings to be prepared for the erection of an entirely new Museum—a portion of one wing of which was to be occupied by the recently acquired library. This wing, on the eastern side of the then Museum Garden, was finished in 1828. The southern, northern, and western wings have since gradually been added. The last remains of the original building were removed in 1845; and the gallery which had been built in 1807 for the Townley sculptures was removed in 1846, to admit of the completion of the western side of the quadrangle. The entire front of the new building is 370 feet long. The 44 columns, which rest upon a stylobate five feet and a half high, are five feet in diameter at the lower part, and 45 feet high. The height from the pavement of the

Great Court Yard to the top of the entablature of the colonnade is 66 feet. The level of the principal floor of the building is reached by a flight of twelve stone steps at the foot of the portico; these steps are 125 feet in length, and terminate at each end with pedestals, intended to receive colossal groups of sculpture.

The buildings forming the new British Museum are arranged in a hollow square, opposite the four points of the compass. The southern or Russell Street front is the principal one, and presents to view an imposing columnar façade, of the Ionic order. Critics differ a good deal in opinion as to the architectural merits of this front; but with such criticisms we have not here to do. In the centre is a portico formed of a double range of columns, eight in each range; on either side of this is a smaller range of three columns; and at the east and west angles are projecting wings, also surrounded by columns; so that the columns of the whole front are forty-four in number. At the extreme west end is a detached building; and there is another one at the east end, near the junction of Russell Street and Montague Street: these are dwelling-houses and offices for the librarians and chief officers of the establishment. However well these residences may look as mansions in the Italian style, they scarcely harmonize with the Ionic character of the rest of the front; nor does their advanced position allow the portico to be seen from so many points of view as the architect doubtless intended it.

In the summer or autumn of the present year the hoarding will be pulled down which now encloses the court-yard in front of the building, and an elegant railing will be put up. This will add greatly to the effect of the building; for it has hitherto been shut up within an unsightly wall, succeeded by a still more unsightly hoarding; whereas the open railing will give a largeness and lightness to the whole frontage. The massive stone piers and pillars which are to support the railing are now being fixed. Those who visited the Museum in bygone years will remember that the front court-yard contained a few antiquated odds and ends; among which was a canoe, dug up from a spot where it had been covered with earth for ages; and there were other curiosities of a large and clumsy kind; but the whole of these are now removed, and the court-yard will be left free from any such specimina. When the railing is finished, and when the scaffolding is removed which has been employed for fixing the pediment sculptures, the general effect will be much finer than it has yet been. These sculptures are the work of Sir R. Westmacott; they consist of several figures, emblematic of the arts and sciences, some standing and some reclining; the ground of the pediment, behind the sculptures, is coloured blue, and some of the trophies or emblems held by the figures are gilt: this will give us one among the few modern imitations of the ancient style of polychrome sculptural decoration.

Let us fancy we can have a bird's-eye of the whole building, before we look at the interior. The central square court measures about 320 feet by 240. There are four stone fronts to the four sides of the building, looking into this court, all having more or less of an architectural character. The buildings at the centre of each side project more than those nearer the corners; and on the western side the Phigaleian and Elgin Saloons project far beyond any rooms on the other three sides. The court-yard itself, after being for many years encumbered with scaffolding and rubbish, is now neatly laid out with grass plots and gravel paths; but the public are not admitted to it.

There are two stories of galleries and rooms round the whole of the building, to some of which the general public are not admitted. All the ground-floor between the portico entrance and the south-east angle is occupied as a depository for manuscripts, and as apartments for receiving, sorting, and reading manuscripts. The ground-floor of the greater part of the east side is occupied by the King's library, a



magnificent apartment 300 feet long. The entire ground-floor of the north side (nearest to Montague Place) is devoted to literature and study. There are two large reading-rooms, together about 120 feet in length, and a library for books, extending 200 feet. All the books presented by George IV. are deposited in the King's Library, just noticed; but the much larger general library, derived from various sources, is deposited in the rooms in this northern range. The frequenters of the reading-rooms are students, draughtsmen, and literary persons, whose admission, upon the most liberal scale, is regulated by letters of introduction, and who number, on an average, about two hundred in the course of a day; they are furnished with tables, chairs, desks, pens, and ink, together with catalogues, and other facilities for obtaining the books which they wish to read; but no books are allowed to be taken out of the building.

At the north-west angle of the building, and in one or two other parts, are collections which are not thrown open to the public generally. Among these are the print-rooms, where a valuable collection of engravings is deposited. Other rooms are for the Banksian or botanical collection: an assemblage of books and specimens relating to botany. Coins, gems, and other small but valuable objects, are also placed in rooms to which access can be obtained only by special introduction. The exclusion in most, if not in all cases, is determined on sufficient grounds; either because the objects are really not very interesting to look at by general visitors, or because any injury or derangement of small but valuable articles would be of serious detriment to those who resort to them for purposes of study. We shall say more on this point presently.

From the north-west angle, proceeding southward along the west side, we find galleries containing the greater part of the valuable sculptures belonging to the Museum; such as the Egyptian, the Phigaleian, the Elgin, the Boudrum, the Lycian, the Nineveh, and the older or original collection. Sculptures also occupy the remaining portion of the lower range, from the south-west angle to the entrance.

It will be convenient to glance in a similar way at the upper range or galleries, with a view to familiarise the reader with the general arrangement before entering on a more detailed notice.

The door in the centre of the portico gives entrance to the new hall, or vestibule. This is a fine large apartment, worthy of the building to which it gives access—whether or not it be true, as some critics say, that the Doric massiveness of the interior jars with the Ionic lightness of the exterior. On the right are the two statues of Sir Joseph Banks and Shakspeare, on either side of a door leading to the Manuscript department; and on the left is the statue of the Hon. Mrs. Damer, the lady sculptor, who occasionally left the attractions of gay life for the mallet and chisel. In front is a glazed door, opening to the central quadrangle, the buildings on three sides of which can be well seen from this point. The hall is lofty, and the ceiling is richly painted in encaustic colours, coffered or sunk into square compartments of divers tints. Around the hall, also, are placed about seven or eight large specimens of the Nineveh sculptures, including two magnificent figures which—half man and half brute—reveal to us so much concerning the art and the religion of the ancient Assyrians. On the left, close to the front wall of the building, is a passage leading to the various sculpture galleries; and northward of this is the grand staircase,—a noble feature of the building. It may be a matter of taste whether the colours of this staircase harmonise well; or it may be objected that the mixture of real marble and painted imitative marble on the walls is not judicious; but there is quite enough to excite admiration. The ascent of nearly seventy stone stairs—half



if them westward and then the other half eastward, the elegant balustrade, and the mosaïc work of the ceiling, come with freshness and welcome upon the eyes of those who for many years have been accustomed to the dingy entrances to the old Museum.

Arrived at the top of the stairs, we see before us a range of rooms extending eastward along the building. By the side of the upper part of the staircase, over the passage leading to the sculptures, is an Antiquarian or 'Ethnographical' room, of which we shall speak anon. The room at the head of the stairs, and immediately over the entrance hall, is devoted to Zoology. Beyond this room, towards the east, are two others, devoted like it to Zoological specimens. The 'Mammalia Saloon' forms the upper story of the south-east angle of the Museum; and from thence proceeds a magnificent suite of rooms, called the 'Eastern Zoological Gallery,' extending along the whole eastern side of the building from north to south, and filled with specimens illustrating the natural history of animals. Over the wall-cases of this gallery are hung a series of portraits, belonging to the Museum, but rather out of place in their present position. Arrived at the north-east angle of the building, we find a double range of galleries almost as beautiful as the former: they are side by side, and together occupy the upper floor of the whole northern side of the Museum, from end to end. One of these ranges is called the 'Northern Zoological Gallery,' and the other the 'Mineralogical Gallery,' devoted to purposes indicated by these names. At the north-west angle, as well as at the north-east, staircases lead to the lower story; but instead of descending, we turn round to the left, and pass through a range of rooms leading along the west side of the building, and devoted to the reception of Egyptian, Etruscan, and other antiquities. These rooms bring us to the south-west angle of the building, whence a door leads to the Ethnographical room, which thus completes the circuit of the upper range.

The general sketch just given will prepare us for a little closer attention to the objects most worthy of note; and here we have to draw attention to a pleasant feature in the present arrangements of the building.

While the Great Exhibition of the World's Industry was in preparation, plans were being laid in various quarters for receiving worthily the millions whom the metropolis had invited to visit the grand display. Corporate bodies projected grand entertainments; clubs arranged to open their club-houses to visitors of a certain grade; noblemen determined to open their mansions, galleries, and gardens, under judicious restrictions; cathedral barriers were to be taken down, and obnoxious 'twopences' abandoned; the days and hours of admission to many public exhibitions (such as the Soane Museum) it was determined to increase or lengthen; and many other arrangements of a similar nature were planned, with which most persons have been made familiar by the newspapers. Among other bodies, the Trustees of the British Museum resolved to offer any increased facilities which the due care of their treasures would permit, for viewing the contents of the Museum; and the 5th of May witnessed the result of their endeavours. We have only to imagine ourselves to be the custodiers of valuable treasures, to appreciate the necessity of caution in all such changes or extensions. The entire Natural History Collection is placed open to visitors, except certain dried plants and botanical specimens which would be speedily injured unless managed with great care, and which are of little interest except to those engaged in botanical pursuits. The entire Fine Arts Collection is publicly exhibited, in respect to *sculpture* and to such *paintings* as the Museum contains; but as the *prints* of the invaluable collection are mostly placed unframed in portfolios, admission to the print-room would be interesting only on condition of opening the

portfolios and examining the prints—a course which would speedily lead to their injury. The entire collection of Antiquities is open to visitors, with the exception of certain gems and coins, the value of which is so immense as to deter the Trustees from exhibiting them to more than a small number of persons at one time; while the specimens themselves are certainly not very attractive to the non-initiated. Lastly, there is the *Literary* department, which comprises the reading-rooms, the manuscript-rooms, and the library. As the reading-rooms usually contain from one to two hundred readers and students, the admission of thousands of visitors would disturb these latter, while the visitors themselves would not derive any equivalent advantage. In respect to the Manuscripts, as these are mostly rolled or folded up, there is absolutely nothing to interest general visitors in walking through the rooms which contain them. There remains, therefore, only the Library of Printed Books; and the Trustees have just made an arrangement by which (since May 5th) the public may walk through many of these rooms in the tour round the building. What these rooms contain, we will at once proceed to note.

Let the reader commence, with us, an examination of the collection, in the same order observed in the preliminary glance, but with more attention to details.

#### THE LOWER ROOMS:—LIBRARY DEPARTMENT.

From the grand vestibule, a door on the right leads to the first room connected with the Library department: a room first thrown open to the public on the 5th of May. Round the walls are venerable tomes, which for age and other qualities are so valuable that trellis work doors are not considered sufficient for them; they are enclosed within plate-glass doors, which are only opened when a particular volume is required. There are a few chairs and reading tables in the room, and cases which are not yet filled with their destined contents. This room has, we believe, hitherto been appropriated to persons who consult the manuscripts belonging to the Museum.

Next we come to a room near the south-east angle of the building, the contents of which are very interesting. The walls are lined with bookcases, not so choice as to need glass doors, but mostly protected by brass trellis doors; but as some of the books are not so protected, barriers are placed to prevent them from being touched by visitors; and as the room forms the office or writing-room of many persons belonging to the Manuscript department, barriers are in like manner placed so as to shield these persons from interruption by visitors. But in the space which is not thus railed off, the librarians have contrived to accumulate an ample store of objects to interest every intelligent visitor. They are all, or nearly all, manuscripts (to which this section of the building is appropriated). On one part of the wall hangs a MS., ten feet high by about one in width, in a frame; it is a deed, written on papyrus, relating to a sale of land at Ravenna; it was written in the year 572; the letters are about a quarter of an inch high, with a space of about an inch between the lines. At various parts of the rooms are table-cases resting on the floor, glazed at the top, and containing choice manuscripts, illuminated writings, and autographs. One collection consists of documents relating to English monarchs—either written by the monarchs themselves, or else signed with their own autographs. One is an application of Richard III. when Duke of Gloucester, for a loan of £100, with his signature, and two lines in his handwriting; another is an order from Edward IV. for the repayment of 100 marks to the Bishop of Aberdeen and James Shaw; a third is an order from Henry IV. for the apprehension of Lady Spencer and her children; a fourth is the Charter of Henry I. to the Monastery of St. Pancras at Lewes; a fifth is a letter wholly in the handwriting of Henry V., concerning the custody of the Duke of Orleans and other

prisoners taken at the Battle of Agincourt—such are the curious glimpses which these manuscripts and autographs give us of past ages and historical personages. Some of the table-cases in the same room contain Chinese and Hindoo manuscripts, most elaborately decorated in colours.

From this interesting room a door gives entrance to the magnificent King's Library, as it is called. When George IV. presented to the nation the library of his father, a building fitted to receive it was planned; and the room now under notice was the result. The room and the books are worthy of each other and of the Museum. The apartment is long and lofty; a gallery runs round it at mid-height; and both above and below the gallery the whole space of wall is occupied by bookcases, enclosed with trellis doors. Most of the books are in elegant bindings, though some are now faded by time. The floor of the room is inlaid with wood of two colours, and at intervals are table-cases filled with folio volumes of a magnificent and most extensive Atlas. The centre of the room is broader than the rest, and exhibits more splendour; it exhibits on each side, between the windows, fine polished granite columns, which were (we believe) among the first specimens of English granite polished.

The books in the table-cases of this central compartment are of great rarity and value; many of them belong to the Grenville Collection; and the Trustees have adopted this mode of rendering them familiar to the general visitors at the Museum. All the books are opened, so that the paper, type, manuscript additions, and illuminated devices, may be seen at leisure (though the glass cases prevent them from being touched). One is a book in the Limousin dialect, printed in 1490; Mr. Heber gave £300 for it; and there is only one other copy known to be now in existence. Another is the ancient French romance of "Les Quatre Fitz Aymon" (the Four Sons of Aymon), printed in 1480. A third specimen is the first printed edition of Dante, dated 1472. A fourth is a copy of Virgil, the first specimen of printing in *Italic* type. Another is a Hebrew Commentary on Daniel, 1563, the first book printed in Asia. Another is *Æsop's Fables*, the first edition of the first Greek classic, printed 1480. Another is Cicero, printed by Faust, or Fust, in 1465. Another, and a very choice specimen, is a Psalter, printed in 1457; it is the first printed psalter, the first book printed with a date, and the first book printed in colours—red ink being employed in certain parts. Then there is the Mazarine Bible, as it is called, printed by Gutenberg and Fust at Mentz, supposed to have been in 1455, and to be the earliest printed book now known; most of the capital letters in this very choice book are filled in with red colours. Such are some of the bibliographical treasures now displayed to public view in the King's Library; and if the reader could only know the eagerness with which these rarities are sought after by collectors, he would be prepared to expect that the Museum authorities attach great importance to the possession of such books. Many books in these cases are not merely figuratively, but commercially, worth more than their weight in gold.

The northern door of the King's Library brings us near the north-eastern corner of the entire building, and here is a staircase which leads to the upper range of rooms; but we would suggest to a visitor that, under the present improved arrangement, it will be better to visit the whole of the ground range before ascending to the range above. We therefore turn to the left, and traverse the northern side of the building. Here the Trustees have had no little difficulty in making such an arrangement as will admit general visitors without disturbing the literary occupants. The Reading-rooms are not thrown open, but a passage is formed through a room or range of rooms southward of and next adjoining them. In the great library, where the bulk of the



books is kept, a passage for visitors is left through the centre, whence they can obtain a view of the literary stores ranged on either side; but wicket-gates and barriers have been fitted up, through which only those persons can pass who take the books to the various readers. In table-cases, distributed in various parts of the room, rare and costly books are placed, convenient for inspection. Arrived at the western end of the library, we find certain offices and apartments to which admission is not given; but a doorway on the left leads to an entirely different department of the Museum—that of Antiquities and Sculpture.

This new arrangement, whereby so great an extent of library is placed open to the general visitor, must be regarded as a temporary one, to be retained or not according to its results. It adds considerably to the trouble and labour of the attendants who take and replace the books, and it will unavoidably retard somewhat the supply of books to the readers in the Reading-rooms. These are inconveniences which the Trustees have resolved to incur, in order to enable them to bear a part in the liberal proceedings which now characterise most public bodies concerning the provincial and foreign visitors to London. Let the readers also bear *their* part, and strengthen their patience if necessary. When the Great Industrial Gathering is over, the Museum accommodation may be determined on other grounds.

We now pass to a different department of the Collection.

#### THE LOWER ROOMS:—SCULPTURE DEPARTMENT.

At the north-west corner of the building, after leaving the Library, we enter the Great Egyptian Saloon, which thence stretches out towards the south. It is a lofty saloon or gallery, lighted by windows at a considerable height from the ground; the ground is occupied by specimens, mostly on a vast scale, brought from Egypt; and the walls are to some extent similarly occupied.

The *Egyptian Gallery* appeals to a different order of thought from that which Greek sculptures excite. Here magnitude takes the place of expression. And yet there is expression, too; for the vast heads of the Egyptian gods, or heroes, have in some instances a placid sweetness of features. The wondrous expenditure of time and patience in the production of these Egyptian sculptures strikes the mind more than the artistic beauties. Is it not astonishing that the black basalt and the dark granite should be wrought to such perfect smoothness as is exhibited in some of these specimens? The colossal head, found by Mr. Salt at Carnak, wrought in red granite; the head and bust of Rameses; the dark granite statue of Amenoph; the black granite figure of Bubastis; the head and the colossal arm sculptured in hard syenite; the enormous dark granite Scarabæus, or sacred beetle—what labour must have been bestowed upon these, to bring them to their highly-wrought appearance! And then, again, the sarcophagi and mummy-tombs; the polished sarcophagus, made of arragonite, shaped like a mummy-case; the red granite sarcophagus; the black granite sarcophagus, brought from Cairo; and the others of green basalt, of black basalt, and of various hard kinds of stone, all covered with hieroglyphics cut into the substance of the material. How little must men's time have been valued when such works were produced; and how little did the Egyptians allow physical difficulties to baffle them! There are two colossal statues at Western Thebes, each of which contains ten thousand cubic feet of stone, all in one piece, and the stone is of a kind not known within several days' journey of the place where they are deposited. Another of the Theban statues, weighing nearly nine hundred tons, was brought a distance of a hundred and forty miles.

The *Rosetta Stone*, in this saloon, ought not to be passed unnoticed. It is a thick

black slab, somewhat broken at its edges, but level and smooth on its upper surface. There are three inscriptions on this surface, cut into the substance of the stone; one in Egyptian hieroglyphics, one in the ancient spoken language of Egypt, and one in Greek. These inscriptions record the services which King Ptolemæus the Fifth had rendered to his country; and, *to us*, they record the glory which attaches to the name of Dr. Thomas Young, who was the first to decipher several of the hieroglyphics on this stone: thereby opening a field of research, which has been followed with wonderful success by Champollion, Wilkinson, and others. It is useful to bear this matter in the mind, for the value which has in recent years been attached to Egyptian discoveries depends in great measure on our power of deciphering the inscriptions on the monuments of that wonderful country.

One of the curious class of objects in this saloon is that of the fresco paintings, hung up against the wall, and protected by plate glass. Let the visitor recollect that these are the real Egyptian frescoes, which were painted, perhaps, three thousand years ago, and then he may well marvel at the freshness of the colours which they exhibit. The subjects, too, are highly curious. The musical parties, the ladies smelling at nosegays, the toilet, the slaves bringing in refreshments; the national differences in some instances observable between the ladies and the slaves; the luxuriant ornaments of the hair, the rich dresses of the ladies, the almost undraped figures of the slaves, the chairs and couches—all illustrate most instructively the domestic manners of the Egyptians. We cannot, perhaps, while looking at them, refrain from a smile at the formal outlines, the stiff attitudes, the odd way of representing the eye in profile, the entire absence of all attempts at perspective; but such pictures derive their value, not so much as works of art, as from the insight they give into a state of things long gone by: they are historical monuments, in the fullest sense of the term.

South of the Egyptian Saloon is the *Central Saloon*, at present (May, 1851) unoccupied, but destined for the reception of choice specimens of sculpture. In continuation of this, still farther southward, is the new *Sculpture Gallery*, about to be occupied by the old or Townley collection of sculptures. Westward is the *Phigaleian Saloon*, forming a recess in the centre of the west side; and still farther west is the all-important *Elgin Saloon*. These sculpture saloons are now (or will be shortly) very noble and beautiful rooms; the walls have a warm dark tint, fitted to set off the sculptures; and the ceilings are divided into coffered compartments, richly painted and gilt. It happens, however, that this is a singularly unfavourable period for viewing the sculptures; the Nineveh sculptures are in vaults, to which very little light is admitted; while the Phigaleian and Elgin sculptures are entirely covered up during the re-decoration of the walls and ceilings of the saloons. We shall here, therefore, describe not so much what the visitor can *now* see, as what will meet his view when the whole of the specimens are arranged. The Townley, the Phigaleian, and the Elgin collections, will come successively under notice.

Until the new galleries are arranged, most of the choicest works of the Townley collection are placed in a saloon at the south-west corner of the building. In one part is a collection of urns and sarcophagi, brought from various parts of Italy and Greece; in another are the stiff and formal bas-reliefs, which were brought a few years ago from Persepolis, valuable as historical monuments, but far beneath the Greek standard as works of art. Then there are the exquisite full-length statues, which adorn the saloon in various parts: such as the Venus, the Dione, the Apollo, the goddess Fortune, the Actæon attacked by dogs, the Diana, and many others. The busts, too, are many of them magnificent, especially the Jupiter and the Hercules. Mark, also, the bas-relief of the Apotheosis of Homer, which the trustees of the



Museum did not think too dearly bought at one thousand guineas! How does an infusion of mind into marble make that marble worth its weight in silver! Then the beautiful crouching female figure; the reclining statue of a youth; the upright vase, with a joyous Bacchanalian procession sculptured on it; the larger marble vase, or shallow vase; the remarkable Etruscan sarcophagi, each having a recumbent statue of the person whose remains were deposited within; the beautiful bust of 'Clytie rising from a sun-flower;' the shattered but still more beautiful small figure of Venus—all are remains of ancient art, which Mr. Townley and other collectors were proud to be able to bring to this country. Headless, armless, as many of them are, yet are they inestimable works, which are slowly and silently elevating the taste of those who are becoming familiar with them.

The *Phigaleian Saloon*, adjoining the Central Saloon, obtains its name from the principal sculptures which it contains, and which, as we have said, are at present covered up for a short period: we shall speak of them, however, as being open to inspection. These consist of a series of bas-reliefs, which once ran round the upper part of the Temple of Apollo at Phigaleia; and they are extraordinary works of art for their vigour and skill. Some of them relate to the battle between the Greeks and the Amazons, and the rest to the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ—both favourite mythological subjects among the Greeks. Let the visitor pause before these works; let him consider that all the figures are wrought out of the same piece of marble which forms the back or ground-work of each slab; and then let him consider how admirable must have been the skill which could give such life, such action, such intensity of expression, to the figures of the combatants! The two porticoes at the sides of the saloon are filled with figures—not the original marbles, but casts in plaster—from the great Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina: figures which would command much attention, were not the Elgin marbles just at hand. The other bas-reliefs of this room, obtained from Selinus, Halicarnassus, and elsewhere, must also be looked at. When the visitor passes into the Elgin Room, let him examine Mr. Lucas's two models of the Parthenon. This far-famed structure, the Temple of Minerva at Athens, is modelled by Mr. Lucas at two different periods of its history; the first when it was radiant in all its glory, and the second after it had been shattered by a siege in the seventeenth century. Mark the finished model; look well at the groups of figures in the pediments of each portico; at the metopes, or square altirilievi above the columns; at the Panathenaic procession, represented in bas-relief, round the upper part of the building within the columns—look at these, and then, with the subject fresh in your mind, look around the Elgin Saloon.

Why, it may be asked, is this called the *Elgin Saloon*? and what does it contain! It contains precious fragments of sculpture from the Parthenon; and it is called the Elgin Saloon because Lord Elgin was the means of bringing them over to this country. That nobleman was ambassador at Turkey in 1799; and seeing that the mutilated but still beautiful sculptures of the Parthenon were going to wreck more and more every year, he commenced an energetic system of operation, which, carried on indefatigably for twelve or fifteen years, at a vast expediture of time and money, resulted in the transfer to the British Museum of the sculptures now contained in this room, nearly the whole of which came from the Parthenon. A few over-scrupulous persons have objected to this removal of the Parthenon sculptures from Athens, as a sort of sacrilege; but if such a feeling had been allowed to prevail, few of the sculptures would have remained to be lamented over. Many of the statues, on one of the pediments, which had been thrown down by an explosion during the siege of Athens, had been actually pounded for mortar, because they furnished the whitest stone within



reach. The Turks themselves frequently found amusement in climbing up the ruined wall, and defacing such of the sculptures as they could reach, or in making a target of the heads of statues, as seen from beneath.

If ever there was a subject in which *all* competent judges agree it is in admiration of these sculptures. Canova, Thorwaldsen, Flaxman, Chantrey, Westmacott, Lawrence, Payne Knight—all who have written about them, or talked of them—place them in the highest rank of the art. Every fragment is precious. A part of a head, a foot, a piece of an arm, a trunk without head or arms or legs—all are cherished as objects which, once destroyed, could never be replaced. The Theseus, the reclining male figure which faces you as you enter the room, has been valued at four thousand guineas; but in truth it is impossible to name the real intrinsic value of such works, because the better they are known the more they are estimated; and if these works were now offered for sale, half-a-dozen crowned heads would at once compete for them; and it is idle to attempt to guess the sum that would be offered for them. Those magnificent draped female figures, placed on the pedestal facing the entrance, headless though they be, are full of life, and grace, and dignity: almost inconceivable, when we consider that they are wrought out of the mere cold marble. And so of the rest of the collection: every fragment has a story to tell, so much does expression reign among them all.

By carefully comparing these sculptures with Mr. Lucas's models, the visitor will observe that the large figures on the two pedestals came from the pediments at the two ends of the temple; that the square *alti-rilievi*, about sixteen in number, placed in compartments high up against the wall, are a part of the ninety-two metopes which once adorned the entablature of the temple; and that the *bassi-rilievi*, placed at a lower level round the walls, are portions of the frieze visible within the columns. When perfect the sculptures of one pediment related to the birth of Minerva, and those of the other to the contest between Minerva and Neptune for the government of Athens—both favourite mythological subjects among the Greeks twenty-three centuries ago, when those sculptures were wrought. The subjects of the metope sculptures were many, but those possessed by the Museum relate to the contest between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ—the Centaur being an imaginary animal, half-man, half-horse. The frieze, in *bas-relief*, relates to the Panathenæic Procession, which once in four years paraded through Athens on the occasion of a religious festival.

Whether the complete forms of the pediment figures ('in the round,' as sculptors call it), the exceedingly bold relief of the metope figures, or the flat relief of the frieze figures, be examined, the visitor will have nearly equal reason to be astonished at the results produced, and will, if he repeats his visit frequently, gradually educate himself to something like an appreciation of these marvellous works. When Flaxman said that these sculptures were "as perfect representations of Nature as it is possible to put into the compass of the marble in which they are executed, and nature, too, in its most beautiful form;"—when Chantrey spoke enthusiastically of "the exquisite judgment with which the artists of these sculptures had modified the style of working the marble, according to the kind and degree of light which would fall on them when in their places;"—when Lawrence said that, "after looking at the finest sculptures in Italy, he found the Elgin marbles superior to any of them;"—when Canova said, in reply to an application made to him respecting their repair or restoration, that "it would be sacrilege in him or any man to presume to touch them with a chisel;"—it must be evident that there is in these sculptures a mine of artistic wealth, which,

though few may thoroughly appreciate, many (shall we say *all*?) may partially enjoy and share.

The Xanthian or Lycian Sculptures, and the Nineveh or Nimroud Sculptures, now call for our attention: the former occupy a new saloon built for them at the south-west corners of the building, while the latter are placed in windowed vaults, until the Nineveh Saloon is ready.

The history of the Lycian sculptures is very interesting. When Sir Charles Fellows visited Lycia, in 1838, he found ruins of cities, of which Europe till then knew next to nothing, and sculptures and tombs, among these ruins, of the highest interest both to the artist and the classical scholar. His description of them, published in 1839, attracted the attention of Government to the subject; and he has since visited Lycia very frequently, to bring to England the sculptures met with among the ruins. At one place he "rode for at least three miles through a part of the city, which was one pile of temples, theatres, and other buildings, vying with each other in splendour;" and he has certainly been most indefatigable in procuring the finest specimens of sculpture he could find. The most remarkable of these sculptures are those belonging to four or five tombs, which have been reconstructed in the Lycian Saloon of the Museum, as nearly as possible to resemble the originals. All the sculptures on these tombs, and all the bas-reliefs and other objects, distributed about the gallery, illustrate the mythology and early history of the Lycians and other nations in Asia Minor. The tombs are supposed to be not less than twenty-four centuries old.

The contents of the Lycian Saloon consist chiefly of sculptured remains ranging in date from the subjugation of Lycia by the Persians in *b.c.* 545, to the period of the Byzantine Empire. There are also plaster casts of certain other sculptures, the removal of which to England was not found practicable. One of the most striking objects is the set of bas-reliefs from the Harpy Tomb, as it is called, which stood on the acropolis of Xanthus in Lycia. The sculptures (as may be seen by a model placed in the saloon) decorated the four sides of a rectangular solid shaft, about seventeen feet high, above which was a small chamber covered by a roof. The sculptures include numerous figures, the mythological character of which has been, and still is, a subject of much discussion among the learned. There is also in the saloon a landscape of a particular district near Xanthus, and a model of a temple which once stood on that spot; the model is believed to represent pretty accurately the general appearance of the temple, and it is intended to show the probable destination of certain fragments found near the spot. These fragments are upwards of a hundred in number, and each one has a particular number attached to it, in the saloon and in the catalogue: they comprise bas-relief figures which formed a frieze round the lower part of the temple, figures of another frieze which ran round the top, columns and portions of columns, statues which had been placed between the columns, fragments of other statues, fragments of the ceiling ornaments, portions of the pediment figures, lions' heads which had decorated the roof, and various architectural fragments of the building.

Of a nearly similar character are the remaining objects deposited in the Lycian Saloon: they have mostly belonged either to temples or to tombs. Among them are sculptured slabs, broken bits of friezes, the sculptured gable end of tombs, lions' heads and paws, pillars covered with inscriptions, covers and slabs of tombs, &c. Sir Charles was also able to bring away many specimens of Lycian metal and pottery work, which he met with among the ruins; among them are leaden and iron cramps, a small leaden weight, two sickles, several iron hooks and nails, fragment of a leaden pipe,

lead grating for a drain pipe, bronze handle of a jug, a bronze tripod, terra-cotta vases and lamps, a bowl of embossed red ware, fragments of glass vessels, and fragments of amphoræ and earthen cups.

For the reasons before stated, we cannot describe the Nineveh sculptures in connection with the saloon which is by-and-by to contain them; at present, the slabs are placed where they can only with some difficulty be examined: but this is an inconvenience which time will remedy. These sculptures (as is now pretty well known to most general readers) were procured by Dr. Layard in Mesopotamia, chiefly from ruins now called Nimroud, a few miles below Mosul, on the Tigris. The specimens now exhibited were brought to England in 1846-7; but there are large accessions which will be displayed when arrangements are completed for their reception.

Most of these Nimroud sculptures consist of slabs, on which scenes are sculptured in very low relief; the workmanship is stiff and formal, but the scenes are busy and exciting. One slab contains a battle scene: the king is in his chariot at full gallop; above him is the symbol of divinity, and before him are four warriors, three in the act of discharging arrows; below him is a dead figure pierced by two arrows, and on the plain in the distance is another dead body being devoured by an eagle. On another slab is represented the siege of a town or castle containing three tiers of embattled walls, on which warriors are seen discharging arrows, and others on the plain without; an inclined plane supporting a battery ram, with its covering to protect the besiegers, rests against the outer wall, figures are falling from the walls, and two are recumbent at the base of the external wall. On a third slab is represented the siege of a castle which stands by the water side; the building is in the centre of the scene, and warriors are attacking it from either side; to the left, the king directs the attack in person, and a ladder rests against the walls to assist the ascent of the warriors; the besieged are hurling stones from above; behind the king are women apparently tearing their hair from grief; to the right a tower and ram are placed near the wall; and the besieged are represented throwing fire upon the tower, and attempting to divert the thrust of the ram by means of a chain, while the besiegers endeavour to extinguish the fire by water, and hook down the chains; in front of the castle two men with blunt spears are forcing down a part of the wall. Such is the general character of the Nimroud sculptures, so far as they have yet been opened to public view; there are a few specimens of other kinds, but most of them are slabs containing bas-relief representations of battles and other exciting scenes.

On our return to the grand entrance of the Museum, from the Western Sculpture Saloon, we pass through a gallery which contains many of the older and smaller sculptures of the Townley collection.

#### THE UPPER ROOMS:—EASTERN GALLERY.

We now ascend the grand staircase with the view of noting the contents of the upper range, in some such degree of detail as that with which we have just noticed the sculptures; a detail sufficient, perhaps, to whet the curiosity of the visitor, and lead him to search more closely. With the very excellent Shilling Catalogue of the collection in his hand, he cannot fail to be amply gratified and instructed with his visit.

Before entering the Eastern Galleries upstairs, we pass through two Zoological Rooms on the south side of the building. In the Zoological department generally, the stuffed beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, and the specimens of small animals kept in spirits, are exhibited in *wall-cases*, glazed enclosures about twelve feet high, ranged round the walls of the galleries; the larger quadrupeds, who are too bulky to be placed in these cases, are supported on pedestals or planks on the floors of the rooms; the



shells, corals, sea-eggs, star-fishes, crustacea, insects, the skulls of small beasts, and the eggs of birds, are kept in *table-cases*, covered at the top with plate glass, and so arranged that the visitors can walk all round them; lastly, in locked drawers and recesses under these table-cases are insects and other specimens, the colours of which would fade by exposure to the light.

In the first room two giraffes are placed on stands on the floor; while most of the other animals are placed in wall-cases round the sides. Here we find the gazelle, the deer, and the antelope; many varieties of each, all presenting those graceful forms, and many of them those mild and gentle traits, which distinguish animals of these kinds. Some of the little delicate gazelles, not much more than a foot in height, and with legs scarcely thicker than one's finger, are indeed most light and graceful objects, deserving all the encomiums which their 'soft blue eyes' and almost infantine expression of innocence have won for them. Mark, as you pass round the room, the different degrees of vigour, of size, and of strength, in animals brought from different countries. There are numerous inscriptions, within and in front of most of the cases, which give tolerably clear information as to the country whence the chief specimens were brought; although the Latin names of the animals are sometimes rather a stumbling-block.

Going eastward into the next room, we find a more formidable list of animals—animals belonging to a different zoological group, and of more strength and resolution than the antelope group. In the wall-cases are the bison, the buffalo, some rare species of bull, the camel, the dromedary, the zebra, the elk, the llama, and various others; some more robust than beautiful, others more beautiful than robust. On the floor of the room, ranged on either side of a central avenue, are various thick-skinned animals, such as the elephant, the hippopotamus, rhinoceros, &c. It is quite plain that the rhinoceros had had a fierce battle for his life, and that he had not been vanquished off-hand, for there are numerous bullet-holes in his tough horny hide. As for the little elephant, not above a yard in height, one can hardly fancy that an elephant ever *could* be so little; although the present season is witnessing a sucking elephant among its holiday attractions.

Then we come to the *Mammalia Saloon*—a room where many hours might be spent in studying the structure and appearance of the higher class of animals. The wall-cases are filled with specimens of rapacious and hoofed animals; over the cases are seals and porpoises of various kinds; and on the floor of the room are a few large specimens of quadrupeds. This is the room which would answer most to one's ideas of 'wild beasts,' in respect to the hyenas, the tigers, the jaguars, the bears, the wolves, and the leopards, which it contains. But it is also rich in specimens of a less formidable kind. There are, for instance, the civet and the zibet, the ichneumon and the glutton, the fox, the otter, numerous furred animals, the raccoon, the mole, the weasel, the opossum, the kangaroo, goats, sheep, llamas, musks, sloths—and an array of others which would take no little time to enumerate. All these consist of the stuffed skins of the animals, with glass eyes, stained to imitate as closely as possible the real organs; and every endeavour is made to give to the inanimate object such an attitude and general appearance as will impart some idea of the living being itself. The strange-looking animals over the cases comprise the various kinds of seals, porpoises, and dolphins, which seamen know much more about than landmen. The specimens placed on the floor of the saloon are very instructive, because they can be examined on all sides. How beautiful is that cleverly-prepared skeleton of the grampus, brought from the tertiary strata of Lyme Regis! In the whole extent of its length, upwards of twenty feet, the joints of the bones, and the adaptation of the

spine and ribs to the peculiar wants of the animal, are everywhere observable and deserve close attention.

But the birds and shells! What a magnificent range is that into which we next turn! There is hardly anything in Europe finer of the kind than the collection deposited in the *Eastern Zoological Gallery*; indeed there are but few collections which approach near it in excellence. The visitor will find it the best way, here as elsewhere, to walk through this gallery with some sort of system, or he will have the various objects driving each other out of his mind. The gallery is set off into five large square compartments, the walls of which are covered with cases containing stuffed birds. On either side of the central avenue through the gallery are table-cases filled with shells; and smaller table-cases adjacent to some of these contain the eggs of the birds placed in the wall-cases at the corresponding part of the gallery. We would therefore say to the visitor—walk round the entire gallery, beginning at the left of the entrance; look at the successive cases of birds, and turn round occasionally to glance at the eggs belonging to those birds, in the smaller table-cases. Do not attend to the shells until you have feasted your eyes and your mind on the glorious plumage of the feathered tribe: the shells are a feast in themselves.

The birds are all arranged upon a particular system, in such a way that those whose structure or habits most resemble each other are placed together. The scientific names given to them are often rather difficult to put into plain English; but the meaning can be pretty nearly guessed by an examination of the birds themselves. For instance, in the first cases which come under our inspection, it is not difficult to see that ‘raptorial’ birds must mean birds of prey. Here are the fierce and carnivorous vulture, the falcon, the eagle, the goshawk, the osprey, the kite, the buzzard, and various others, of which the forms of the beak, the strength of the talons, and the piercing glance of the eye, tell a significant tale as to the means by which the food of such birds is obtained. Next come the ‘perching’ birds, including the goat-sucker, the swallow, the swift, the tody, the kingfisher, &c. Passing onward, we meet with a collection of ‘tenuirostral’ or slender-beaked birds; the creepers, and nuthatches and wrens, the glorious hoopoes and sun-birds, the honey-eater of the Sandwich Islands and the paradise-bird of Molucca, and the exquisite little humming-bird—all belong to this division. It is quite a treat to watch any young party as they proceed along this gallery, accumulating new notes of admiration as they go. How does the tiny humming-bird, no bigger than the top of one’s thumb, delight them; and the matchless colours of the plumage of others!

Thus will the visitor proceed, examining case after case, and picking up crumbs of knowledge as he goes along. If he is a country Rambler, if he is one who knows how to enjoy a walk in the fields, he will meet with many “old familiar faces” among the birds of the collection, interspersed with foreign birds whose acquaintance he now makes for the first time. He will come to a group of ‘passerine’ birds, such as live on insects and worms, and includes the warblers, the wheatears, the wagtails, the thrushes, the orioles, the fly-catchers, the chatterers, the butcher birds, &c. He will then encounter the ‘conuirostral’ or conc-beaked birds, such as the crows, the rooks, the ravens, the jackdaws, the jays, the choughs, the starlings, the grosbeaks, the larks, the bullfinches, and a host of others. When he sees the name ‘scansorial’-birds, and bears in mind that scansorial means ‘climbing,’ he will be prepared to look for the gorgeous parrots and parrakeets, and lorries and macaws, and the less splendid but still interesting woodpeckers, &c. Then will come under his notice a large family of pigeons and doves, pheasants and peacocks, turkeys and partridges, and grouse, and others, which obtain the collective name of ‘gallinaceous,’ or fowl-like birds. The



ostrich and other 'wading' birds; the swan and similar 'web-footed' birds—all are deserving of his notice; and by the time he has traversed the gallery, he will have formed some idea of the vast extent of ornithological science.

From one path of beauty we pass to another. The exquisite loveliness of some of the shells in the table-cases of this gallery is hardly to be exceeded, and is a never-failing source of admiration to visitors. These shells are not, any more than the birds, placed in a confused and dis-arranged manner. All the shells are, in the first instance, divided into two great portions—the *univalve* and the *bivalve*; the first of which are simple, or formed of one continuous substance; while the second consist of two distinct parts, like the shell of the oyster or the mussel. The fishes who were once the inhabitants of the bivalve shells had the means of shutting up their houses completely, by closing together the two halves of which each house consisted; whereas the denizens of the univalve shells had one aperture, which served for door and window, and had to be protected by other means. The shells differ as much in size as in colour, and in shape as in size; so that the variety is almost interminable. The pink-mouthed *stromb* shell; the wide-mouthed *triton* or trumpet shell; the curious jagged surface of the *murex*; the spirally-formed *spindle* shell; the *turnip* shells, which are used as oil-vessels in the Indian temples; the twisted forms of the *voluta*; the gorgeously-coloured *haliotis*; the tiny *littorina*, not larger than a pin's head; the *purpura*, which yields a purple dye; the *cowries*, which are used both as ornaments and as money in the East; the wood-piercing *pholas* and *teredo*; the exquisitely coloured *mytilus*; the *nautilus*, respecting which Pope wrote a couple of lines very pretty but very erroneous—all deserve as much time as the visitor can afford to bestow on them.

A passing glance may be taken at the pictures hung over the wall-cases in the Eastern Zoological Gallery. These pictures were mostly presented to the Museum during the last century, by various persons. They consist of portraits—all, with a very few exceptions—of Englishmen. Most of the monarchs, from Henry V. to George II.; many of our great philosophers and men of science—Sloane, Ward, Bacon, Newton, Ray, Wallace; many of our great writers and poets—Usher, Burnet, Spelman, Dugdale, Prior, Camden, Speed, Cranmer, Shakspeare, Buchanan, Locke, Algernon Sidney, Pope, Baxter. It is something to be able to look at the faces of such men. The pictures are in few cases eminent as works of art; but as portraits they are a memento of great men dead and gone—dead in the flesh, but living in the minds of later generations.

#### THE UPPER ROOMS:—NORTHERN GALLERIES.

We now leave the Eastern Gallery, and proceed to visit the specimens in Natural History, deposited in the northern range.

The most striking portions of the *Northern Zoological Gallery* are the coral specimens, some of which are singularly remarkable and attractive; but there are numerous other objects well deserving attention. The gallery consists of five rooms, opening into each other, all provided with wall-cases and table-cases. The skulls of the larger mammalia; a collection of reptiles preserved in spirits; another collection of the hard part of radiated animals, such as sea-eggs, sea-stars, &c.; lizards and crocodiles, snakes and serpents, turtles and tortoises, toads and frogs, monkeys and apes, fishes, insects, corals—all these present such a claim on the notice of a visitor, that he cannot, if he would, pass them by.

If this large zoological collection do not already exhaust the gazing power of one visit, we may turn out of this gallery into the adjoining *Mineralogical Gallery*, where



a new department of Natural History calls for attention. This noble gallery consists of four or five rooms in one range, every room having wall-cases and table-cases. For the greater part, the specimens in the table-cases illustrate mineralogy, while those in the wall-cases belong to fossil geology. Here, again, order and system are observed; the minerals being arranged according to the principal chemical substance which each specimen contains. First occur the minerals containing iron; then those whose importance is due to copper; then bismuth, lead, silver, mercury, and so on. Considerable pains are taken to make the arrangement intelligible to all visitors, by inscriptions on the cases and on the chief specimens; and opportunities are here afforded for seeing how gorgeous is the appearance of many of the metallic ores and minerals. The large masses of meteoric iron which have fallen from the atmosphere; the brilliant-coloured anthracite from Ceylon; the medallion of Berzelius, wrought in the metal selenium, which he was the first to discover; the intensely-yellow sulphuret of selenium; the dazzling ores of zinc; the pure rock crystal; the sparkling diamonds, and jaspers, and amethysts, and other gems; the delicate wood-opal, wrought into boxes—these are some among the almost innumerable objects which rivet the eye, and merit examination. A new science is illustrated, and a new train of thoughts interested, by the contents of the wall-cases on either side of this gallery. They comprise, for the most part, specimens of fossil geology, many of which are calculated to excite strong attention. The commencement of the series shows examples of fossil botany, such as submerged algae or weeds; impressions of leaves on strata of coal-slate; other impressions of ferns in clay-slate; and beautiful specimens of polished fossil-wood, as hard as stone, but yet exhibiting the ligneous structure.

But it is in the fossil animal remains that this collection is most remarkable. Here we have evidence of a former state of animal existence, prior to any species now known upon the earth. The salamander, the gigantic iguanodon, the plesiosaurus, the ichthyosaurus, the extraordinary specimen brought from Lyme Regis by Mr. Conybeare; the fossil fishes, some of huge size; the skeleton of the extinct species of elk, and that of the monstrous mastodon—all appeal to us as pages in the past history of creation.

#### THE UPPER ROOMS:—WESTERN GALLERIES.

In the western wing of the building are three rooms—the *Egyptian Room*, the *Bronze Room*, and the *Etruscan Room*; opening one into another, and containing an immense assemblage of curious productions.

Who that has entered the Egyptian Room can fail to be struck with the strange appearance of the mummies and mummy-cases? Who can resist the impulse to carry the thoughts back to the time—reckoned by an interval of thousands instead of hundreds of years—when Kebhsnauf and Sioumautf, Menka-re and Oukhsnope, Iriouirooui and Khousmos, and the other heroes and heroines, whose unpronounceable names are recorded—were among the walking and talking inhabitants of Egypt! Great, indeed, must have been the pains taken to prepare the dead bodies so as to remain uncrumbled for three, or perhaps four, thousand years. The cleaning and embalming of the body, the wrapping in bandages of fine linen covered with gum, and the enclosure in a profusely-painted wooden case—all show how much care was taken to prevent the destruction of the body. Some of the mummies, which are filled with aromatic resins, present an olive-coloured tint; their skin is dry, flexible, and contracted, like tanned leather; the features are distinct, and appear to be like those that existed in life; and the teeth, hair, and eyebrows are generally perfect. It is certainly calculated to give rise to an interesting train of thought, when we

reflect that the mummies placed in this room (some of them at least) were mummies so far back as the period when Moses and the Israelites were in Egypt: and that they have remained undestroyed and unrotted throughout all the busy scenes of the intervening period.

There is scarcely a branch of art or industry but is illustrated by the contents of this room. They are all worthy of close attention: for in some cases the material, in others the form, in others the colour, and in others the uses, furnish instructive evidence of the arts of the ancient Egyptians. The wooden figures brought from tombs; the bronze offerings of private worship; the porcelain figures, perforated for attachment to the network or necklaces of mummies; the painted, gilt, stone, bronze, silver, and porcelain deities, from one inch to twenty inches in height—these relate to religious notions on the part of the Egyptians. So likewise do the figures of sacred animals, such as the jackal, the hippopotamus, the baboon, the lion, the cat, the ram; and also the strange compounds of half-man, half-brute, in which ancient paganism so much delighted.

The articles of household furniture, or models of them on a small scale, are interesting in another point of view, as carrying the imagination to the homes of the ancient dwellers on the banks of the Nile. The stools and chairs; the couches and pillows; the keys, locks, hinges, bolts, and handles; the tables, and salvers, and baskets; the models of a house, a granary, and a yard; then, again, the articles of the toilet, such as the black wig, the caps, aprons, tunic, sandals, shoes, combs, pins, studs, cases for containing the eyelid paint, and painting implements—all are deserving of a little examination. Numerous, too, are the vases and lamps, the bowls and cups, the agricultural implements, the warlike weapons, the writing and painting implements, the working tools and weaving looms, the toys, and the musical instruments. One of the cases in the room contains a vast number of amulets, and scarabæi or sculptured beetles; they once formed portions of necklaces, bracelets, rings, or other articles of personal adornment; and, whether in the form of beetles, hogs, or other animals, and whether formed of amethysts, carnelians, basalt, serpentine, marble, or porcelain, they were all intended as charms to avert evil from the wearer.

The *Bronze Room* next adjoining the Egyptian Room, obtains its name from the chief of the Museum bronzes being there placed; but it contains many other articles formed of other materials. The beautiful, the grotesque, the ingenious—all meet with illustration among the bronzes which occupy the table-cases in this room. Many of the small figures were Penates, or family and domestic deities of the Romans: some of them tiny specimens not above an inch in height, and few of them reaching to the height of twelve inches. Roman weights and trinkets, and metal mirrors, tripods, and candelabra, and lamps—are among the articles of metal.

The *Etruscan Room*, next beyond the Bronze Room, is one of the most interesting in the Museum, in respect to the passion (for it seems almost to have amounted to such) which the Etruscans showed for vases. The Etruscan tombs were long known to contain relics of the departed race; but it is only within the last few years that attention has been forcibly directed to the matter. Subterranean tombs have been opened, and sarcophagi and vases found in them. Many of the sarcophagi, so obtained, are now deposited in the lower saloons of the Museum, as we have stated; and hundreds of the vases are placed in the Etruscan Room. Many of the tombs were almost filled with vases; and of the character of these vases the contents of the Etruscan Room will afford us a very sufficient notion. The shelves and cases exhibit a variety of elegant forms, from the flat salver to the tall and slender vase. Some of these vases are made of heavy black

were with figures on them in bas-relief; others have pale back-grounds, with figures of a deep reddish maroon colour; then come others with black figures upon red or orange back-grounds. The figures are, for the most part, in an early and formal style of art, many of them grotesque, and all less remarkable for artistic taste than as illustrations of the mythology and train of thought at that period.

The rooms and galleries southward of the Etruscan Room, on the west side of the building, though finished and open, are not yet filled with specimens.

#### THE UPPER ROOMS:—ETHNOGRAPHICAL ROOM.

At the south-west corner of the building we turn again to the left, and enter a long gallery called the *Ethnographical Room*. Now, it would not be amiss if the superintendents of the Museum would condescend a little to the wants of their visitors, in respect to such a 'hard word' as this. The word is a rare puzzle to many an unlearned person. The Chinese bell, and the bows and arrows, and the skin dresses, and the grotesque figures—how do they become 'ethnographical,' and what does it mean? It might be worth while to adopt some secondary inscription, to denote that *ethnos* is the Greek name for *nation* or *tribe*, and that national manners and customs, arts and implements, are illustrated by the specimens deposited in this room. The room is divided into *nations*, and in that sense it becomes ethnographical.

The nations whose productions are here exhibited to us, have certainly displayed very curious and varied ingenuity. Look at the *Chinese* department, with its little figures of beggars, mandarins, gods, and goddesses: its trinkets in ivory and hard wood. Look in succession at the *Burmese*, the *Hindoo*, and the *Japanese* departments. There is the gilt image of Guadama, the Burmese idol, in all its hideous glitter; the Hindoo deities, in wood and bronze; the Hindoo measures, and vessels, and arms; the Chinese and Japanese matchlocks, bows, arrows, shoes, mirrors, screens, musical instruments, inlaid boxes; the collection of half-clothed little figures, six or eight inches in height—all, if not beautiful, are at least curious specimens of the things which meet with admiration in the East. The stands in the middle of the room, too, contain two specimens of much interest. One is a Chinese bell, about five feet in height, which was cast about seven years ago, and was captured by the British troops from a temple at Ningpo, in 1844. The figures of Buddha, on the upper part; the Buddhist inscriptions beneath; the handle formed of a crouching dragon—all are worthy of close inspection, as a very creditable specimen of Chinese manufacture in metal. The other article on the floor-stands is a model of a gaudy moveable temple, such as would excite the reverence of the inhabitants of the Carnatic, in the southern part of India.

Pass on from thence to the compartments containing the *African*, the *North American*, the *Peruvian*, the *Guianian*, the *Chilian*, and the *Mexican* antiquities; and see the numerous illustrations there afforded of the religion, the arts, and the industrial occupations of those nations. How creditable to the weavers of Central Africa is that richly-decorated piece of cloth, woven in narrow strips; and the Foulah cloak, from Sierra Leone; and the striped specimens from Ashantee! Then the Ashantee loom, by which such fabrics are wrought, is worth looking at. As for the other Ashantee curiosities—the umbrellas, the padlocks, the tobacco-pipes, the fly-flappers, the sandals, the musical instruments—they meet the eye by scores. The stone and terracotta figures of the Mexican collection, mostly purchased from Mr. Bullock's museum, carry the thoughts back to a period in the history of America long anterior to the time of Columbus; and so likewise do the Aztec vases, idols, and ornaments; the Peruvian mummies, silver ornaments, vessels, silver images; and



Chilian antiquities of a similar kind. Nations once flourished where now forests abound ; and large portions of the human family have passed away in America, with hardly any relics left behind to say who or what they were.

Thus may the visitor go round the Ethnographical Room, cultivating acquaintance with each nation in succession. The *Esquimaux* of North America, the *Friendly* and *Sandwich Islanders*, the *Australians*, and our own *British* ancestors—all are presented to our view. The fur dresses, the whalebone nets, and the fishing implements of the *Esquimaux* ; the winter and summer dresses, the ornaments and implements and vessels of the *Tahitians* ; the New Zealand weapons and cordage and carvings, the tortoise-shell bonnet, from one of the *Polynesian* islands—all have their points of interest to those who regard them as a sort of book, in which to read the social history of distant and rude nations. The models of the ancient *Druidical cromlechs*, in the centre of the room, and some of the metal and earthenware specimens in the northern wall-cases, belong to the early curiosities of our own country. There is also deposited in a case on the floor of the room a model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. But perhaps the most extraordinary model here placed is that of a body of Thugs murdering a traveller in India ; there is a multitude of figures, all a few inches in height, and dressed in proper costume ; and the outlying the waylaying, the strangulation, the digging of the grave, the burial, the partition of the booty—all are depicted, or rather modelled, by a native artist.

Thus have we taken a hasty glance at this great national collection, a collection which is honourable to the country and the individuals by whom it has been gradually accumulated. The expenditure on the collection has, of course, been very great. In the first place, Sir Hans Sloane's collection, which cost him £50,000, was, at his request, offered to the nation for £20,000 ; and this sum was paid for it. £10,000 was paid for the Harleian collection of MSS., £10,000 for Montague House, £13,000 for altering and repairing the house, and £30,000 were set apart as a fund for salaries and wages of keepers, &c. The purchases then went on with such rapidity that we cannot follow them. Among them was the Lansdowne MSS., £4925 ; the Arundel MSS., £3560 ; Colonel Greville's minerals, £13,727 ; the Hamilton vases, £8400 ; Phigaleian sculptures, £20,000 ; Elgin sculptures, £35,000—it is in vain, however, to enumerate all the purchases. For many years past the House of Commons has voted very large sums annually for these purposes connected with the Museum : to make additions to the various collections, to build the new structure, and to pay the various salaries and current expenses of the establishment.

It is pleasant to think that a spirit is now abroad which will probably lead to the formation of museums in towns which have hitherto had nothing of the kind. On referring to the statutes passed in 1845, we shall find that one relates to the formation of museums, by enacting that "it shall be lawful for the council of any municipal borough, the population of which exceeds 10,000 persons, if such council shall think fit so to do, to purchase lands, and to erect thereon buildings suitable for museums of art and science ;" and by arranging how the expenses are to be defrayed. The rate of admission is "not to exceed one penny for each person ;" but if the expenses are provided by a borough rate, it becomes a question whether a gratuitous admission would not be far preferable. If only a single penny were charged at the British Museum or the National Gallery, it would make a most enormous difference in the daily number of visitors. As matters now stand, visitors need not think about money at all in connection with their visits ; and this is far preferable.



NATIONAL GALLERY

AND ROYAL ACADEMY



BRITISH INSTITUTION



NATIONAL GALLERY



SOCIETY OF ARTS



MARLBOROUGH HOUSE



STAFFORD HOUSE



GROSVENOR HOUSE



RIDGEWATER HOUSE

# KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXXI. EXHIBITIONS OF ART.

**SECRET**



## XXXI. EXHIBITIONS OF ART.

THE art exhibitions of London may be classed into those which belong to the nation, those which belong to public bodies, the annual exhibitions of societies of artists, and the collections of private individuals. These various collections are manifestly very far too numerous and too important to be properly noticed in a single number of our work; all that we shall attempt, therefore, will be to glance hastily at them, and give a cursory notice of the more important.

## THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

The national collections, though valuable in themselves, are quite unworthy of a great nation. One cannot but wish that the National Gallery had either a less ambitious title, or that those who have influence over its destinies would endeavour to make the collection worthy of such a designation. There is something to our mind painful in contemplating the conduct of those who may be said to have represented the nation in this matter. From the time (1823) that the ministry was induced, with some difficulty, to purchase the Angerstein pictures, 38 in number, private benefactors have continually stepped forth, sometimes even giving their entire collections, the fruits of long years of research and industry, and involving the expenditure of very large sums of money, to promote the formation of an institution they deemed so desirable. Thus, in 1825, Sir George Beaumont, who had half bribed the ministry into the former purchase by a promise of his collection, gave 16 pictures, valued at 7500 guineas; in 1831, the Rev. Holwell Carr bequeathed 35 pictures; in 1837, Lieut.-Colonel Olney bequeathed 17; in 1838, Lord Farnborough bequeathed 15; and at various periods numerous other benefactors have presented or bequeathed some 69 more—a total of 152 pictures, for which we are indebted to private munificence, before Mr. Vernon's donation of his gallery of modern English paintings, containing no less than 55 pictures. And while all this has been doing for the people, what has the people done for itself? Tremble, public economists, as we announce the profligate system of expenditure which must have been carried on! Great Britain, in the first 28 years of its labours in the formation of a Gallery, has actually purchased on the average above two pictures a year—we fear, almost three. But this rapid rate has not been maintained of late years. In 1847 one picture was purchased, but not one of any kind has been purchased since! It is a fact that, in this year of grace 1851, we possess not less than 220 pictures (exclusive of the Vernon Gallery), filling very nearly three moderate-sized apartments and one small one; and that of these 220 pictures acquired in 28 years, no less than 68 have been purchased!

But, seriously, if we really do believe in the value of such exhibitions, how are we to account for our faith being so very unproductive of tangible results? There is a collection at Frankfort, of recent date, and owing its existence to an individual, which already nearly doubles our collection in the National Gallery; at Berlin a Gallery was commenced about the same period as our gallery, and it has already about 1200 pictures; the Dresden Gallery contains about 1850; the Louvre, 1406, exclusive of the Spanish pictures; the Florentine, 1200; whilst Louis of Bavaria and his people possess, in the magnificent Pinacothek at Munich, a new Gallery numbering nearly 300 pictures. Is it that the people of England have no taste for these things?

Every public exhibition of works of art contradicts such a notion. But the National Gallery itself presents in its own records decisive testimony that it is not the people who are indifferent. Let us but think for a moment of the number of visitors, which has amounted in a single year to 500,000, and which is constantly increasing, and we must be still more surprised at the pitiful spirit in which the National Gallery has been treated. It is quite true that many excellent works have been purchased; and it is on every account desirable that fewer works should be purchased, so that they be of a high order of excellence; but it is undeniable that within the last ten years many paintings of the very highest character have been sold, frequently by public auction, both in this country and on the Continent, and have been purchased by foreign Governments or private individuals, without an effort having been made to secure any of them for the British nation.

The building in Trafalgar Square, in the western wing of which the national collection of pictures is deposited, is, of course, well known to every one who has visited London. It was erected between 1832 and 1838, from a design by William Wilkins, and is universally condemned as inelegant in itself, and unworthy of its purpose. The rooms, too, are small and ill-lighted, and hardly sufficient for even the present scanty collection; altogether, indeed, the National Gallery is a discredit to the nation. Not so, however, the general management of the institution—that is most liberal and judicious; the public are admitted the first four days in the week, without fees or invidious distinctions; the other two days are appropriated to the use of students. The entire annual expense of the Gallery is somewhat short of £1000 a year.

We propose now to look at the contents of the Gallery in something like chronological order. Unfortunately, we seek in vain in Trafalgar Square for any "collection of specimens in painting from the earliest times of its revival, tracing the pictorial representations of sacred subjects from the ancient Byzantine types of the heads of Madonnas and Apostles, through the gradual development of taste and design and sensibility to colour, aided by the progress in science, which at length burst out in fullest splendour when Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian were living at the same time." Two pictures by Taddeo Gaddi (1300–1366\*) alone represent this long and important period of development. But commencing with the men we have named, the grand masters of the schools of modern painting, the chief features of European artistical history may be traced down to the present time, with sufficient precision for ordinary purposes, by means of these 220 pictures. Of the works of that universal and extraordinary genius, Lionardo da Vinci (1452–1519), we have but one example, 'Christ disputing with the Doctors,' and the authenticity of that has been made matter of doubt. It is, however, a very fine picture, and in good preservation. Passing from the founder of the Milan school to the still greater founder of the Florentine, Michael Angelo (1474–1563), we are again reminded of the defects of the Gallery. Of all the works of that mighty master-spirit, we have here no original direct from his hand; the extraordinary little picture entitled 'Michael Angelo's Dream' being but a copy, probably by one of his pupils. There is another picture attributed to Michael Angelo, belonging to the national collection, but it is not exhibited, and we confess to having no desire to see it exhibited. It is undoubtedly not by Michael Angelo, whilst both conception and treatment are coarse and meretricious. The great painter's share in the 'Raising of Lazarus,' one of the most important works in the Gallery, is confined to the composition and drawing, the picture itself being painted by Sebastian del Piombo, a

\* Dates of birth and death.

rious portrait-painter and colourist, but unequal to the requirements of such a work. Mrs. Jameson believes the facts to have been these :—Michael Angelo, with characteristic haughtiness, disdained to enter into any acknowledged rivalry with Raphael, and put forward Sebastian del Piombo as no unworthy competitor of the great Roman painter. To determine this point, the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterward Clement VII., commissioned this picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus' from Sebastian, and at the same time commissioned Raphael to paint the 'Transfiguration;' both were intended as altar-pieces for his cathedral of Narbonne, he having lately been created Archbishop of Narbonne by Francis I. On this occasion Michael Angelo, aware of the deficiencies of his friend Sebastian, furnished him with the sign, and, as it is supposed, drew some of the figures himself on the canvas\*; but was so far from doing this secretly, that Raphael heard of it, and is said to have claimed, "Michael Angelo has graciously favoured me, in that he has deemed me worthy to compete with himself, and not with Sebastian." The two pictures were exhibited together at Rome, in 1520, the year of Raphael's death; when, according to Vasari, both were infinitely admired, though the supereminent grace and beauty of Raphael gained the general suffrage of victory. Some other specimens of the Florentine school are in the Gallery; one a 'Holy Family,' said to be by Andrea del Sarto, who, after Michael Angelo and Fra. Bartolomeo, ranks third in the school, but which probably not by him, though unfortunately our only presumed specimen of the star.

Among the pictures here that enable us to judge of the state of painting prior to the period of the appearance of the constellation just enumerated, are one by Jan van Eyck, of which we shall hereafter speak, two by Francia, and one by Pietro Perugino, Raphael's master. Francia (1450–1517) belonged to what may be termed the early Bolognese school. Francia's pictures consist of the two portions of an altar-piece, namely, a 'Virgin and Child with Saints,' and on a lunette or arch, a seated Christ, the head supported by the Virgin Mother on her lap, and with angels the head and feet; both so pure, so simple, and so holy in character and expression, that the sight of them, amidst the miscellaneous assemblages of pictures around, seems like a sudden light from above. The 'Virgin and Child, with St. John,' by Perugino (1446–1524), has much of the same simplicity, purity, and elevation, and shows that Raphael's master deserves attention and honour for his own sake, and for that he must have taught his "divine" pupil, as much as for the mere accidental fact of his having been Raphael's master. Perhaps, indeed, we have hardly an instance of one man of such thoroughly original and independent powers as the master of the 'Cartoons,' deriving so much from another as did the painter of the exquisite 'Madonnas,' that have filled the civilized world in one form and another with the sense of divinest loveliness, many of which are known to have been borrowed from Perugino, though enhanced in the borrowing. We are much richer in our specimens of Raphael (1483–1520) than of the other great men we have mentioned. We have the 'St. Catherine,' so pure and noble in conception, and so admirable in execution; the cartoon of the 'Murder of the Innocents,' belonging to the same final series of twelve as the seven at Hampton Court, and deposited here by the efforts of the Foundling Hospital, a work which one cannot help fancying must have been traced by the hand as well as the energy of a giant; the portrait of 'Pope Julius,' a master-work in all the essentials of grand portrait-painting; and lastly,

Several of the original drawings by the hand of Michael Angelo, and in particular the sketches for the figure of Lazarus, were in the possession of Sir Thomas Lawrence.



the 'Vision of a Knight,' an exquisite specimen of his earlier manner. These are all valuable works, though far too few in number and too small in scale to do justice to this wonderful painter, who, like Shakspeare, seemed the product of the mingled greatness of his time. Vasari says of the portrait of the Pope, now in the Gallery, that it was so like as to inspire fear as if it were alive; a remark that gives us a fine glimpse of the character of the great patron of Raphael and Michael Angelo. Of the pupils of Raphael we have a specimen in a 'Charity' of his chief favourite, Giulio Romano (1492-1546), who assisted him in many of his works, was made by him his chief heir when he died, and, what was still more remarkable, was commissioned by Raphael's express direction to complete the works he should leave unfinished. The 'Charity' is a small picture, and therefore not exactly of the class to illustrate Romano's excellence; it is in grand mythological subjects on a scale of proportionate grandeur that his soul found room to develop itself worthily. Garofalo (1481-1559), so called from his device, the clove-pink, was another pupil of Raphael's; two of his works adorn the Gallery. Of the remaining painters of the Roman school, Baroccio (1528-1612) contributes one picture, a 'Holy Family,' reminding us of the saying applied to him as to Parrhasius, that his personages looked as though they fed on roses; Caravaggio (1569-1609) one, 'Christ and the Two Disciples at Emmaus,' vulgar enough in conception, but rich and true in tone,—it was said of him by one of the Caracci, that he "ground flesh" rather than colour; Guercino (1590-1666) one, a 'Dead Christ with two Angels,' in which we may trace Caravaggio's influence over his friend in the striking effects of the light and shade, with an elegance and dignity that Caravaggio had no conception of; Mola (1612-1668) three, among them a very beautiful 'Holy Family reposing;' Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) one; and Pannini (1691-1764) one.

The remarkable and most harmonious variety of the great qualities of the leaders in the modern artistical movement is very striking; it seems almost like a new version of the story of Minerva and the head of Jupiter—painting at once appeared to spring upon the world so fully armed and appointed. Whilst Raphael gave us new conceptions of loveliness in feature and form, of composition and of character, and Michael Angelo drew gods and men like gods, investing them with an almost supernatural grandeur, Titian (1477-1576) and his followers, dipping their pencils in the rainbow, witched the world with their colouring, leaving to Correggio the perfecting the knowledge of all the subtle mysteries of light and shade. And now our Gallery begins to look rich. Of Titian there are five examples, and three of them, at least, glorious examples of the master. Look at that great black eagle with outstretched wings soaring away with the beautiful boy, Ganymede, the future cup-bearer of the gods. What fine contrasts of colour! what delicious effects of tone in the rosy limbs! or this 'Venus and Adonis,' which, in the words of Ludovico Dolce, in a letter to a friend written on seeing a duplicate, "no one, however chilled by age or hard of heart, can behold without feeling all the blood in his veins warmed into tenderness;" or greatest of all, this 'Bacchus and Ariadne,' which we believe to be one of the finest things of its class in existence\*.

\* A few years ago a great outcry was made about the injury which some of the finer pictures in the National Gallery had sustained by cleaning. The cleaning had been executed under the supervision of Mr. (now Sir C. L.) Eastlake, a man as remarkable for his knowledge and love of ancient art as for his own excellence as a painter; and several of the most eminent painters of the day testified to the real benefit which the pictures had derived from cleaning; yet the outcry was continued, and is still occasionally revived. This painting of

the other illustrious artists of the school of the city of the waters, Giorgione (1478-1511) is said to have painted the 'Death of Peter the Martyr' which is in the Louvre; but the work suggests little of the merits of him who was no unworthy Titian. It is unquestionably ascribed to him on insufficient grounds. The works of Giorgione are very scarce. We have already mentioned the share that Andrea del Piombo (1485-1547) had in the great picture of the 'Raising of Lazarus.' Of his own works there are two; a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga, and a picture with portraits of himself (a magnificent-looking fellow, certainly, with a face that would do honour to an eastern emperor) and Cardinal Hippolito, the favourite of his time, who, without territories or subjects, lived at Bologna in a state of independence surpassed any Italian potentate's; and when the Pope caused some representations to be made to him as to the propriety of dismissing some of his retainers, as necessary to him, replied, "I do not retain them in my court because I have need of them for their services, but because they have occasion for mine." The "fiery St. George" is represented in the Gallery by a 'St. George and the Dragon.' The reproductions of the Venetian school are a portrait by Bassano (1510-1592), the 'Tower of Babel,' as he has been called; a curious picture representing the building of the Tower of Babel, where the mode of building so important a work seems as simple as the time, by Bassano's son, Leandro (1558-1623): a 'Consecration of St. Elizabeth,' and a 'Rape of Europa,' by Paul Veronese (1530-1588), the first a very fine work, but still giving us inadequate notions of the gorgeous style of the artist: 'Elizabeth and her Children,' by Padovanino (1552-1617); a 'Cupid and Psyche,' by Andrea Veronese (1582-1648), called also 'l'Orbetto,' from a noticeable event in the artist's history, his having when a boy led about an old blind beggar, said to have been his own father; and Canaletto (1697-1768), from whom we have four pictures, in and round Venice, the subjects that of all others his fancy best loved to treat in.

"I were not Titian, I would be Correggio," said the great Venetian, on seeing the works of the latter; and we can feel the full force of the eloquent and significant exclamation, as we look upon these treasures of art, the 'Mercury teaching Cupid to read,' the 'Ecce Homo' (who that has once seen can never forget the face of the Virgin Mary in that picture, which is finer even than that of the artist), and 'The Holy Family' (La Vierge au Panier), three of the great artist's best works: there are also two different pictures of studies of heads, angels, and animals, but these are of doubtful genuineness, and the 'Christ on the Mount of Olives' though this last is either a copy or a duplicate of the original in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. The 'Mercury and Venus,' by Correggio (1494-1534), very respect an admirable example of the style of that great painter, and is one of the master-pieces of art. Nothing scarcely can be conceived more useful or more graceful in design, sentiment, expression and colour than is this painting; and the execution is entirely worthy of the conception. In his execution of it the artist is as much entranced as the most untutored observer. At all this perfection of hand, heart, and soul was achieved in ignorance of the

of the story of Ariadne, one that was especially pointed out as having suffered most from the neglect, happened to have been, for some three months before, regularly under the eye of the artist, of this note, whilst copying a picture placed beside it; and he asserts, without any doubt, that in every point wherein it had been described to have been injured it remained unaltered, or only so far altered as the removal of dirt and dark varnish necessarily altered it, so far improved it.



great works of his contemporaries, consequently was an altogether unaided advance upon the state of art that prevailed when he began his career in his own native Lombardy! But so it was; and when at last a production of Raphael's met his eye—a 'St. Cecilia'—we can imagine and sympathise with the varied feelings and emotions that it called forth. "Well, I am a painter too," were his first words, after a long examination. Though not a pupil, Parmigiano (1503–1540) was evidently an imitator of Correggio; he is the painter of this tall picture, 'the Vision of St. Jerome,' where St. John, in the foreground, is pointing to the Virgin and youthful Christ in the clouds, while St. Jerome is asleep in the background. A great compliment to him was paid through the medium of this work, if Waagen's supposition be correct, that it was this on which Parmigiano was engaged during the assault upon Rome by the troops of the Constable Bourbon; an event of which the painter was so delightfully unconscious, that the first news he received of it came in the shape of the hostile German soldiers looking to see what plunder might be obtained. What followed was enough to make one wish to blot all remembrances of former misdeeds of the Goths and Vandals of the north. The soldiers stopped to gaze on the work before them, became entranced by its beauty, and quitted the place, as one that should be sacred from all tumults, even the very unscrupulous and unrespecting ones of war. Unfortunately, another party afterwards seized the painter, and exacted ransom, in consequence of which he left Rome in poverty, and went to Bologna, where and at Parma he grew again wealthy and famous—then left the real art of alchemy he possessed for the nominal one, and died poor. Though executed at the early age of 24, this 'Vision of St. Jerome' is esteemed, in spite of its exaggerations and other defects, one of Parmigiano's finest productions.

Of the Paduan school and its chief, Andrea Martegna, we have nothing; but of the Ferrara school, a kind of branch of the Paduan, there are three pictures, two by Mazzolino da Ferrara (1489–1530), and one by Ercole Grandi da Ferrara (1491–1531); all religious subjects, and all interesting, as showing the state of art in that part of Italy before Garofalo returned from Raphael's studio, and informed his works with much of his master's grace and grandeur.

By the time of the Reformation the followers of the great men who had shed such splendour over the commencement of the century had ceased to deserve that name, and might, in some cases at least, be rather called their caricaturists; such, for instance, in their more important works, were the professed disciples of the great Florentine, Vasari, the historian of painting, and Bronzino, whom we have before mentioned. Signs of decay were everywhere visible. But the progress of the new faith infused new vigour and energy into the old one; and where the contest did not end in establishing the Protestant, it undoubtedly helped to refix more firmly on its foundation the Roman Catholic religion. Such was the case in Italy; and the arts soon felt the impulse. Towards the latter part of the sixteenth century there were living at Bologna two brothers and their cousin, bent on no less a task than the establishment of a grand school of painting of a somewhat different class than any that had gone before. To the results of a close study of nature and of the antique they desired to add the results of an equally attentive examination of every great master's peculiar qualities; and thus produce, in theory at least, works of still loftier excellence. It is hardly necessary to say that in this they did not succeed. No such system has ever produced works of the highest order. The Caracci, having made themselves worthy of such a position, opened a studio in the house of the cousin, Ludovico, to prepare others who might also carry on the good work. This was the foundation of the famous eclectic school of Bologna by the Caracci; one of whom,



gostino (1558-1601), drew the cartoons in the vestibule; another, Ludovico (1555-319), who first planned the school and chiefly guided its operations, is the painter of the 'Susannah and the Elders,' the 'Entombment of Christ,' and of the copy of Correggio's 'Ecce Homo;' whilst the third and greatest, Annibale (1560-1609), enriches the Gallery with no less than eight pictures, among which two are indeed *summa*, the 'Silenus gathering Grapes,' and the 'Pan teaching Apollo to play on the pipes,' or rather perhaps 'Bacchus playing to Silenus;' both are painted in *disemper*, and originally, it is supposed, decorated the same harpsichord. Among the scholars of the Caracci two stand out conspicuous, Guido (1575-1642), and Domenichino (1581-1641). The talents of Guido were so early and conspicuously shown, that the Caracci grew jealous, and Guercino (before mentioned) and Domenichino were pushed forward by them in consequence. We have eight pictures by Guido in the Gallery, one of which, the 'Andromeda,' is in the artist's best manner, warm, harmonious, and delicate; and four by Domenichino, who has been ranked among the best of painters, and whose progress upwards was still more remarkable than his master's, Annibale Caracci. He was called the 'ox' by his fellow-students: upon which Annibale one day remarked that the nickname was only applicable to Domenichino's patient and fruitful industry. It was a maxim of Domenichino that not a single line ought to be traced by the hand which was not already fully conceived in the mind. Domenichino's genius, however, is not fairly represented by either of the works in the national collection.

Among the most recent acquisitions of the Gallery is one by John Van Eyck (1390-1441), which seems to show that the discoverer or restorer of oil painting had leapt at once to perfection, in the preparation of the vehicles of his colours, and kept the knowledge thus acquired to himself, for there is nothing in modern pictures to be compared with Van Eyck's for mingled delicacy and effect, and we fear for permanence. Above four centuries have passed over this little quaint piece of brilliancy, and yet it is in far better preservation than many pictures painted within the last twenty years. The subject is unknown: it consists of two figures, a male and a female, holding each other's hands. The picture belongs to a very interesting period, when John Van Eyck and his brother had raised the school of Flanders to the highest pitch of eminence among the earlier schools of European art. They were men, as we may almost perceive in this interesting picture, who added to the most exquisite technical skill, profound feeling, and powerful perception and delineation of character. Before and after them there is a melancholy waste, not in northern art itself, but in our Gallery of its specimens. The fine old romance school of painting might never have existed for aught we here perceive to the contrary. When we next arrive at works of the Flemish school, it is after a period of decline and degradation; from which a new artist at once, by his single strength, raised it; namely, Rubens (1577-1640), who, by the variety and value of the stores of a mind to which Nature had been most unusually bountiful of her richest gifts, informed it with a glowing life, an energy of character and passion, mingled with almost unequalled brilliancy of colouring and picturesque composition, that placed both the school and the founder of it at the very highest point of reputation,—we perceive in this Gallery how deservedly. Rubens was great in history, landscape, and portraiture. Of his portraits we possess, as yet, no examples. Of his landscapes we have a 'Sunset;' and a View of Rubens's own château near Mechlin, with the country around it, a remarkably beautiful work. Of his historical pictures and works of genre, among nine paintings of different sizes and value, the well known 'Brazen Serpent;' the 'St. Bavon,' one of the most harmonious and picturesque of his compositions; and the splendid 'Peace

and War,' painted by Rubens in this country whilst ambassador to the Court of Charles I., to whom he presented it. Rubens had of course numerous pupils and followers; one of them was scarcely less great than himself. The pictures in the Gallery from the hands of Vandyck (1599-1641) are four in number, among which may be particularly mentioned the magnificent historical picture of 'St. Ambrosius and the Emperor Theodosius,' and the portrait generally esteemed without equal in the world—that of 'Gevartius,' as it is incorrectly called, or 'Vander Geest,' as it perhaps ought to be designated. Of Jordaens (1594-1678), the most skilful of Rubens's pupils next to Vandyck, the Gallery possesses a 'Holy Family;' and of other Flemish masters five works, three of them by Teniers (1610-1694), whose productions have been justly likened to reflections from a convex mirror, such is their minute truth and nature.

From the Flemish the transition is easy to the Dutch school, and a very fair sprinkling of the works of its most eminent men may be found in the Gallery. The works of Poelenburg (1586-1666), of De Keyser (1595-1660), and of Van Goyen (1596-1656), lead up to those of Rembrandt (1606-1664), great King of Shadows; who is here nobly represented. One of the finest productions in his early careful style, the 'Woman taken in Adultery,' enriches the Gallery; also his 'Christ taken down from the Cross,' his 'Adoration of the Infant Jesus by the Shepherds,' with the 'Woman Bathing' (or washing), a Landscape of little value, and two of his marvellous portraits. Nothing can exceed the poetical grandeur of the style of these works, in spite of their roughness of execution (people with too curious eyes should remember Rembrandt's caution, that paint is unwholesome); or in spite of an infinitely more important defect, the inherent coarseness, it may almost be called vulgarity, of the figures. When Vandyck was once admiring a work of Rembrandt's in the painter's presence, the latter exultingly remarked, "Yet I have never been in Italy." "That is very evident," was the quiet and not undeserved reply. A landscape by John Both (1610-1656), a 'Calm' and a 'Storm at Sea' by the half amphibious Vandervelde (1633-1707), and a Landscape by Cuypp, the Claude Lorraine of the Low Countries, are the only other Dutch Works our space will permit us to particularise. But we have incidentally recalled a name which, in itself almost a strain of music, opens a vista of the most charming productions that any age or time has given to us. Our National Gallery is here again worthy of its name: no less than ten works by Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) are in it. It were useless to enumerate them; by whatever name called, the names served but to account for the figures put into them, and these are so bad that Claude used to say he gave them away, and sold only the landscape: landscapes essentially they are, and he must be difficult to please who would desire to see them anything else. We can well understand the feeling which made Sir George Beaumont, himself a landscape-painter of refined taste, after he had given his pictures to the Gallery, beg for one of them, his especial darling, back again during his lifetime, when we know that it was a Claude ('Hagar in the Desert') that he so desiderated. Claude, with Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665), and Gaspar Poussin (1613-1675), may almost be said to form a school of their own, though Lanzi places them in the Roman, and other writers in the French school. France was their country, either by birth or immediate descent, but from Italy they derived their nurture. Nicholas led the way in that kind of landscape which has grandeur for its object, and was followed by Gaspar, the mightiest master in the style we have yet had; and Bourdon (1616-1671), a scarcely less eminent French painter, of whom we have but a single specimen, the 'Return of the Ark': this is the painter, by the way, who copied from recollection a picture of Claude's so perfectly as to astonish that great painter

less than it astonished the public generally. The Gallery is rich in the works of both the Poussins, there being eight by Nicholas, and six by Gaspar: among these, if we must make any special mention, we may particularise Gaspar's 'Landscape, with Abraham and Isaac,' as the truly grandest perhaps that he ever painted, and Nicholas's 'Plague of Ashdod' (where the very tints and tones seem smitten with the disease they illustrate), in one style, and the two Bacchanalian pictures in another, as works of the very highest kind. The four pictures by Lancret (1690-1743), pupil and imitator of Watteau, demand but a passing mention; of Vernet (1714-1789), and Reuze (1726-1805), we have each a specimen. These complete our collection of the works of the French school. And we may here, immediately after the great landscape-painters above-named, not unfitly find a niche for a man who was a school most in himself—Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), poet, musician, actor, architect, improvisatore, and painter, of whom we have a single work, 'Mercury and the Woodman.' There remain but two schools more to be noticed—the Spanish and the English. As to the Spanish, five pictures alone represent it; three by Murillo, the most distinguished of Spanish colourists, which consist of a 'Holy Family,' 'St. John with the Lamb,' and a 'Spanish Peasant Boy,' the last belonging to a class with which our countrymen have been made familiar through the medium of engravings; whilst the other two pictures are by Murillo's master, Velasquez (1599-1660):—one, Philip IV. hunting the wild boar, and the other a portrait, and therefore giving us some opportunity of judging of the truth of the skill attributed to him in that branch of art.

Referring once more to the title 'National Gallery,' it seems natural to conclude that one of the most important objects aimed at in its formation would be the gathering together, at almost any cost, of the specimens of English art, from its earliest days down to the present time. How else, indeed, could a truly *National* Gallery be formed? It is very odd, but it does seem to be the fact, that such an idea has never entered the minds of those who have had it in their power to carry it out to its legitimate practical conclusion. We had about forty-two English pictures, it is true, before the addition of the Vernon Gallery; but as to their quality, or the extent to which they illustrated English art, it was all matter of accident. Not a single native picture has been obtained by purchase, except the series by Hogarth, one by Reynolds, and another by Wilkie, which *happened* to be in the Angerstein collection, and of course were bought with it. We may then really consider ourselves fortunate that our early English school has any worthy representatives. Some, however, there are, but—not here: they have been removed to Marlborough House, along with those presented to the nation by Mr. Vernon. There are Hogarth's (1697-1764) inestimable moral series, the 'Marriage à la Mode,' in six pictures, and his own portrait with the dog; two of Wilson's (1713-1782) glorious landscapes, the 'Niobe' and the 'Villa of Mæcenæ'; two of Gainsborough's (1727-1788), less grand perhaps, but richer in colour and still more freshly beautiful—these are the 'Market Cart,' and the 'Watering Place'; ten pictures by Reynolds (1723-1792), including his 'Infant Samuel,' 'Holy Family,' and one of his finest portraits—one of the finest portraits by any master,—'Lord Heathfield,' the brave defender of Gibraltar—and a study of Angels' heads, exquisitely beautiful; one picture by Copley (1737-1815), the 'Death of Lord Chatham'; four by West (1738-1820), of which the least ambitious, the 'Orestes and Pylades,' is by far the best; five by Lawrence (1769-1830), including the famous Kemble portrait, to which a corresponding picture of Mrs. Siddons has lately been added by a friend; two by Wilkie (1785-1841),—the 'Blind Fiddler,' and



'Village Festival'—works whose merits are as rare as their reputation is universal; an admirable 'Corn Field' by Constable; with others by Hoppner, Beechey, Jackson, Beaumont, Phillips, Williams, and Hilton.

#### THE VERNON GALLERY.

The grand deficiency in the National Collection of Paintings was in some measure supplied by the munificent gift by Mr. Vernon, in 1847, of his collection of 155 works of British painters. The pictures were presented to the country by Mr. Vernon during his lifetime, and were first exhibited to the public while hung on the walls of his residence in Pall Mall. They were afterwards removed to the National Gallery, where they were placed in the vaults. From this ungenial locality they were in 1850 removed to their present temporary abode, Marlborough House, Pall Mall. As Marlborough House was purchased for the Prince of Wales, and will be inhabited by him when he becomes of sufficient age, the Vernon pictures will of course have again to migrate—it is to be hoped to a permanent shelter. On the walls of Marlborough House, however, they are very fairly displayed, and we may esteem it a fortunate circumstance that they have been so comfortably housed.

Mr. Vernon's gift was perhaps the most appropriate which the country could have received. That England should have been without a permanent and accessible gallery of the works of native artists was indeed a crying shame, and it could only be accounted for by foreigners (as they usually did account for it) by supposing that the country possessed no painters whose works were worthy of exhibition. This reproach, however, Mr. Vernon's gift has helped us to get rid of. But it has not removed it altogether: for it would be manifestly unfair to estimate the genius and knowledge and skill of the artists of a country by the collection of their works formed by a private gentleman primarily for the gratification of his own taste, and of a size and character adapted for the walls of a private house of moderate dimensions. Of course the grander works, whether in scale or style, could hardly be looked for in a collection formed under such circumstances. Yet is this collection a noble one; one really honourable to the collector, to the artists, and to the country. If few of the works are of the highest class, most of them are of a high order of merit. They are not generally among the most important works of the several artists, but some of them are so. And the range of painters whose works are here is a very wide one. All our more eminent painters are not here, but the selection seems to have been made in a spirit the very opposite of exclusive—as though indeed the collector had endeavoured to include specimens of all the leading artists whose works were attainable. Both deceased and living British painters are fairly represented. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Wilson, Gainsborough, Louthenbourg, West, Lawrence, Stothard, Hilton, are among the more eminent men of the past generations whose productions are here; Wilkie, Callcott, Collins, Bonington, Constable, Etty, Müller, are among the more recently deceased whose names will live, and whose works here are honourable to them. Of still living painters, there are some admirable examples of the skill of Eastlake, Landseer, Turner, Stanfield, Mulready, Maclise, Webster, Lance, Roberts, Creswick, and many other contemporaries worthy to take place beside them. We shall not attempt to particularise any of them. It would be invidious to do so without space sufficient to do justice at once to what is accomplished as well as what is unattained. Be it understood, however, that there is no 'reservation' of praise here. The collection is one of the most enjoyable and valuable art exhibitions in the metropolis. The works are small, but then they are generally thoroughly English in character, and

come home to one's social feelings. With a few exceptions they are wanting in loftiness of purpose, but what they aim at they generally reach, which cannot always, or very often, be said of works of more ambitious character.

Besides the paintings, a few busts and other pieces of sculpture, by Chantrey, Gibson, and Baily, were presented to the nation by Mr. Vernon, and are now deposited along with the paintings in Marlborough House. As we mentioned before, the pictures by English artists, formerly in the National Gallery, are now placed in Marlborough House along with the Vernon collection. They occupy the first two rooms; the others are filled by the Vernon pictures.

The National Gallery and the Vernon Gallery are open to the public without charge from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon during the winter, and from ten till six in summer, on the first four days in each week, except during part of September and the whole of October, when they are closed. Catalogues, at very low prices, are supplied in the rooms: in the National Gallery an excellent historical catalogue by Mr. Wornum is sold, price one shilling.

#### SOANE MUSEUM.

A building has no doubt often attracted the eye of the reader as he passed through Lincoln's Inn Fields, by the peculiarity of its general appearance—by the Gothic-looking corbels attached to the front without any apparent object, and by the figures on the upper part of the building, which to some may be familiar as copies of the Caryatides attached to the Temple of Pandroseus at Athens. That is the Museum of Sir John Soane, the eminent architect, presented by him to the public, and secured for ever to its use by a parliamentary enactment. And one of the most munificent gifts ever made to a nation, was made also in the most munificent manner: Sir John provided an endowment for the maintenance of the Museum, as well as the Museum itself, leaving us nothing to do but to enjoy, and be grateful\*. The interior is probably the most extraordinary succession of little halls, little corridors, little dining, breakfast, and drawing-rooms, little studios, and parlours, or what comes to the same thing, rooms which look little from the multitude of objects crowded into them, that ever awaited the eyes of a curious visitor; and the names are no less fantastic: Monk's Parlour—Catacombs—Sepulchral Chamber—Crypt—Shakspeare Recess—Tivoli Recess—Monument Court—such are the appellations of different parts of the building. As to the contents, they are at once so multifarious, and so different, that to describe them satisfactorily in any other way than by reprinting the description sold at the Museum, is all but impossible. There are Egyptian antiquities, Greek and Roman antiquities, modern sculptures, gems, rare books and manuscripts, pictures, architectural models (an extensive collection, illustrating chiefly Sir John's own public works); in short, we should hesitate before we ventured to name anything positively as not being there. Walls, cabinets, recesses, ceilings, are everywhere covered, not an inch of spare room is to be found—the walls, indeed, doing double duty, by means of an ingenious contrivance—moveable planes, with sufficient space between for the pictures; by which means a room of about 12 feet by 20 can accommodate as many

\* The Museum is "open to general visitors on Thursdays and Fridays during the months of April, May, and June, in each year; and likewise on Tuesdays from the first week in February to the last in August. . . . Persons desirous of obtaining admission to the Museum can apply either to a trustee, by letter to the Curator (George Bailey, Esq.), or personally at the Museum a day or two before they desire to visit it, . . . when, unless there appears to the Curator any satisfactory reason to the contrary, a card for admission for the next open day is forwarded by post to the given address."



pictures as an ordinary gallery 45 feet long by 20 feet broad. The value of the countless articles here so ingeniously arranged varies of course; many of them are of inestimable price. A foreigner, mentioned by Mrs. Jameson, compared its labyrinthine passages and tiny recesses to a mine branching out into many veins, where, instead of metallic ores, you find works of art; and the remark does no more than justice to the Soane Museum. Its formation was the work of the chief portion of a lifetime, and involved an expenditure that has been estimated at upwards of £50,000. To this general idea of the contents of the Museum, we can but add a rapid glance over some of the most interesting among the articles that belong to our general subject—the Pictures. Among them are the portrait of Soane, by Lawrence; Reynolds's famous 'Snake in the Grass;' the 'Study of a Head,' from one of Raphael's Cartoons, a relic saved from the wreck of the lost cartoons, which remained in the possession of the family of the weaver who originally worked them in tapestry; copies of two other heads from the same, by Flaxman; another of Hogarth's moral series,—the eight paintings of the 'Rake's Progress,' with several others of the painter's original works; also paintings by Canaletti, one of them esteemed his finest work, Watteau, Fuseli, Turner, Callcot, Eastlake, Hilton. Yes, we must notice one thing besides, the truly magnificent 'Egyptian Sarcophagus,' found by Belzoni in a tomb, and which is of the finest Oriental alabaster, transparent when a light is placed in it, and most elaborately sculptured all over. It measures 9 feet 4 inches in length, 3 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 8 inches in depth at the highest part. It is, in all probability, the most beautiful relic of Egyptian art existing. The learned are not agreed as to whom it belonged; Sir Gardner Wilkinson considers that it was the 'Cenotaph' of the father of Ramesses the Great, whose conquests are represented on the walls of the great Temple of Ammon at Thebes.

#### FLAXMAN HALL.

We may here mention an exceedingly interesting art exhibition which has just been opened in London. Miss Denman, to whom the models and other reliques of our greatest English sculptor John Flaxman had descended, offered them to the nation on condition that a suitable building was provided for them. This the government professed itself unable to guarantee, and the collection was then offered to the Council of University College, who at once accepted the offer. A small polygonal hall, rising into the cupola, has been constructed for them from the designs of professors Cockerill and Donaldson. The grand group, Flaxman's principal work, 'St. Michael the Archangel and Satan,' occupies the centre of the hall immediately under the dome, and some bas-reliefs are inserted in each of the four walls. Flaxman's restoration of the 'Torso Farnese' is in the vestibule; his 'Shield of Achilles' and other works are in an adjoining apartment. It is intended to place the statue of Flaxman, designed by Mr. Watson, but which he did not live to finish, in the gallery. The public is admitted to the Flaxman Hall every Saturday.

The paintings in Hampton Court Palace have already been noticed, in the number devoted to the palaces. The other National collection, the naval pictures in the Painted Hall at Greenwich Hospital, has also been noticed.

#### DULWICH COLLEGE.

But there is another collection of paintings which, lying some four or five miles out of London, can hardly be said to form one of the exhibitions of the metropolis; yet, as it is throughout the year open freely to the public, it seems to demand a brief notice in order to complete our account of the public galleries. The gallery lies at



the end of a pleasant, quiet, and rather countrified village about two miles beyond Camberwell, among fine old elms, and at the back of the old-fashioned comfortable-looking 'God's Gift College at Dulwich,' which Edward Alleyn, the actor, founded in 1613. It is some four or five miles from London, but is easily reached at any hour of the day by means of the Camberwell omnibuses; the stroll beyond their limits serving as an agreeable preparation for the examination of the treasures of the gallery.

The collection of pictures originally belonged to Mr. Noel Desenfans, by whom they were bequeathed to Sir Francis Bourgeois, R.A., who at his death bequeathed them to the Master and Fellows of Dulwich College, together with a sum of £10,000 for the erection of a gallery to contain them, and £2000 for their care. Bourgeois died in 1811. In 1812 the gallery, which had been erected from the designs of Sir John Soane, was opened to the public. It consists of a long but rather narrow gallery, which is divided into five moderate-sized rooms, and lighted from above.

There are altogether about 360 pictures in the gallery, of which 354 form the Bourgeois collection. For the most part they are small, but there are a few large ones amongst them. The collection has a definite character of its own. It is essentially a Dutch and Flemish gallery. There are indeed a few pictures belonging to other schools of art, but only sufficient to bring out more distinctly the characteristic features of the prevailing schools. The Italian pictures might with little loss be at once set aside. There is a so-called Raphael, but at the first glance it distinctly proclaims itself of a very different parentage. And most of the other Italian paintings are almost as evidently unauthentic. A Guido, however, is a grand exception: the 'St. Sebastian' at the end of the gallery is a really noble work, and ought to be in better company. Three pictures are misattributed to Claude; they are undeserving a second glance. Some, with Gaspar Poussin's name attached, are of a better class, and perhaps genuine. One or two of Nicholas Poussin's are very good, the majority of them are nought. The Spanish painters are more fortunate. The two peasant pictures of Murillo are admirable of their class, and there is a capital portrait by Velasquez of Philip IV. Watteau has a couple of charming little garden scenes, which form quite a delightful contrast to the hideous 'Massacre of the Innocents' of another famous French painter, Le Brun. Of our English masters there are also a few specimens. By Reynolds, among others, is a 'portrait of Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse,' a repetition (only in part by the hand of the master) of the celebrated original in the collection of the Marquess of Westminster. Gainsborough has three or four of his portraits; and there are a few of Bourgeois's own productions.

These, however, as we have said, are but make-weights. The real value of the collection consists in its Dutch and Flemish pictures. The works of these schools are never of the highest order of art, but they are not therefore to be lightly esteemed. They are works the result of very close observance of nature, of curiously exact knowledge of the resources of art, and often of the most masterly and indeed unrivalled executive skill. He who can only endure an epic style of art will do well to stay away from Dulwich, but for him who can enjoy a true and Crabbe-like delineation of Dutch scenery and Dutch life, there is here an hour or two of delightful occupation. They are, in truth, in their own proper degree essentially true poetic paintings, and will commend themselves to all who have (what every honest lover of art for its own sake has) a comprehensive and unexclusive taste. It has been said, indeed, very truly, that there is no painting by even a Dutch or Flemish master here, of whom a finer example may not be found elsewhere. Still there are many excellent examples; and it must not be forgotten that it is the only collection of such paintings which is accessible to the public.

Of the Dutch and Flemish pictures there is a rich variety. Generally they are of cabinet size, as indeed pictures of a homely character ought to be. Rubens has several pictures here, but none of much importance. Of Rembrandt there are several examples, and one, 'Jacob's Dream,' of even more than his usual shadowy power. Teniers may be seen here to considerable advantage. Among the thirteen or fourteen pictures by him, two or three are admirable ones—clear, bright, and vigorous; struck off seemingly at once and without effort. Some of Ostade's boors, whether in or out of doors, make worthy companions to Teniers. Wouvermans too is here in all his pretty softness of style, and almost finical refinement of finish. Du Jardin serves as a good contrast. Gerhard Douw shows how far elaborateness of finish may be carried without destroying the broad, bold, general effect. Admirable are all these figure pieces, and yet it is perhaps in landscapes that the gallery is richest. There are several by Cuyp, and some of surpassing excellence. The 'Landscape with Cows' (No. 9) is one of these; another is a similar subject (No. 83), and there are two beautiful Sunsets (Nos. 169 and 239), which are perhaps among the very choicest of the kind which the artist ever painted. Ruysdael and Hobbima have Watermills that are very marvels of true, fresh, simple, natural painting. Then there are some good Berghems, doubtful Potters, Breughels, Elsheimars, and, as advertisers say, many others too numerous to mention.

Let the reader then, if he has not already been, take an early opportunity to visit the Dulwich Gallery, and we promise him pleasure therefrom. The gallery is open every week-day, except Friday, from April to November from ten to five, and from November to April from eleven to three. The admittance is by tickets, which can be obtained (without charge) of Messrs. Graves, Pall Mall; Ackermann, Strand; White, Brownlow Street; Moon, Threadneedle Street; and most of the leading printsellers. No tickets are given in Dulwich.

#### ROYAL ACADEMY.

We have thus glanced hurriedly at the National and free public exhibitions of art; but there is another class which, although public, are not free; we mean the exhibitions of associated artists or friends of art. At the head of these, both in rank and seniority, stands the Royal Academy.

The Academy was founded in 1768, and the constitution was signed by George III. on the 10th of December of that year; the title therein given to it being the "Royal Academy for the purpose of cultivating and improving the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture." The patronage of his Majesty was not in name only. From the first he took a warm interest in the prosperity of the institution, and made himself intimately acquainted with its proceedings. The original members included West, Wilson, Gainsborough, Zucharelli, Chambers the architect, and almost all the artists of eminence then in London. The first president was Reynolds, whom the king knighted on his election. Reynolds was in all respects the man most qualified for the office, and his first act stamped a glory on the Academy that will for ever make its memory dear to the lovers of art. He voluntarily undertook the duty of delivering a series of discourses for the instruction of students, and commenced with the opening of the Academy, January 2, 1769, and continued them from time to time till the world was in possession of the whole of those writings which now form the student's best text-book for the principles of his art, and where not the painter only, but the poet and the musician, may find the most valuable instruction. At first the Academy was lodged in St. Martin's Lane, and held their annual exhibition in Pall Mall; but George III. soon gave them apartments in Somerset House;

and when the old palace was purchased by the nation, he took care that a portion of the new edifice should be reserved for the Academy. In 1780 the Academicians entered upon their new apartments, which were fitted up with great magnificence, and were soon made to exhibit a higher splendour from their own hands. Sir Joshua, for instance, painted the ceiling of the library. In the same year the exhibition was also removed from Pall Mall to Somerset House, and the painters were now thoroughly at home. On the death of George III., his son and successor continued the royal patronage of the institution, as did also William IV. In 1834 a proposal was made to the latter monarch to transfer the Academy from Somerset House to Trafalgar Square, where it was intended to erect a building large enough for a National Gallery and the Academy under the same roof. The change was agreed to; and consequently the Academy enjoys its present accommodations by the same right, whatever that might be, which they had in their first locality, Somerset House. Their expectations of increased facilities for the business of the institution are said to have been hardly fulfilled: certain it is that serious disadvantages arise from the want of larger space. The sculpture-room will occur to every one; but the kind of evil we here refer to is the shutting up of the principal schools during the whole period of the exhibition. The school for drawing from the antique is held in the sculpture-room, and the school for painting in the West room, both rooms appropriated for exhibition; so that the school for drawing from the living model is the only one of the Academic schools not interrupted yearly for a considerable time. As the chief feature and the great value of the Royal Academy is the schools, we must notice them somewhat at length.

The admission arrangements are on the broadest principle: any person may become a student, whether he intend to pursue the study as his profession, or merely for his occasional enjoyment. On applying for admission he receives a printed form to be filled up, which explains the only qualifications required—that he be of good character, and that he can send a drawing of some talent, with vouchers of its being entirely his own production. If he be a draughtsman, the specimen he sends must be a chalk drawing of an entire naked figure from the antique; if a sculptor, a model of a similar description; and if an architect, he must send a plan, elevation, and section of an original design for some building, and an individual ornament for details. The council, which consists of nine members, including the president, and is the executive of the Society, examine this specimen, and, if they approve of it, the applicant is admitted for three months as a probationer. During that time he must produce fresh works before the eyes of the officers; and if these exhibit improvement, he is then enrolled among the list of students, and for ten years enjoys, without payment, all the privileges the Academy can give him—gratuitous tuition in the different schools, the use of the library, attendance on the lectures, &c. Numerous prizes are also given: several silver medals annually, and one of gold for each school triennially. A still more solid reward may follow the attainment of the gold medal. Every three years the council send a student of this rank to Rome, paying all the expenses of the journey both ways, and allowing an annuity of £100.

The school for drawing from the antique is furnished with an excellent collection of casts of the greatest works in sculpture. The school of painting is annually provided with works chosen for the purpose of copying from the Royal collections, the Dulwich and other galleries. The life school is held in the interior of the dome of the edifice. To it students are only admissible after having made satisfactory progress in the other schools, and attained a certain age. In all these schools a thoroughly artistic education is given under the best masters. The education of



young painters is not, however, the only thing which the Academy provides for. A portion of the funds has always been set aside for pensioning or temporarily assisting artists who are in need of assistance, whether members of the Academy or not.

The Academy consists of forty academicians—painters, sculptors, and architects—and twenty associates, from whom the academicians are elected by the academicians. There are also six associate engravers. With the body of academicians rests all the business of the Society, the associates having no voice in any of its proceedings. The associates are chosen by the academicians from the great body of artists who exhibit. The chief officers of the Academy are the president, the keeper (who has the general care of the Institution), the treasurer, librarian, and secretary. There are four professors, who lecture respectively on painting, sculpture, architecture, and perspective, who are academicians: and a professor of anatomy, who is not always a member. The honorary members are a professor of ancient literature, professor of ancient history, a chaplain, of high rank in the Church (the Lord Bishop of London at present), and a secretary for foreign correspondence. These offices have been held by Johnson, Goldsmith, Gibbon, Dr. Burney, Walter Scott, Hullam, Macaulay, and other eminent men. All elections require the sovereign's signature to make them valid. The most onerous, in every sense, of the duties of the Academy is the choice of the works for the Annual Exhibition. Large as the number of pictures admitted always is, a great many, sometimes little short of two thousand, are annually rejected; and sometimes not from want of merit on the part of the artist, but for want of space on the part of the Academy.

The library of the Academy comprises all the best works on art, and a very large and valuable collection of engravings. The Academy also possesses a considerable number of pictures and pieces of sculpture, consisting chiefly of the diploma pictures and statuary: that is, the works given by the academicians on their admission, each member being expected to present one work from his own hand. This collection is now a very interesting one, but is not open to the public.

What gives to the Royal Academy its importance with the public is its annual exhibition. Every one who feels the least interest in art looks forward to the Academy exhibition with curiosity; and whatever other be left unvisited, it is, if practicable, seen. By its display the progress of British art is generally estimated. If it fall short of the average standard, no other place is expected to make amends. It is emphatically *the* exhibition. Its opening is ushered in with a pomp commensurate to its standing. On the previous Friday the Sovereign in person visits the rooms and inspects the works which on the Monday are to be shown to all. On the Saturday takes place the annual dinner in the great room, which is hung round with the new pictures, and at which the élite of the land, with the most eminent of foreign visitors, are the guests.

The exhibition opens on the first Monday in May and closes in July. The rooms in which the pictures are displayed are in the east wing of the National Gallery, and correspond to those in which the national pictures are deposited. A brilliant scene at all times is the Royal Academy Exhibition! A gaily dressed assemblage crowds the rooms, and pictures and company appear to reflect splendour upon each other. This present exhibition of 1851 may be taken as a good average example: it will enable our foreign visitors to form a fair estimate of our standing in the world of art. The most rapid walk through the rooms affords ample evidence of the attention paid to colour by the present race of English artists. But other and higher qualities are readily discoverable also. As you enter the chief room the two works of Landseer catch the eye and rivet attention by their thorough knowledge of animal form, and the almost

deceptive truth of surface. The exquisitely graceful female head by the President of the Academy, which occupies the post of honour, will secure the admiring scrutiny of the more thoughtful visitor. Almost as a matter of course you look to the centre of the wall on both the right and the left hand for the vivid landscapes of Turner, but this year you look in vain. Their places are supplied on the one side by a magnificent mountain scene of Stanfield's with the French army crossing a stream in the foreground—the 'Battle of Roveredo;' and on the other is Maclise's very remarkable picture of 'Caxton's Printing Office.' In close proximity to Stanfield's is a picture which shows that our younger artists are able to maintain to the full the character of the British school; it is Frith's 'Hogarth brought before the Governor of Calais as a Spy,' a picture which displays a delicate feeling for humour, with a ready perception of character not unworthy of Hogarth himself. Ward's 'Royal Family of France in the Prison of the Temple' is another worthy work of one of the younger painters. Further on is Landseer's rich Shaksperian composition, and still further an equally excellent illustration of our great dramatist, Leslie's 'Falstaff personating the King,' in which is the very Bardolph that Shakspeare drew; and Elmore's 'Hotspur and the Fop' is little behind either. Then in the highest walk, there is a fine painting by O'Neill of 'Esther and Ahasuerus;' ranging with which are Redgrave's 'Flight into Egypt,' and Le Jeune's 'Sermon on the Mount,' which would have been a better picture if the imitation of an eminent master had not been so palpable. Then, again, what freshness and nature are there in the woody landscapes of Lee and Creswick, and what splendour of effect in the cathedral interiors of David Roberts! what life in the cattle of Sidney Cooper! and what honest, manly vigour in many another good and able artist! But plainly we cannot go on to enumerate all who excel, and these will serve as samples of the whole. We are not among those who would speak lightly of English artists: quaintness, crudity, and insufficient observation and study are evident enough on every side, but they always abounded in every school, and if we could see *all* the works of any period we should learn to think more highly of productions of our contemporary countrymen. Yet there are certainly some marvels of misdirected talent conspicuous in this Academy exhibition; and also in the other exhibitions now open. Especially startling are those which, professing to recur to the earlier examples of art, have given us archæological phenomena more strange and startling than the most extravagant missal illuminations. These 'Pre-Raphaelite Brethren' not merely ignore all the harmonious richness of form and expression, of light and shadow and colour, with which Raphael and Titian and Correggio delighted their own and every succeeding age, but give us staring crudities at which Francia or Perugino or even Gaddi would have stood aghast, while on the other hand they have 'intensified' the expression of almost every countenance into imbecility. These works, strange as they are, must find admirers, for the mania is evidently spreading, and on every side manly taste is giving place to this affectation of pietism. If the long lines of portraits did not still stare you in the face, *this* would seem to be the crying evil of the exhibition. But the portraits meet you everywhere:—gaudily dressed, simpering, unmeaning 'ladies,' and the commonest of commonplace 'gentlemen,' or mayors and officers whose heads serve as blocks whereon to hang elaborate representations of corporation robes and military uniforms, tire the eye, and vex the mind with wondering what could induce the 'figures' to sit for, the painters to send, or the council to admit, such wearisome platitudes. But these, after all, are but slight drawbacks to the pleasure imparted by the exhibition: there is yet abundant relief in the wide range of subjects, the diversity of style, and the general excellence of the great number of works. A somewhat loftier aim, and a more resolute disregard of



painting-room conventionalisms, are almost alone wanting to raise the British into a proud position among the schools of art.

The architectural drawings are this year put into the little dark 'Octagon room,' so that the visitor can very comfortably miss them altogether. The sculpture, though it also occupies but a small and dingy apartment, will certainly not be missed. It is seldom that some good works may not be found there, and this year is not an exception, though it is perhaps inferior to some previous ones.

#### BRITISH INSTITUTION.

Next in point of time, after the Royal Academy, arose the British Institution. The precise motive of its projectors seems to be somewhat in doubt, but essentially they were these:—There being then no national gallery, there were of course no regular exhibitions of the works of the great masters. This defect the British Institution met by an annual exhibition of such works, which were borrowed for the occasion from all quarters, and, to a great extent, from the individual supporters of the Institution. Again, the Royal Academy was soon found unable to do justice to large historical subjects among the miscellaneous multitude of pictures that continually crowded its walls; hence the second great feature of the British Institution—a yearly exhibition for sale of works of the British artists. After the close of the exhibition of the great masters, students are admitted to copy from the pictures; and their copies form another or third annual exhibition. The gallery of the Institution is in Pall Mall, and is the same building that was erected by Alderman Boydell for the Shakspeare Gallery. The sculpture on the exterior is from the hand of Banks; and the hall contains a colossal statue by the same artist, which is considered one of the noblest of his works; the subject is Achilles mourning the loss of Briseis. The British Institution is under the direction of a number of noblemen and gentlemen, no artist being permitted to have a place in the council. The exhibitions are always interesting, but the institution by no means keeps pace with the requirements of art.

#### THE SOCIETY OF BRITISH ARTISTS.

This Society was established in 1823, by a number of artists who were dissatisfied with the constitution of the Royal Academy and the asserted exclusiveness of its arrangements, and the consequent difficulty of fairly bringing their works before the public. A building was erected by the Society of Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East, which is excellently adapted for the purpose of an 'exhibition of paintings, sculpture, architecture, and engravings.' The gallery contains about 700 feet of wall, and is very well lighted. At first the arrangements of the Society were on a liberal scale, but the exhibition has for a long time been confined chiefly to the works of the members. The exhibition has never been of a first-rate character, but many pleasing pictures may generally be found there. It usually opens a short time before, and closes about the same time as, that of the Royal Academy. The pictures are for sale as well as exhibition. In 1848 the Society obtained a charter of incorporation; and the Society has now schools of art to which students are admitted upon payment of moderate fees. Art conversaziones are also held during the season.

#### NATIONAL INSTITUTION.

The same circumstances which induced the foundation of the Society of British Artists led, on that Society becoming thoroughly confirmed in its exclusive character, to the formation of another body from among the artists who were unable or disinclined to obtain admission into either of the established insti-



tations. The object of this new Society was simply to exhibit their works to advantage. At first the pictures were exhibited in a room in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, and afterwards in the building erected at Hyde Park Corner, for the Chinese Exhibition. A very convenient building has since been erected by the Society in Regent Street, opposite the Polytechnic Institution. It is called the Portland Gallery: the first exhibition in it was in 1850. At the first establishment of the Society all artists were allowed to exhibit on equal terms, and the public were admitted free. The exhibition was then, not perhaps improperly, named the Free Exhibition. But after a time the exhibition walls became practically confined to the works of the members of the Society, and the public were charged the usual fee for admission. The title 'Free Exhibition' seemed then, even to the members, too absurd to be retained, and they accordingly changed it into 'The National Institution!' The Society is very limited, and the exhibition comparatively unimportant and little known; but the Society would be a very good Society, and the exhibition a very good exhibition, if it were not for the ridiculously pompous and inappropriate title.

#### SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.

The exhibitions we have hitherto noticed are of paintings in oil colours. But towards the close of the last century the art of painting in water colours suddenly sprang up in this country from an almost puerile state into full and vigorous maturity; giving British art one of its most characteristic and unrivalled features. The water colour painters after awhile formed themselves into a Society, and in 1804 opened an exhibition of their own in Spring Gardens. The gallery of the Society is now in Pall Mall East. The room is not a large one, but screens as well as walls are covered with admirably fresh transcripts from nature, and the exhibition is in its way one of the most delightful art exhibitions in London. The works exhibited are wholly those of members or associates, which ensures a certain amount of excellence, but ensures also somewhat of sameness to the exhibition. Some five and twenty or thirty years after the original establishment of the Society, a NEW SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS was formed. The gallery of this Society adjoins that of the British Institution in Pall Mall. Like that of the old Society, the exhibition is confined to the works of the members, and like that it is a very excellent one. But both exhibitions plainly suffer from the separation of the members into two bodies. It is much to be desired that they were united, and also that the works of non-members were admitted to the exhibitions.

#### SOCIETY OF ARTS.

This Society was founded in 1754. Its primary object is to encourage art in connection with manufactures and agriculture, &c., but it has a claim also to be noticed among the exhibitions of the fine arts, in the possession of the paintings by Barry, which adorn the great room. In this series of half a dozen large pictures Barry sought to convey the idea, "That the attainment of happiness, individual as well as public, depends on the development, proper cultivation, and perfection of the human faculties, physical and moral, which are so well calculated to lead human nature to its true rank and the glorious designation assigned for it by Providence:" a truth of the mightiest import, and for all time; and, of course, one that a painter requires every fair indulgence in the attempt to illustrate by the mere representation of half a dozen scenes. The paintings are far from being perfect, but they are of great power, and will abundantly repay a considerate examination. The Society of Arts had fallen into a somewhat apathetic condition, till some three or four years back it was aroused into new activity. A royal charter was then obtained, and the

sphere of the Society's exertions greatly enlarged. We cannot here enter upon the Society's operations, but we must just notice the establishment of the occasional exhibition of the works of some one of our most eminent living painters. Thus the exhibition one year was devoted to Mulready, and the next to Etty. Last year was exhibited an extremely choice collection of examples of mediæval art, and articles of taste and *verve*. We ought also to notice that the Society took an important position in promoting the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851.

We have thus, however inadequately, noticed the chief of the metropolitan public galleries of art, but these are not the only collections of pictures in London. Very few cities on the Continent even, contain so many works of art; but in London they are to a great extent in Private Galleries, and are not generally accessible to the public. Some of these galleries, however, are open under certain limits, and it appears from the letters and intimations which have recently been published in the newspapers, that some of the restrictions are likely to be removed. Up to the present time, the admission has been in most cases by tickets, obtainable upon the 'recommendation or introduction of a friend' of the proprietor of the gallery. The precise mode of admission now will be best learnt by inquiring at the house, or by a note addressed to the proprietor. It is greatly to be wished that more liberality were shown. The owner of great works of art is scarcely justified in keeping them merely for his own personal or family gratification. To do so is carrying the rights of property too far; but happily there are symptoms of the breaking down of this rigidly exclusive spirit, and the return to a better state may be welcomed without reference to the past.

#### NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE.

The Duke of Northumberland has taken the lead in throwing open the doors of his noble mansion to the public, and as the collection of pictures within it may therefore be seen more readily than those in any other private house, we may notice it first, though not the first in fame or merit. But Northumberland House is worth visiting on its own account. Northumberland House is at once the oldest and most aristocratic in its appearance of the existing houses of the nobility. The edifice originally formed three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth side remaining open to the Thames. The reputed architect was Bernard Jansen, but the frontispiece to the street has been attributed to Gerard Christmas, who rebuilt Aldersgate, in the reign of James I. The principal apartments were originally on the Strand side; but Earl Algernon (who disliked the noise of that crowded thoroughfare) had the quadrangle completed by a fourth side (including the state rooms) towards the river, under the direction of Inigo Jones. Considerable alterations and additions were made by Sir Hugh Smithson, who became a Percy on the decease of Algernon, seventh Duke of Somerset, in 1749-50; two new wings were annexed to the garden front; the quadrangular court was faced with stone; great part of the northern front was rebuilt; but the central division—the entrance gateway—still exhibits the original work of Gerard Christmas. Other alterations and repairs were made after a fire, which, in March, 1780, consumed most of the upper rooms on the north side. Northumberland House has its social and political associations. Evelyn visited it in June, 1658, and has left in his diary a criticism of the mansion and inventory of the pictures. In 1660 General Monk, who had taken up his quarters at Whitehall, was invited to this house by Earl Algernon; and here, in conference with him and other nobles and gentlemen, some of the measures were concerted which led to the re-establishment of the monarchy.

The principal feature in the pictures at Northumberland House is Titian's magnificent group of the 'Carnaro Family,' which is one of the great Venetian's most characteristic portrait groups. There are some excellent paintings by Caravaggio, Domenichino, Guercino, Bassano, Tintoretto, Salvator Rosa, Rubens, Vandyck, Cuyp, and others; but the collection generally has suffered from injudicious cleaning. Among the noticeable features are the copies of various of the most famous Italian pictures; such are Mengs's copy of Raphael's 'School of Athens,' and others of the works of Raphael, the Caracci, &c. A few modern pictures are in the collection. There is also an excellent library, and the rooms generally are richly furnished. We may just mention that the Duke of Northumberland's other mansion, Syon House, near Brentford, is also now permitted to be seen. In it are some good pictures, but Syon House is chiefly celebrated for its gardens, for the conservatories, the Victoria Regia house, and the beautiful grounds, which slope down to the Thames.

#### THE GROSVENOR GALLERY.

One of the most famous of the collections of paintings in England is that of the Marquess of Westminster, known as the Grosvenor Gallery. The mansion of the Marquess is in Upper Grosvenor Street, and the gallery is permitted to be seen on Thursdays, from two o'clock till five, by parties who have obtained tickets previously. The collection is of considerable extent, and of uncommon excellence. Its great boast is of the Claudes, of which it contains no fewer than ten grand specimens. It is the richest collection of Claude's landscapes in the country. Then there are eleven pictures by Rubens, of which the four very large ones, part of a series of ecclesiastical subjects, are among his most celebrated, and the 'Ixion' is one of his most characteristic efforts. Rubens, indeed, is seen here to almost as great advantage as Claude. Italian painters of the highest class are not adequately represented, but there are admirable works by the Caracci, by Guido, and others. The Poussins, Salvator Rosa, and Murillo, have fine works. By Rembrandt, there are several masterly productions. A landscape by Paul Potter, which the Marquess of Westminster purchased in 1806, for £1500, is one of his most masterly productions. One or two choice pictures by Berghem claim a word of recognition, and then there are two famous English portraits—Sir Joshua Reynolds's noble representation of 'Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse,' and Gainsborough's scarcely less celebrated 'Blue Boy;' West's 'Death of General Wolfe,' too, is here, as are also some other well-known productions by English masters.

#### BRIDGEWATER GALLERY.

The collection which rivals, and perhaps surpasses, the Grosvenor Gallery is that of the Earl of Ellesmere. The basis of this glorious gallery was formed by the Duke of Bridgewater out of the famous Orleans Gallery. His pictures, valued at £150,000, were bequeathed by him to the Marquess of Stafford, on whose death they reverted to Lord Francis Egerton, now Earl of Ellesmere, who has very largely, and with great judgment, added to their number and value. When Bridgewater House was pulled down in 1847, the pictures were removed to a house in Belgrave Square; but they are now again in Bridgewater House, for though "the new Bridgewater House will not be ready for the occupation of its owner for a considerable time, so anxious has Lord Ellesmere been that the foreigners whom the Exhibition was likely to draw to this country should have an opportunity of visiting his collection, that the gallery and adjoining rooms have been temporarily arranged, and all the pictures removed there expressly for this purpose." Tickets are to be had at Colnaghi's, in Pall Mall.

The Bridgewater Gallery is especially rich in works belonging to the best ages of Italian art. It is as famous for its Raphaels as the Grosvenor Gallery for its Claudes.



The Raphaels are in truth glorious works, though of but comparatively small size. The five pictures by Titian are remarkably fine; the 'Diana and Acteon' and the 'Diana and Calisto' being among his most glowing and harmonious pieces of colour. By the Caracci are several of their finest works, and the collection is further enriched by the possession of the series of drawings by the Caracci which formed a part of the celebrated Lawrence collection. The drawings of Giulio Romano are also here. Tintoretto, Domenichino, Correggio, and indeed most of the great Italian painters, have one or more productions in this noble collection. By Poussin there are his large series of the 'Seven Sacraments,' with one or two others. Gaspar Poussin has some grand landscapes. And the landscape painter *par excellence*, Claude Lorraine, has four of great beauty. One of the chief of Cuyp's landscapes, 'The Landing of Prince Maurice,' is also here. But Cuyp does not alone represent the Dutch and Flemish schools; most of the leading masters of both have contributed works of more or less excellence. Rembrandt, Rubens, Ostade, and all the well-known names are included, but perhaps Teniers is seen to most advantage. And, finally, there are a few pictures of deceased and living English painters and modern continental professors. Altogether, the gallery is as admirable for the diversity of its range as for the excellence of its contents.

#### THE SUTHERLAND GALLERY.

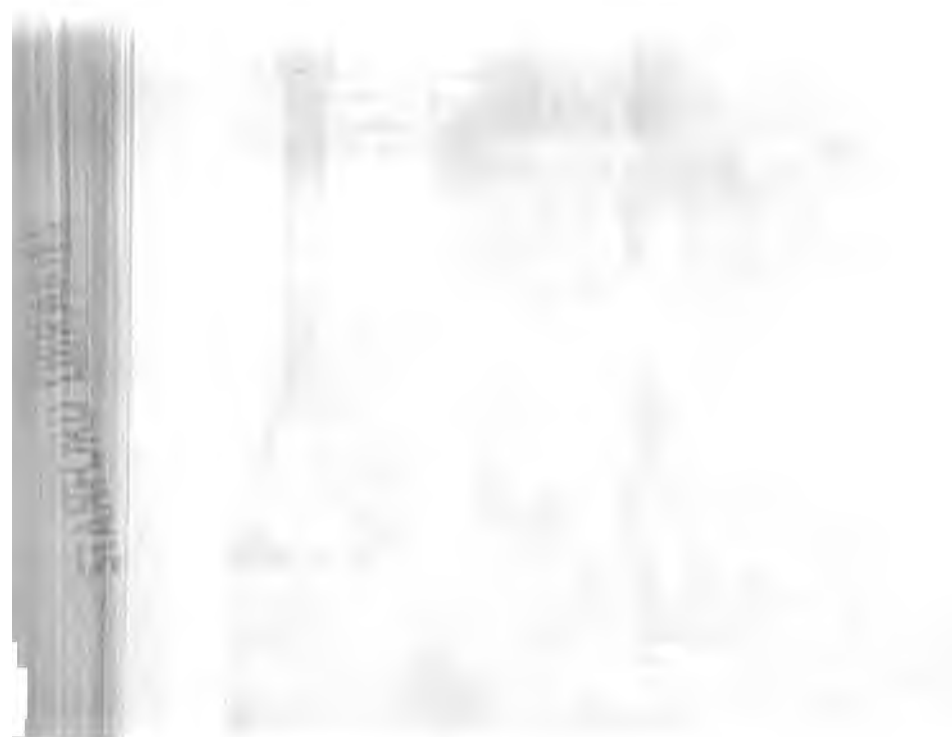
The collection at Stafford House, the seat of the Duke of Sutherland, is another of the most celebrated of the private galleries. It originally formed a part of the more famous Stafford Gallery. The gallery in which the chief pictures are hung is one of the finest rooms in London, but it is not very accessible to the public. The glory of the gallery is perhaps the collection of Spanish pictures. Murillo and Velasquez are more fairly displayed here than elsewhere in this country; but there are numerous first-rate paintings of the Italian, Dutch, and Flemish schools. There are also several superior examples of English artists; and there is an extensive collection of French paintings. Delaroche's picture of 'Lord Strafford going to Execution,' so well known by the engravings, is in Stafford House.

The other collections we must dismiss in few words. Her Majesty has at BUCKINGHAM HOUSE an extensive and excellent collection. It is especially celebrated for its Dutch and Flemish pictures, but it has also many very fine English pictures, and some modern works by foreign artists as well as some by the old Italians. The collection can only be seen by special order of the Lord Chamberlain. LORD HERTFORD'S COLLECTION, although formed within the last few years, contains a large number of pictures, of which several are of distinguished character. His lordship has expended princely sums in their purchase, and has sent agents to every place where known pictures were to be sold. At present, however, they are not brought together, but a gallery for them forms a part of the additions now being made to Hertford House, and it is understood that the public will have liberal access to it. The collection is by far the richest that has been formed in our time, and it embraces specimens of every school. Sir Robert Peel's Collection of Dutch and Flemish pictures is, perhaps, of its kind, unrivalled, but it is not open to the public. The same may be made of Mr. Sheepshank's matchless gallery of British art. Other admirable collections are abundant, but they are also inaccessible. Such are those of the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ashburton, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Baring, and many more whom it is useless to enumerate. We have done enough to show the richness of London's stores of art, and to indicate where they may be found.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XXXIII. SQUARES, STREETS, SHOPS, AND BAZAARS.





## XXXII. THE SQUARES, STREETS, SHOPS, AND BAZAARS OF LONDON.

### THE SQUARES.

THE English "Square" is peculiar to the country. The Piazza, Place, Platz, of Italy, France, and Germany, have little in common with it. Its elements are simple enough:—An open space, of a square figure (or a figure approximating to the square), houses on each of the four sides, and an enclosed centre, with turf, a few trees, and it may be flowers or a statue—there is a square. Yet the verdant foliage and ever-green turf on earth, and the ever-varying features of our rarely cloudless sky, freely revealed by the opening amid a forest of houses, lend a charm to every square; and simple though these elements be, they are susceptible of an infinite multiplicity of shades of character. No disrespect to the high architectural beauties of many a continental "place," there is a freshness and repose about an English square more charming than them all.

The square, like many other good things in this world—as, for example, roast-pig (*teste* Elia), the lyre (*vide* the legend of Mercury and the tortoise-shell), and the theory of gravitation (Newton's apple, to wit)—appears to have been in a great measure an accidental invention. Seeking to make something else, men stumbled upon the square, as the alchemists, in trying to make gold, stumbled upon truths compared with which the purest gold is valueless. Nor is it very long since the discovery was made. The oldest squares that we know of are in London; and the oldest of the London squares, so far as our antiquarian researches have enabled us to discover, is Covent Garden. It was begun by Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, in the early part of the reign of Charles I. The earl contemplated a piazza, Italian in fashion as well as in name. Inigo Jones was employed as his architect, and commenced the erection of a piazza, one side of which was to be formed by a church, two more by houses with an open arched pathway in front under their first stories, and the fourth in all probability by the earl's garden wall—if he did not contemplate a stately palace fronting to the piazza. By one of those strange perversions of foreign designations so common in all languages, the name piazza has come to be applied exclusively to the covered pathway; and the open space was called the square, until the superior importance of the market and the desertion of fashionable inhabitants degraded it to Covent Garden Market.

The age of Charles II. was one in which the erection of squares took a decided start. Leicester and Lincoln's Inn Fields owe their origin as squares to that period. It was then that Soho Square sprung into existence, and that handsome Harry Jermyn, who, though a coxcomb, and exposed to have his head turned by the love of a queen, appears to have had as steady an eye to the main chance as any Cubitt of his age, laid the foundations of St. James's Square. Panton Square certainly (we have documentary evidence to the fact), and, to judge by their architecture, Bridge-water Square (Barbican), and Queen Square (Westminster), date from this reign. Wren, Evelyn, and other kindred spirits, endeavoured to promote the taste for this innovation. The learned would have given them finer names; but the most sovereign

citizens of London were resolved that they should be simple squares, and nothing but squares. Makers of books waged war against the word for a long time, but unsuccessfully. In 1732, Maitland wrote about "the stately Quadrate, denominated King's Square, but vulgarly Soho Square;" and the phrase is retained in the edition of 1784. This, we think, is the latest struggle against the word square, and the most signal discomfiture of its adversaries; for not only has *square* superseded *quadrate*, but the "vulgar" *Soho* has outlived the *King*. Every extension of the metropolis since the Revolution has brought with it an addition to its squares: it would be alike idle and tedious to attempt to trace the history of their growth further in detail. In 1784 there were only 50 squares in the metropolis—including some in the suburbs both north and south of the Thames, and some of these, though dignified with the name of square, look marvellously like courts: at present there must be upwards of 100 genuine squares.

It was remarked above that there is great diversity in the characters of squares, simple though the elements be that compose them. It is possible, however, to classify the squares of London into four grand divisions. The first embraces all the squares west of Regent Street: these may be called the fashionable squares. Two other divisions are situated between Regent Street on the west, and Gray's Inn Lane and Chancery Lane on the east. Holborn and Oxford Street form the line of demarcation between them. South of that line are situated the squares which, having once been the seats of fashion, and still bearing on their exterior the traces of faded greatness, have descended to become the haunts of busy trading life. North of it are the squares inhabited by the aristocracy of the law, among whom mingle wealthy citizens and the more solid class of *literati*. Eastward of Gray's Inn and Chancery Lanes are the obsolete, or purely City squares. There are anomalous squares within some of these divisions. For example, but for its locality Finsbury Square might properly be classed among those of the third division; as, for a similar reason, Red Lion Square, Bloomsbury, and Queen Square, Westminster, have most analogy with the squares of the fourth; and Cadogan Square is first cousin to Russell Square. But similar obstinate exceptions from all rule, it is known to philosophers, will always bid defiance to efforts at classification based upon a combination of geographical distribution and characteristic features. In this arrangement, too, we refer only to our immediate subject—the Squares of London. In all the suburbs squares are now springing up like mushrooms; some of them (Hoxton and Kensington, for example) boast of squares of a venerable antiquity.

The Squares of London vary much in regard to the extent of ground they occupy. According to Mr. Britton, Belgrave Square measures 684 feet by 637, but the gardens belonging to the detached villas considerably augment the real and still more the apparent area. Eaton Square, adjoining, occupies an extent of 1637 by 371 feet. Cadogan Square is 1450 by 370 feet; Grosvenor Square measures 654 feet square; Lincoln's Inn Fields, 773 by 624 feet; Portman Square, 500 by 400 feet; Bryanstone Square, 814 by 198 feet; Montague Square, 820 by 156 feet: Russell Square, Euston Square, and Park Square, Regent's Park, are all of large dimensions. It is not, however always the largest square that tells the most effectively in relieving the sense of oppression from being long in City pent. The rapid declivity of Berkeley Square, and the gardens of Lansdowne and Devonshire houses at one end of it, by affording a wider range than the mere square to the eye, leave the impression of more open space. The combination of Mecklenburgh Square and Brunswick Square with the Foundling Hospital and its cabbage-garden between, produce an impression of extent in a different way—from our feeling that we do not see the whole at once. In most of

the finest Squares of London (Belgrave is the only exception we can at this moment bring to our recollection) there is a considerable slope of the ground.

Having always had a *penchant* for burying our dead out of our sight as quickly as possible, we begin with the fourth division—the City Squares. They are not numerous, and whatever may have once been the case, the dust of neglect and desertion has added up the characteristic lines of their features, leaving an intolerable sameness about them. Finsbury Square must be excepted from this remark: it is one of the first class which has by accident strayed into the City—"a sunbeam that hath lost its way." The rest—Charterhouse Square, Bridgewater Square (Barbican), Devonshire Square (Bishopsgate), Warwick Square, and even the little Squares of Gough and Salisbury, have a strong clannish likeness. Wellclose Square, Trinity Square, and the Red Lion Square, though not within the City boundary are close upon it, and belong to the same class, and some of them are without the enclosed spots of green. In Maitland's day they were inhabited by "people of fashion," "people of distinction," "the better class of merchants," and so forth. Wellclose was originally called Marine Square, from being a favourite residence of naval officers. How altered now! Enter Bridgewater Square, and its ornamented edifices, its rubbed brick quoins and facings—its Brodingnaggian scallop-shells over the top of the doors, remind one of its former state. But, like Wordsworth's 'Hartleap all,' "something ails it now," the place is—no, not quite so bad as the poet makes it, though grim and gloomy enough it looks. The elevation of the turf in the central enclosure reminds one of those minikin open spaces with green turf on them, which one so often stumbles upon in the City, and which might delude a stranger with the notion that they were the first attempts at squares—something between the court and the square—child-squares, in short, but which are in reality the fallow churchyards of churches not rebuilt since the great fire. Scarcely less grim, though more spacious, is the Charterhouse Square. The line of dead wall, the antique monastic building, the iron-gates at either entry into the square, and the soot-encumbered semi-vegetation of the trees, produce almost as depressing an effect as the pulchral habitations of Bridgewater Square. The other City Squares have more of life and humanity in their outward show. This is especially the case with Wellclose Square: probably the elastic spirits of the gallant tars, who were its earliest occupants, lent a light-heartedness to the very atmosphere that has never since deserted.

But however dull and desolate these squares may seem to the casual visitant (no such fancies dim the minds of the residents: there is probably more constant sunshine of the soul there than among more splendid regions of the metropolis), there are associations that tempt us at times to revisit them. In the quiet of Charterhouse Square we are carried back to the times when knightly penitents sought consolation from its cloistered owners; when the neighbouring Smithfield, instead of being a spectacle for live beef and mutton, was the scene of tournaments, and, yet more horribly attractive, of the triumph of those martyrs whose blood was the seed of the reformed Church. Bridgewater Square occupies the site of the mansion of a family from which sprang the earliest promoter of that chain of inland water communication which has done so much to develop the resources of England. Devonshire Square was the spot in which lingered the last lady of rank who clung to her ancestral abode in the City. Gough Square is still haunted by the Eidolon of Johnson; and Richardson's ghost, nervous and coy, as in life, revisits the glimpses of the moon Salisbury Square.

Pass we on to a class of squares of more pretensions in their outer show, and with more robust vitality still animating them—the Squares of Lincoln's Inn Fields, Soho,



Covent Garden, Leicester, and Golden. Covent Garden, as we have already noted, is the oldest of our squares; the story of its origin has been told before. So here suffice to remind the reader that Sir Peter Lely and Roger North have lived in it; that Piazzas: that Hogarth's club had its meetings there; that the Old Hummums long the favourite resort of the subaltern heroes of the Peninsular war; and that the adventures of the neighbourhood have supplied matter for the pens of Congreve and Fielding. The Old Hummums, by the way, was the scene of what Johnson called the best accredited ghost story he ever heard of. The ghost, that of Ford, the waiter of Hogarth's 'Midnight modern Conversation,' appeared to the waiter; and the scene was the cellar, and the ghost said nothing, possibly it had been purloining and was too drunk to speak.

Lincoln's Inn Fields is, in point of antiquity, the next square to Covent Garden. In 1659 James Cooper, Robert Henley, and Francis Finch, Esqs., and others, obtained of "certain parcels of ground in the Fields, commonly called Lincoln's Inn Fields, which were exempted from all forfeitures and penalties they might incur in regard to the new buildings they might erect 'on three sides of the same fields,' previously to the 1st of October in that year: provided that they paid for the public service one year's full value for every such house, within one month of its erection; and provided they should convey the 'residue of the said fields to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, to be laid the same into walks, for common use and benefit; whereby the annoyance which formerly have been in the same fields will be taken away, and passenger way for the future better secured." On the west side of the square, sometimes called Arch Row, are the most ancient houses. They have originally been spacious, and ornamented with Ionic pilasters. At the corner of Great Queen Street is Newcastle House, the residence, in his day, of the Duke of Newcastle (*vide* Horace Walpole's 'Humphrey Clinker'), probably the most eccentric statesman Britain has ever known. The central enclosure is one of the largest and finest of these public gardens in London. Much of the square is now used as chambers by solicitors, who in some instances adapted noble mansions to their use, by cutting them into modern ones, just as in some towns of Scotland the economical Presbyterians have sometimes carved half a dozen kirks out of one cathedral. The Society of Useful Knowledge once had its chambers here. The surgeons, whose hall and theatre are the principal ornament of the south side of the square, still stand their ground. The new buildings harmonise finely with the associations of the neighbourhood, and are a worthy completion to the square.

Soho Square arose during the reign of Charles II., on what were then called So-Hoe Fields, and the statue in the centre is said to be that of Charles II., the 'Gentleman's Magazine' in 1790 informs us it is that of the Duke of Monmouth. There has been an inscription on the base, which is now illegible. It was once called Monmouth Square, the Duke of Monmouth inhabiting a house in it on the site of the man's Buildings. An attempt was made to force the name of King Square upon it, which failed. About the accession of George III., Soho was the gayest square in London. Here were Mrs. Cornelys' masquerades and balls, the suppers at which were alleged to be more elegant than abundant. The houses numbered 20 and 22 were originally only one mansion; and it witnessed the confidential orgies of George IV. when Prince of Wales. Graver associations clung to it, we were about to say, but we remembered that it had once contained the residence of Sir Joseph Banks, by the recollection of Peter Pindar, and the 'Emperor of Morocco,' checked the phrase. It is now the house of the Linnæan Society. The externals of Soho Square have to recommend them; but most of the houses are spacious, the staircases striking

Architecturally disposed, and many of them ornamented with panel paintings of high merit.

Leicester House, from which the square derives its name, of which it was indeed the nucleus, was built before the civil war; but the square itself is not older than the beginning of last century. In the centre of the square was an equestrian statue of George I., which was brought from Canons, the seat of the Duke of Chandos. It has since its day of splendour—when Leicester House was the pouting place of the first princes of Wales of the Hanoverian dynasty—but it is sadly faded now. Sir Isaac Newton resided near the square in a house yet standing in St. Martin's Street. Northward occupied the house afterwards converted into the Sablonnière Hotel, and at a later time Sir Joshua Reynolds a house on the opposite side of the square. John Hunter lived and formed his museum in Leicester Square; and in a house in White Place, immediately adjoining it, Sir Charles Bell made his discoveries respecting the nervous system. Latterly the square has been infested with hotels for the questionable class of foreigners, wine-shades, and the like. But "Leicester's busy square" will be remembered as the scene of Wordsworth's moon-gazers; and the new streets recently opened have brought a stream of traffic through it, that at least gives it more vitality; while its dull and dilapidated central enclosure has been rescued from an abandoned state, and now forms the site of Mr. Wyld's ingenious and magnificent globe for displaying on a large scale the geography of the earth.

The interest of Golden Square—nearly coeval with Soho—is almost entirely domestic. It is the most melancholy of all the squares of this region—the most nearly approaching to those of the City. In the centre is a statue of that distinguished Roman warrior, George II.—for so the sculptor by his costume represents him—which has an entertaining bit of gossip attached to it. This, like the statue of George I., was formerly at Canons, the seat of the Duke of Chandos, and formed one of a series. During the sale that took place, a gentleman, an acquaintance of the auctioneer, came in, and, catching his eye, nodded in token of friendly remembrance. "Thank you, Sir," was the immediate comment—down went the hammer—"The statue of that excellent monarch is yours." What could the possessor do with such an interesting piece of sculpture but give it to the public? Queen Square (Westminster), which has a statue of Queen Anne, and Panton Square (Piccadilly)—also abodes of the tipsy days of Charles II.—are quite City in their characteristics. Trafalgar Square (Charing Cross) will be noticed hereafter.

Remaining westward of Regent Street, but crossing to the north of Holborn and Oxford Streets, we come into a region of what may be called comfortable squares, as contrasted with the *passé* appearance of Lincoln's Inn Fields or Bridgewater Square, and their respective class-fellows on one hand, or with the imposing appearance of the west-end squares on the other. They are linked with the olden time through the instrumentality of Bloomsbury Square, once a fashionable region. One side of it was originally occupied by Southampton House, built by the Wriothesleys, and afterwards belonging to the Bedford family; Horace Walpole mentions having visited there. Lord Mansfield's house was in the adjoining corner to the east; and here occurred one of the most destructive bursts of the ferocious mob of Lord George Gordon. A more pleasing recollection is, that Bloomsbury Square was the widowed residence of Lady Rachel Russell. On the north side of the square is Westmacott's noble statue of Fox. It represents the statesman seated, arrayed in a consular robe, and full of dignity. The likeness is said to be "perfect." The inscription is noticeable for its simplicity—"Charles James Fox. Erected MDCCCXVI." But the

tide of fashion has rolled westward, and left Bloomsbury Square to be inhabited by the aristocracy of the City and the Inns of Court. A new element has been added to society by the foundation of the London University and the vicinity of the Museum. The scientific section of London literary men has thereby been attracted to this region. The wealthy, who had no particular ambition of belonging to the first fashion, have long been attracted to this quarter by its proximity to the fields; and the formation of the Regent's Park has proved an additional inducement. A society is here formed which already rivals that of the West End, as the nobles of the robe and the rich fermiers-general rivalled in ante-revolutionary France the aristocracy.

There is clustering around Bloomsbury Square a whole nucleus of squares, some comely, and some elegant, but all modern and middle-class, and devoid of anything to tempt us to linger in them. North of Bloomsbury is Russell Square, on the site of the former house and grounds of the Dukes of Bedford. On the south side of Russell Square, the opening of Bedford Place forming a fine avenue, as it were, between the statue of Fox in Bloomsbury Square, is a statue of the Duke of Bedford, Westmacott. The Duke rests one arm on a plough, whilst the hand of the other grasps the gift of Ceres; and the characteristics thus expressed are continued still further developed by the children, representative of the seasons, at the corners, and by the interesting bas-reliefs that adorn two of the sides: in one the preparations making for the dinner of the rustic labourer, his wife is busied with the knees, a youth is blowing the horn, and two countrymen and a team of oxen are in the group; in the other the business of reaping and gleanings is shadowed forth by the figures, a young woman in the centre, of graceful form and sweet features, evidently the village belle. The statue has only this inscription: "Francis, Duke of Bedford, erected 1809." It is of bronze, and about twenty-seven feet in height. West of Russell Square is Bedford Square, which in its architecture reminds one of the older west-end squares; and to the east, passing along Guildford Street, is Queen Square, which also has its statue of Queen Anne, and (what may be considered as one very striking and interesting square) Brunswick and Mecklenburg Squares, with the Foundling Hospital and grounds between them. To the north of this range of squares is a group consisting of Regent Square, in which is the National Church, built for the Rev. E. Irving, of "unknown tongue" celebrated as a large building in the gothic style, which, though not very pure, is effective; and to the south, Woburn, Gordon, Tavistock, and Euston Squares, together with the semi-circular Burton Crescent, which contains an indifferent bronze statue of the old Roman Major Cartwright, are all new, spruce, and uninteresting. Fitzroy Square is the result of a failure; only two sides were built on the original plan, the other three being a waste for many years. With great architectural pretensions, it is ponderous and never took with the public. Its vicinity is much affected by artists, who find it convenient to live between their aristocratic patrons and employers in the squares, and their possibly more lucrative employers in the houses which surround the Bedford Square group.

It is in the west-end squares that the characteristics of this feature of the metropolis are most perfectly developed; and on this account it may well be worth the trouble to examine them more in detail, commencing with the oldest.

St. James's Square is noticed by two of our best domestic historians—Evelyn and Horace Walpole. The former saw it in its infancy, the latter in the vigour of its youth. It may have a little declined into the sere and yellow leaf, but less from



once was, but it is still, in external show, the most truly aristocratic square in London. The houses have a look of old nobility about them. The circular sheet of water in the centre of the enclosure makes little appearance from the *pavé*, but is a beautiful ornament as seen from the first-floor windows. William III. is the tutelary genius of the place, and a fitter could not be found for the favourite haunt of the king whose elevation to the throne transferred the sceptre for a time to the nobility of England. His statue, by the younger Bacon, erected in 1806, ornaments the centre of the square. The corner house, on the right hand, as you enter from Pall Mall, is Norfolk House, in which George III. was born. Next door lives the Bishop of London; and fronting his Grace, on the opposite side of the square, the Bishop of Winchester. It is fitting that bishops should live under the ægis of him who turned at the king who committed the seven bishops to the Tower. It is also fitting that they should affect the square around which the future champion of high churchism, Samuel Johnson, has walked all night with Savage, when neither could find a lodging. No. 11, in the north-west corner, the mansion of the Wyndham Club, perpetuates the name of one of the most accomplished of English statesmen, whose memory would deserve to be held in honour were it only for his devoted attachment to Burke. There is something beautiful exceedingly in the enduring love of an intelligent for a great man. This club has a good library. Another library occupies No. 12: the London Library, an institution of rapidly increasing importance, founded and maintained chiefly by literary men, for the purpose of forming by their mutual aid a comprehensive collection of valuable books, to be at the service of each in their own houses under certain regulations. The row of houses between St. James's Square and Pall Mall are less stately than those on the other side of the square, and turn their back-fronts to it, for the same reason probably, that Mrs. McClartie's servant, in the 'Cottagers of Glenburnie,' is said to have turned her back on the family when tripping along with them—as an expression of humility. Some of them, at least, are lodging-houses: we remember a whole detachment of the Irish parliamentary brigade quartered in one. Like these dwellings *in* the square, rather than *of* it, are the Rechtheum and Army and Navy Clubs, entering severally from York and King streets, and having windows looking into the square. The Colonial Club, like the Wyndham, made a lodgment in it, having occupied for a time the mansion once inhabited by Sir Philip Francis. It has now vanished.

We now proceed up York Street, along Piccadilly, and turn through Berkeley Street, into Berkeley Square. This square, as Malcolm has observed before us, is worthy of notice rather on account of the inequality of the ground, so much greater than is usually found in London, than for anything remarkable in its buildings. It was this picturesque character of the district that attracted the Berkeleys, Devonshires, and Larendons of a former day to plant their mansions near it. The south, or lower side of the square, is occupied by the wall of a garden, in which stands a stone house of rather heavy proportions, built in 1765, by the favourite (or more properly the reputed favourite) Bute, and sold by him incomplete to the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquess of Lansdowne, whose designation it bears. Here were once lodged the Lansdowne MSS., now in the British Museum. The centre of the square is (not) ornamented by a huge statue of George III., on a clumsy pedestal. "The charming lady Mary Montague" died in this square, and what would have teased her more than dying, an obituary notice was penned by another old woman, as sarcastic as herself—Horace Walpole. Hill Street, issuing from the west side of the square, reminds us of Hay Hill, granted by Queen Anne to the speaker of the House of Commons, greatly to the horror of the political purists of that immaculate day. Berkeley

Square, owing to its sloping position, and the open wooded space between it and the Green Park, is one of the most airy and picturesque of our squares. Some of the interiors are fine, having halls and staircases from designs by Kent. It is also one of the oldest squares, dating from the reign of Queen Anne.

We pass onwards in a north-west direction till we reach Grosvenor Square. It derives its name (along with Grosvenor Street, and Grosvenor Gate in Hyde Park) from Sir Richard Grosvenor, a mighty builder in his day, who was cupbearer at the coronation of George II., and died in 1732. The centre is a spacious garden, laid out by Kent, and is worthy of his landscape-gardening powers. The houses are diversified in their architectural character; the fronts are some of brick and stone, some of rubbed bricks, with their quoins, windows, and door-cases of stone. They have all the finest feature of a British nobleman's mansion—spaciousness. We do not meet here with the shabby attempt, so common to other parts of the metropolis, to create a false appearance of greatness, by lending the face of one great building to two, three, or more comparatively small houses. The extent of the square (six acres) requires houses of a large size to tell; small ones would be lost around it. Within the enclosure is an equestrian statue of George I., almost hidden in summer by the surrounding foliage. It was made by Van Nost, and erected by Sir Richard Grosvenor in 1726, near the redoubt called Oliver's Mount; for the line of fortifications erected by the Londoners during the civil wars ran across the space now occupied by Grosvenor Square. In March, 1727, the Jacobites one night attached a placard to the statue, noways flattering to the original or his family. This square continues to be a favourite residence of the oldest titled families, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of the Minerva Press novelists, and their successors of the silver-fork school, to vulgarise it.

A short walk along North Audley Street, across Oxford Street, and up Orchard Street, brings us to Portman Square. The building of this square commenced in 1764, but twenty years elapsed before it was completed. In extent it is equal to Grosvenor Square, the central enclosure is equally well laid out, and the houses are all but equally imposing in appearance. Portman Square appears, however, to be a shade less a favourite with the high nobility—possibly because it is a little further from the Park, and deeper in the mass of houses. The north-west angle of Portman Square is occupied by Montague House, once the residence of the queen of the blues. Here were the feather-hangings sung by Cowper, here Miss Burney was welcomed, and here Sam Johnson for a moment grew tame. It was the custom of Mrs. Montague to invite annually all the little chimney-sweepers in the metropolis to a regale in her house and garden, "that they might enjoy *one* happy day in the year." These May-day festivals have ceased, as have those of Jem White, celebrated by Elia: but, in recompense, there is reason to hope that the day of the sufferings of little chimney-sweepers also has passed away. The well-wooded garden of Montague House adds to the charm of Portman Square.

Montague Square and Bryanstone Square are twin deformities, the former of which is placed immediately in the rear of Montague House. They are long narrow strips of ground, fenced in by two monotonous rows of flat houses. In the centre of the green turf which runs up the middle of Bryanstone Square is a dwarf weeping ash, which resembles strikingly a gigantic umbrella or toad-stool; and in the corresponding site in Montague Square is a pump, with a flower-pot shaped like an urn on the top of it. A range of balconies runs along the front of the houses in Bryanstone Square; but the inmates appear to entertain dismal apprehensions of the thievish propensities of their neighbours, for between every two balconies is introduced a terrible chevaux-



—frise. The mansions in Montague Square are constructed after the most approved Highton fashion, each with its little bulging protuberance to admit of a peep into its neighbours' parlours. These two oblongs, though dignified with the name of squares, belong rather to the anomalous "places" which economical modern builders contrive to carve out of the corners of mews-lanes behind squares, and dispose of with profit to those who wish to live near the great.

Returning to Portman Square, we bend our course eastward to Manchester Square. Manchester House, which occupies the north side of the square, was commenced in 1766: the square was not completed till 1788. A square, to be called Queen Anne's Square, with a church in the centre, had been contemplated in the reign of that queen, but the plan was not carried into effect. The ground, lying waste, was purchased by the Duke of Manchester, the house erected upon it, and his title given to the square that grew up in front of it. On the sudden death of the Duke in 1788, a mansion was purchased by the King of Spain as a residence for his ambassador. It subsequently came into the possession of the Marquess of Hertford; but has remained in a great measure a diplomatic palace. It is at present occupied by the French ambassador.

Cavendish Square and Hanover Square, north and south of Oxford Street, have, from their proximity, the appearance of being connected by the ligature of a short street. They were commenced about the same time. Cavendish Square was planned in 1715, and the ground laid out two years afterwards. Hanover Square was not built in 1716: in 1720 it is mentioned in plans of London.

The large gloomy mansion, enclosed by a blank wall, on the west side of Cavendish Square, now occupied by the Duke of Portland, was built by Lord Bingley, the foundation-stone being laid in 1722. The north side consisted originally of four houses, of considerable architectural merit; but some Goth has erected a staring yellow structure between two of them. The Duke of Chandos—Pope's contemporary—purchased the whole of this side of the square, intending to erect a magnificent mansion upon it. Only the two wings, however, were erected—the two end houses. The two centre houses, ultimately built instead of a central mansion, are fine buildings of Portland stone. It was not here, but in Chandos House, Chandos Street, Covent Garden, that the terrible blow struck the *grand* duke, as he was called, which brought him to his grave. Preparations with which all England had rung were made for the christening of his infant heir; the King and Queen stood sponsors in person; the child was seized with convulsions in the nurse's arms, and died during the ceremony, the presumed cause being the excessive glare of light. The domestic annals of England do not record such another withering rebuke of vain ostentation. The Duke died soon after; and the Duchess shut herself up in the house which had witnessed the blasting of her hopes, where she moped till death released her. To return to Cavendish Square—the central statue of the Duke of Cumberland was erected, as the inscription informs us, by Lieutenant General Strode, in memory of "his private kindness; in honour of his public virtue," in 1777. The private kindness we are bound to believe, and gratitude is at all times an admirable quality; but General Strode should have made somewhat surer about the public virtue, before he called upon the public to participate in his own feelings of admiration. Popular nicknames have generally much truth wrapped up in them, and the Duke of Cumberland's is by no means an exception. "The Butcher" was the title applied to him in his own day, and it is likely to outlive the statue which, in disregard to the best feelings of human nature, has been set up. Men may differ as to the value of the Duke's services in overthrowing the rebels at Culloden, or they may even agree that they were mos



valuable; but the horrors of the wanton cruelties that followed must be universal. The atrocities committed by him in the Highlands, in pursuance of his scheme of "little blood-letting," are sickening to contemplate.

Oxford Square was originally intended to have been the name of the opposite square, but adulation of the new dynasty suggested the change to Hanover. A large portion of the original occupants has been preserved: they are almost all Generals. This is characteristic of the early period of the revolutionary era, when standing armies grew up in consequence of the country being so much more implicated in continental brawls; and because they were needed to put down the feudal retainers of the Tory chiefs—a feat beyond the powers of the City "trained bands." There is another characteristic of the first Georgian era that clung to Hanover Square: its progress was for many years impeded by the bursting of bubbles, from 1718 to 1720. There is something peculiar to this square in the approach from the south. The street joins its centre, and the houses on either side converge as they recede from the square. This gives the ground-plan somewhat the appearance of a gridiron—the church of St. George supplying the nob of the handle. Facing this street, however, is the colossal statue in bronze of William Pitt, one of the noblest of our public statues; a production of Chantrey's, erected in 1831. Hanover Square forms, in some sort, a connecting link between the squares immediately west and those immediately east of Regent Street; for though it has not lost all its original brightness, nor had its excess of glory obscured, something of its exclusiveness hath departed from it.

Our subject now leads us to a subdivision of the West End squares of very recent growth. The district immemorially known as *The Five Fields*, "where the robbers lie in wait," was laid out about twenty years ago by the noble proprietor, with a view to its being constructed into streets and squares. The principal part was engaged in 1825 by the Messrs. Cubitt, who immediately began raising the surface, and forming streets and communications. The whole of the district was also intersected by immense sewers, which, having a considerable fall to the Thames, through a dry gravelly soil, secure even the lower stories against damp. Such an advantage, together with the vicinity of the Parks and of the new Pimlico Palace, rapidly attracted inhabitants. Tattersall's sees itself *enclavé* in London with astonishment; and Ranelagh, seeing the tide of fashionable houses rising up towards it, bewails the precipitancy of its owners, in allowing it to be covered by inferior houses, waterworks, and factories. Its claim to mingle among the gay and noble has been forfeited—by no fault of its own—but still irrecoverably forfeited. It is a strange feeling with which one treads this new region of princely mansions, thinking of the duck-ponds and clay-pits of one's boyhood. And to the old among us it is peopled with still more unequivocally rural associations. A respectable builder, near Sloane Street, has spoken to us of the nightingales which used to serenade him from his own garden; and a venerable septuagenarian remembers the time when, from Norwood, he could see with a spy-glass his children sporting in the garden behind his house in Grosvenor Place.

The most gorgeous of our squares is Belgrave Square. The central space is, perhaps, too large to admit even of such large houses as are here telling, *en masse*, as a square. Perhaps, however, this is an advantage, considering the locality. Belgrave Square is situated between town and country, though the town is surrounding it, a neighbourhood springing up on the south, between it and the river, where we find Warwick Square and Eccleston Square, its genuine descendants, though in a less magnificent style. Still the houses become less dense, like a London fog, as one approaches its outskirts. Hyde Park lies behind it; St. James's Park intervenes between it and town; the great thoroughfares in the vicinity have more of the road

than the street. In such a neighbourhood a square confined enough to allow the height of the houses being felt in proportion to the extent of the ground-plan, would convey a sense of confinement—of oppression to the lungs, though in the heart of the town it would feel as a relief. The isolated mansions at the four corners, standing obliquely to the sides of the square, look like a hint taken from the position of Montague House in Portman Square, and in conjunction with so spacious an area have a good effect. It may be prejudice on our part—a *borné* view, the consequence of our æsthetical faculty having been developed among the old squares, and received their impress so deep as to be indelible—but we should have better liked less uniformity in the architecture. We prefer individual character in the houses: we do not like to see them merely parts of an architectural whole, like soldiers, who are only parts of a rank. But this regimental fashion is now the order of the day, and the young generation growing up among Belgrave Squares, Eaton Squares, Lowndes Squares, Chester Squares, and their humbler imitants, may think differently from what we do.

Eaton Square may claim a notice here, and along with it Euston Square, in a less aristocratical region, on account of their peculiar character. Squares proper have various entrances; but in all of them the square is evidently the main thing, and the entrances subordinate to them. But for the names at the corners of Euston Square and Eaton Square, they might be taken for a mere bulging out of the highway which bisects them. They belong still more decidedly than Belgrave Square to what geologists would call the transition formation—the structures intermediate between town and suburbs. The effect of the square, massive, protruding porches of Eaton Square is heavy; but this defect is amply redeemed in the apprehension of any one who wanders through it on a summer evening, by the use to which the ingenious inhabitants turn them. They are made hanging-gardens—may they have a longer lease of existence and a more prosperous end than those of Babylon!—from which the breezes descend redolent of mignonette, “the fragrant weed, the Frenchman’s darling.” Euston Square is remarkable for the caryatides of St. Pancras Church—would that it had a better steeple, and that the range of ornaments along its eaves did not so strikingly resemble patty-pans! At the centre of the north side of the square, a little back from the line of houses, is a massive archway of good solid proportions, the gateway to the terminus of the Birmingham Railway.

Of the squares beyond the river the only one we can charge our memory with a particular recollection of is Kennington Oval, which is not a square any more than Finsbury Circus, and which, moreover, seems to make little haste to completion. Kennington Common and Camberwell Green will, probably, be manufactured into squares ere long. Viewed as *matériel* they are not more hopeless than were “the five fields” upon which Belgrave Square has sprung up. When the park, on the banks of the river in Battersea Fields, becomes a reality, there will certainly be squares constructed around it.

Along the Mile-end Road and towards Stratford-le-Bow, where, unless Chaucer misleads us, was the earliest fashionable boarding-school at which young ladies were “Frenched,” there are some pretty enough common-place squares, which have too little of individual character to leave a lasting impression. In Hoxton, as has been already noticed, is Hoxton Square, the oldest of suburban squares. Islington has a square or two, but the square does not appear to have as yet extended towards Highgate. Camden Town and Kentish Town have places, but no squares. Crossing the Regent’s Park, however, to the S.W., we come upon Dorset Square—a square of a genteel enough character. In the new town springing up to the north of the



"terraces" and "gardens" which line the Oxford Road as it skirts Hyde Park, there are Hyde Park Square, Gloucester Square, and a nondescript—two squares and two crescents, forming one whole, only separated by roads, namely Oxford and Cambridge Squares, and Southwick and Norfolk Crescents, the architecture of the whole of which are in the Belgravian style.

It is, however, in the suburb which extends westward from Belgrave Square that squares are to be found "thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks in Vallumbrosa." Perhaps the reason may be that the example was set by Kensington Square at a very early period. Between 1730 and 1740 we are certain that Kensington Square was in existence, and a good place of fashion, for it was there that the modest and immaculate Letitia Pilkington forced herself upon the Archbishop of York to ask him to subscribe to her book. The appearance of some of the houses bespeaks an antiquity at the least as great as this—the fashion of the doors and windows—the huge scallop-shells over some of the doors. The residence of the Court at Kensington Palace naturally led some of the dignified clergy and the nobility who held offices in the household to seek residences in the neighbourhood, and hence a more courtly style of building than in other suburban villages.

Next upon Kensington Square (so far as we have been able to learn) followed the squares and places projected by Sir Hans Sloane in the town laid out by him, and called Hans-Town, after himself, between Chelsea and Brompton. There is Hans Place (Hexagonal), of which Mrs. Hall has declared, in her 'Maid Marian,' that it is so quiet that the very cats who come to reside there unlearn the art of mewing. There is Cadogan Square, which, from its peculiar relation to Sloane Street, might have been classed along with Euston and Eaton Squares, were it not, as Touchstone has it, "like an ill-roasted egg, all on one side." And there is Sloane Square, as bare and intersected with crossings as Kennington Common, as tiny in its proportions as Red Lion Square, and combining with a rare excess of commonplace all that is uninteresting in both.

Thus initiated as a land of squares, the fashion grew in Chelsea, Brompton, and Kensington, and spread westward. Chelsea has its Trafalgar Square, or at least two sides and a half of it; and the houses in front of the College may assume the airs of a square quite as legitimately as the squares of Mecklenburgh and Brunswick already noticed. Brompton has Trevor Square; Montpelier Square (so called probably because it is more shut in from a free current of air than any other); Brompton Square (which includes the busy traffic of the world by its gates); Alexander Square, which is not a square, nor anything else to which a name can be given, and Thurloe Square. And, lastly, Kensington has, in addition to Kensington Square proper, Pembroke Square, plain enough in its exterior, but, though unpretending, it has a pretty air of lightness and quietude; and Edwards Square, which we are glad to find last on the list of suburban squares, as we would fain part from them with an agreeable impression. Edwards Square stands behind backs. It is directly at the back of the range of houses that front to Holland House, and it stands sidling backward from Pembroke Square. The houses are all small, yet the central enclosure is more spacious and more tastefully laid out than in many squares that force themselves ostentatiously upon notice. This delicious square, thus stowed away in a corner, must have been designed by one who wished to carry the finest amenities of Patrician life into the domestic habits of the narrowest income families of the middle class. We regret to add that so delightful a plan did not originate with an Englishman: Edwards Square was a Frenchman's speculation, built on ground belonging to the Edwardses, Lords Kensington, whence its name.



But, in addition to the novel structure and architecture of these new squares, London is getting *places* as well as squares. By *places* are meant the continental *vacuums* of that name, not the rows of houses which have hitherto been so designated in England, because nobody could invent another name for them. Waterloo Place, with the adjoining opening from which the Duke of York's pillar arises, is of this class; and a very fine one it is, owing to its connection with St. James's Park by a broad flight of steps. The pillar was completed in 1838, and consists of a colossal bronze statue of the "Soldier's Friend," on the top of one of the ugliest columns perhaps that the wit of a sculptor ever yet devised, of pale red granite, 160 feet high. The best thing about the whole is the view from the summit: what the Monument is for the east the Duke of York's pillar forms for the west of London. Trafalgar Square is another, though much can scarcely be said in its praise. Even the equestrian statue of George IV. by Chantrey, one of his least effective works, and the bronze basso-relievos on the base of the Nelson column (only three of them placed yet), though creditable in themselves, are unable to redeem the architectural character of the place; its only real ornaments are St. Martin's Church and the statue of Charles I., of which the artist was Hubert le Sœur. Old and New Palace Yard are also places, though the latter, from its garden enclosure, partakes of the character of the square. In it is the bronze statue of George Canning, by Westmacott. Park Crescent also, forming the northern termination of Portland Place, partakes of a mixed character; the architecture is lighter than that of Portland Place, and in the enclosure is a bronze statue, by Mahagan, of the Duke of Kent.

At the Mansion House is a place, which is likewise fine, though irregular. The Bank, the Exchange, the Mansion House form goodly boundary lines, and the equestrian statue by Chantrey of the Duke of Wellington occupies a striking portion in the centre. Another place is formed at some little distance where King William Street and Gracechurch Street unite, it is smaller and even more irregular than the preceding, but it affords room for a ponderous and rather awkward statue of King William himself; mere massiveness is not grandeur; the statue is a standing figure, above fifteen feet high, and is said to be composed of two blocks of granite only, weighing 20 tons; better figures have been made with less material. Hence also is seen at an angle the Monument, which has a history of its own to which we can do no more than allude, and a beauty of its own which we need not point out, for, though not what Wren wished to make it, it is by far the handsomest pillar in London, perhaps we may say in England.

#### STREETS.

It is neither possible nor necessary to go into the same detail with the streets of London that we have indulged in with the squares. The great mass of the streets possess little individuality, though when thrown into groups they are more or less strikingly characterised. We shall therefore only rapidly trace the main arteries, and not stop to dilate on or describe the two-storied or three-storied houses round Ratcliff, of which almost every one is a shop or lodging-house; nor the buildings round Goodman's Fields, sugar-baking-houses, and dwellings for German workmen, giving it the air of a foreign colony, not lessened by a large sprinkling of Jews; nor the long-windowed houses of the Spitalfields weavers, with their gardens wherever possible, and their pigeons and singing birds; nor the miserable streets, courts and alleys, that flank the great city thoroughfares, the abodes of the poorer workmen of the shops and warehouses, who naturally desire to be near their work, and in which the cholera of 1848-9 committed such fearful ravages; nor of those of the tanners and fellmongers of Bermondsey, or

the watchmakers of Clerkenwell; nor of the utterly featureless rows of brickwork that fill all the blank spaces round the larger streets; little can be said for or of the those in the west are somewhat cleaner and opener than those in the city or in Southwark, but not much. Many "rookeries," as they have been called, have been pulled down, but the benefit of letting air and light into dense collections of hovels unfit for human beings to live in, has been considerably neutralised by the want of a provision of better, more convenient, yet as cheap, dwellings to remove into. Let us hope the want will shortly be supplied, as efforts have been made, by constructing model lodging-houses, to show that clean, decent, and healthy lodgings may be provided at as low or lower a rate as has been hitherto charged for shelter in dens of disease and crime, and yet afford a reasonable rate of profit to the proprietors.

The main street of London runs from east to west, and beginning at Mile End runs to the west end of Cheapside, where it divides into two branches, the southern branch scarce ending before it reaches Hammersmith; the northern branch running to Bayswater.

We shall begin at the east. The thoroughfare at Mile End is wide, and the traffic considerable, as it is the high road to Essex and the eastern counties, but the houses and shops are not of a very magnificent description. In the road, however, stand the City of London Union Workhouse, built in 1848, a handsome building in the Italian style of architecture, with a campanile in the centre, 100 feet in height, and two towers, one on each side of it, each 70 feet in height: the interior arrangements are very complete: there is a handsome chapel and a dining-hall to accommodate 800 persons, 100 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 28 feet high, with an open timber roof, an anomalous feature in the Italian style, but not ineffective here; also the Jews' Hospital, the London Hospital, Whitechapel Workhouse, none of them remarkable as architectural objects; and a number of almshouses, among which those belonging to the corporation of the Trinity House are said to have been erected from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, and on the green plat in front of them is a statue to a benefactor, Captain Sandes. As we approach Whitechapel High-street the shops, at least, assume a more imposing character, and from this point commerce has taken such complete possession of the leading thoroughfare, that almost every house is a shop, until we reach the western ends of Piccadilly and Oxford Street. At the eastern end of Whitechapel a haymarket is held, and a butchers' market occupies the southern side of the western end. Butchers' shops are not very ornamental in general, but in almost every other trade the most strenuous efforts are made to render the shop front as handsome, as light, and as favourable for the display of goods, as possible. Among all others the public houses may be said to excel in their architectural pretensions, not always in the happiest style, and the drapers and clothes'-salesmen in shop-fronts. In Whitechapel, and other wide thoroughfares at the east end, the goods exposed in these windows are generally rather of a humble and cheap kind; but the windows are nevertheless glazed with plate-glass, and lighted with a profusion of gas-jets, such as only the gin-palaces can equal. On approaching Aldgate we find, among many shops of this character, one for the sale of articles of clothing; and a most extraordinary shop it is, for it occupies the site of seven houses, and may be said to reach from the ground to the roof, every story being fronted with plate-glass, and filled with goods. From Aldgate to St. Paul's, whether we go by way of Fenchurch Street and Lombard Street, or Leadenhall Street and Cornhill, shops of this character are not particularly observable; in these streets there is, perhaps, more richness of material; many of the shops are those of goldsmiths, jewellers, and watchmakers; many also are more wholesale than retail, as in Fenchurch Street, and Lombard Street is devoted



bankers; but when we arrive at St. Paul's Churchyard we come to a very world of show. Here we find shops whose fronts present an uninterrupted mass of glass from the ceiling to the ground; no horizontal sash-bars being seen, and the vertical ones made of brass. One indeed carries a story higher than the shop, and the lower half of the house is transparent. Here, too, we see on a winter's evening a mode of lighting now become usual, by which the products of combustion are given off in the street, instead of being left to soil the goods in the window: the lamps are fixed outside the shop, with a reflector so placed as to throw down a strong light upon the commodities in the window.

We may then enter Ludgate Street and Ludgate Hill—a street which was once said to contain finer shops than any other street in London, and which still maintains an equality, if not a superiority. Here we find a shop which was one of the first to adopt the expedient of giving brilliancy and apparent vastness by clothing wall and ceiling with looking-glass, and causing these to reflect the light from the rich cut-glass chandeliers. Farther on we meet with a shop which, not having the means of being so bulky as its neighbours, resolved to make amends by soaring to a double height. This was the first shop in London, as far as we are aware, in which the first floor was taken to form part of the shop itself, and one window carried up to the double height. That the goods are finely displayed by this method there can be no doubt, though its excellence as a specimen of shop architecture is another matter; but the architecture answers its purposes and defies criticism.

Pursuing our journey through Fleet Street and the Strand, or in a northern route through Holborn and Oxford Street, we pass numerous and splendid specimens of this kind of shop, especially in Oxford Street, where some of the shops present an elegance of design more strictly correct, perhaps, than those already mentioned. Regent Street then offers its display, and taken from one end to the other, exhibits a larger number of brilliant shops than any other street in London; for the drapers and mercers only share with other tradesmen the possession of brilliantly-lighted and elegantly-fitted "emporiums." At the southern end of the Quadrant is a shop which has attracted much attention for its decorative character. It was thus spoken of in the 'Companion to the Almanac' for 1841:—"As an architectural composition it possesses considerable merit, presenting the appearance of sufficient solidity and strength, and not looking as if likely to be crushed by the upper part of the house; for though spacious, the windows are of lofty upright proportions and arched, besides which, there is some substance in the piers to which the columns supporting those arches are attached; and where the angle of the building is curved off, that space presents a broad solid pier; not, however, one that produces a blank in the composition, it being sufficiently enriched with panelling." A shop at the corner of Berners Street in Oxford Street, erected about the same time as the one just noticed, and one nearly opposite Blenheim Steps, have also attracted much attention. Some of the ranges of shops in New Oxford Street are of a very superior architectural character, one in the Tudor style, and one in which each shop-front forms an arch, bearing without any palpable discrepancy a handsome façade, may be particularly mentioned. We may go in almost any direction—in Bond Street, among the aristocracy; in Tottenham-court Road, the Westminster Road, or the Borough Road, among humbler districts—and we shall everywhere find specimens, more or less splendid, of shops, and particularly of drapers' and mercers' shops.

Almost endless would be the task of enumerating the fine and elegant shops presented to view in the streets of London, and the dazzling array of commodities displayed in the windows. The furnishing ironmonger sets off his polished grates,



fenders, candlesticks, &c., to the best advantage; the cabinetmaker, with his French-polished mahogany and his chintz furniture, does his best to tempt the passer-by; the tobacconist, abandoning the twisted clay-pipes and the pigtail tobacco of former days, displays his elegant snuff-boxes, cigar-cases, meerschaums, and hookahs; the perfumer decks his windows with waxen ladies looking ineffably sweet, and gentlemen whose luxuriant moustaches are only equalled by the rosy hue of their cheeks, and oils, creams, and cosmetics from Circassia, Macassar, &c.—nominally, at least; and so on throughout the list of those who supply the wants, real and imaginary, of purchasers. But there are, besides these shops, two or three classes of establishments which occupy distinct and separate positions in respect to the mode in which sales and purchases are made; such as bazaars and general dealers, which merit our notice.

Our bazaars do not represent the bazaar principle of the East, but are indeed merely groups of retail shops, we therefore rapidly glance at them here.

The Soho Bazaar stands at the head of its class. It was founded many years ago by a gentleman of some notoriety, and has been uniformly a well-managed concern. It occupies several houses on the north-west corner of Soho Square, and consists of stalls or open counters ranged on both sides of aisles or passages, on two separate floors of the building. These stalls are rented by females, who pay, we believe, something between two and three shillings per day for each. The articles sold at these stalls are almost exclusively pertaining to the dress and personal decoration of ladies and children; such as millinery, lace, gloves, jewellery, &c.; and, in the height of "the season," the long array of carriages drawn up near the building testifies to the extent of the visits paid by the high-born and the wealthy to this place. Some of the rules of the establishment are very stringent. A plain and modest style of dress, on the part of the young females who serve at the stalls, is invariably insisted on, a matron being at hand to superintend the whole; every stall must have its wares displayed by a particular hour in the morning, under penalty of a fine from a renter; the rent is paid day by day, and if the renter be ill, she has to pay for the services of a substitute, the substitute being such an one as is approved by the principals of the establishment. Nothing can be plainer or more simple than the exterior of this bazaar, but it has all the features of a well-ordered institution.

The Pantheon Bazaar is a place of more show and pretensions. It was originally a theatre, one of the most fashionable in London; but having met with the discomfitures which have befallen so many of our theatres, it remained untenanted for many years, and was at length entirely remodelled and converted into a bazaar. The entrance front, in Oxford Street, is all that remains of the original building, erected in 1772, from the designs by James Wyatt; the interior, on its being converted into a bazaar in 1834, is by Sydney Smirke. When we have passed through the entrance porch in Oxford Street, we find ourselves in a vestibule, containing a few sculptures, and thence a flight of steps leads up to a range of rooms occupied as a picture gallery. These pictures, which are in most cases of rather moderate merit, are placed here for sale, the proprietors of the bazaar receiving a commission or percentage on any picture which may find a purchaser. From these rooms an entrance is obtained to the gallery, or upper floor of the toy bazaar, one of the most tasteful places of the kind in London. We look down upon the ground story, from this open gallery, and find it arranged with counters in a very systematic order, loaded with unaccountable trinkets. On one counter are articles of millinery; on another lace; on a third gloves and hosiery; on others cutlery, jewellery, toys, children's dresses, children's books, sheets of music, albums and pocket-books, porcelain ornaments, cut-glass ornaments, alabaster figures, artificial flowers, feathers, and

a host of other things principally of a light and ornamental character. Each counter is attended by a young female, as at the Soho Bazaar. On one side of the toy-bazaar is an aviary, supplied with birds for sale in cages; and adjacent to it is a conservatory where plants are displayed in neat array.

The Pantechnicon is a bazaar for the sale of larger commodities. It is situated in the immediate vicinity of Belgrave Square, and occupies two masses of building on the opposite sides of a narrow street. Carriages constitute one of the principal classes of articles sold at this bazaar: they are ranged in a very long building, and comprise all the usual varieties, from the dress carriage to the light gig, each carriage having its selling price marked on a ticket attached to it. Another department is for the sale of furniture, and consists of several long rooms or galleries filled with pianofortes, tables, chairs, sideboards, chests of drawers, bedsteads, carpets, and all the varied range of household furniture, each article, as in the former case, being ticketed with its selling price. There is a "wine department" also, consisting of a range of dry vaults for the reception and display of wines. The bazaar contains likewise a "toy-department;" but this is not so extensive as those noticed in the preceding paragraphs.

The Baker Street Bazaar bears some resemblance to the Pantechnicon, inasmuch as it contains a large array of carriages for sale. But it has somewhat fallen off from its original character; for it was opened as a "horse bazaar" for the sale, among other things, of horses. Horses are, we believe, no longer exposed here for sale; and the chief commodities displayed are carriages, harness, horse-furniture and accoutrements, furniture, stoves, and "furnishing ironmongery." The "wax-work" exhibition is in no way connected with the bazaar otherwise than by occupying a portion of the too-extensive premises.

There is, in the upper part of the Gray's Inn Road, a building called the North London Repository, which gained some kind of celebrity some some years ago as a locality where the principle of "labour-exchange" was put to the test. Every article sold had a price fixed upon it, such as would afford sixpence per hour for the time and labour of the artificer who made it, and this was to be bartered for some article priced in a similar way. The scheme was an utter failure; and the building appropriated to it has been since converted to other uses. It is now, we believe, a paper-hanging manufactory.

If the Burlington or Lowther Arcades contained shops of one kind only, they would bear a closer resemblance to the Oriental bazaars than any other places in London, for they are arranged in the long vaulted manner which pictures represent those of the East to be; but they contain paper-hangers, bootmakers, book and print sellers, music sellers, besides toy-sellers and others. The Lowther Bazaar, opposite to the Lowther Arcade, is simply a large shop, carried on by one owner, but decked out with a variety of fanciful wares. The Opera Colonnade was once somewhat of a bazaar; but it has been shorn of many of its attractions, and is a spiritless affair. Exeter Arcade was also intended for a bazaar, but was an utter failure.

Next let us glance at the shops where commodities having already rendered service to one set of purchasers are exposed to the view of a second, or perhaps a third. The pawnbroker, the dealer in marine stores, the common broker, the "old-iron shop,"—these are terms which point to our meaning. As to the multifarious articles displayed in the window of a pawnbroker, they have had a probation of a year and a day, and have been brought from the hidden recesses of the pawnbroker's store-room again to see the light. Each article—whether it be a telescope, a gown, a pair of pistols, a



coat, a watch, a Bible—has its own tale of sorrow and poverty, and is suggestive of reflection on the ruinous rate of interest and loss at which the poor borrow money.

But a more remarkable class of such shops includes those which are commonly known as “brokers’ shops,” and which contain almost every imaginable kind of commodity. Let a pedestrian walk through Monmouth Street and St. Andrew’s Street, the New Cut, or any other part of London in a dense and poor neighbourhood, and observe the motley assemblage of articles, some good enough but not in general requisition, some useful but shabby, some to all appearance useless, yet all for sale, and he will acquire a general notion of the miscellaneous nature of the lower class of shop trading. Old furniture shops, or curiosity shops, such as we find in Wardour Street, are a distinct species—and amongst the most interesting. Humbler collections of curiosities are to be found in Monmouth Street, St. Andrew’s Street, and the New Cut. We cannot, however, mention Monmouth Street without thinking of its array of second-hand clothing. Gay spoke of it more than a century ago, and it remains the same in principle to the present day. As fashions change, so does the cut of the garments in Monmouth Street change; but the dealers never change: they are the same people, actuated by the same motives, trafficking on the same system, as in by-gone days. In no other part of London is the use of cellar-shops so conspicuous as in Monmouth Street. Every house has its cellar, to which access is gained by a flight of steps from the open street; and every cellar is a shop, mostly for the sale of second-hand boots and shoes, which are ranged round the margin of the entrance; while countless children—noisy, dirty, but happy brats—are loitering within and without.

Holywell Street, in the Strand, and Field Lane, near Saffron Hill, were two other places where second-hand garments were exposed for sale. Both have faded. The former has become a great resort for second-hand booksellers and vendors of cheap publications, and no longer maintains the character given to it long ago, that a passenger needs all his resolution to prevent being dragged into the shops whether he will or no; so importunate were the entreaties by which he was invited to buy a bran-new coat, or a splendid waistcoat, though enough yet remains to subject him to some gentle importunity. Field Lane had a reputation somewhat more equivocal. Its open unsashed windows were loaded with silk handkerchiefs, displayed in dazzling array; and if it were asked how they all came there, we might perhaps have arrived at an answer by solving the following police-problem: given, the number of handkerchiefs picked from pockets in the course of a year to find the number exposed for sale in Field Lane in an equal period. One side of Field Lane has been pulled down for the projected thoroughfare to Clerkenwell from Blackfriars Bridge, and though handkerchiefs flutter still it is in reduced numbers, and with an air that shows they feel themselves out of place. In White-horse Street, Drury Lane, is another curious assemblage of shops for the sale of old commodities: a small street is occupied almost entirely by open shops or stalls belonging to “piece-brokers,” who purchase old garments, and cut out from them such pieces as may be sound enough to patch up other garments; whereby a market is furnished which supplies many a “jobbing” tailor.

We have almost suffered the shops to make us lose sight of the streets, but having completed the digression we return. In Aldgate, near the pump, there is said to be a curious old crypt beneath the pavement, engraved in Wilkinson’s ‘*Londina Illustrata*.’ In Leadenhall Street is the East India House, already noticed, and the market to be noticed hereafter. At the western end of Leadenhall Street intervenes one of the



great transverse thoroughfares—Gracechurch Street, leading to London Bridge, Southwark, and the southern counties on the left, and on the right Bishopsgate Street, Shoreditch, and the road to the north-eastern counties. Cornhill continues the thoroughfare from Leadenhall Street, at its junction with which formerly stood the Standard, from which distances were—and on some of the southern roads still are—measured. It was a fountain or conduit, built in 1582, and supplied with water from the Thames, by Peter Morris, the Dutchman, who first furnished the dwellers of houses in London with water conveyed to them by leaden pipes. On the north side is Freeman's Place, a range of houses and shops of a somewhat superior character, built after the burning of the Old Royal Exchange had damaged many of the neighbouring houses, which this range has replaced. The Exchange and Bank have been noticed, but on the south the new street leading diagonally to London Bridge—King William Street—is of a better architectural character than perhaps any other street in the City; and at the bottom of it, close to the river, is the Fishmongers' Hall, a very fine building, well adapted for its purposes, and possessing a number of good and interesting portraits. In the Poultry, which connects Cornhill with Cheapside, was the Poultry Compter, and a little farther west, up a court, is Grocers' Hall. The present hall is modern, not being completed until 1802, but in the old hall the company entertained Cromwell and the City corporation more than once. There is yet a large garden at the back of this hall, a rarity in the City.

In Cheapside were formerly held many of the City joustings and tournaments, and along it proceeded all the City pageants. In it were one of Edward the First's crosses to the memory of his queen, which Evelyn saw demolished by "the furious and zealous people" in 1643; a great conduit, supplied with water through leaden pipes from Paddington, at the eastern end; and a smaller conduit opposite Foster Lane, Cheapside. It has been ever famous for its traffic. Saddlers' Hall is on the north side, but it has nothing remarkable.

Thence pursuing the northern branch we have Newgate Street, with the Post Office and Christ's Hospital; on the southern side lie Paternoster Row, the great publishing market, Newgate Market, the site of the palace of the Earls of Warwick, the building in which the College of Physicians was held, and Newgate Prison. A little north lie Giltspur Street Compter, Bartholomew's Hospital, and Smithfield: Skinner Street, which succeeds, occupies the site of a crowd of old houses, through which ran a winding, narrow, steep, and dangerous thoroughfare, called Snow Hill, connecting Newgate Street with Holborn. The money for the improvement was raised principally by a lottery, the prizes being the new houses, of which one seven stories high was the grand prize. It stood on the south side by Turnagain Lane, and was burnt down some years after its erection. Alderman Skinner, who was a great promoter of the improvement, has given his name to the street.

Crossing Holborn Bridge—only a name now, though the Fleet River still pursues its course beneath the highway along the unfinished Victoria Street and Farringdon Street—we arrive at Holborn. On the north stood the palace of the Bishops of Ely, with its vineyard and garden, and there are yet some remains of its chapel in Ely Place; a little later it was called Hatton House, and was the residence of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Chancellor. Brooke House, the residence of Sir Philip Sydney's friend Greville, Lord Brooke, stood where Brooke Street now is, and in that street died Chatterton. Southampton House, the seat of the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton, was on the south, where now is Southampton Buildings, a little west of Holborn Bars; though abandoned before 1657, and converted into private dwellings or shops, parts of it are said yet to exist. Stow says it occupied the site of an old temple of the

Templars, inhabited by them before they removed to the Temple in Fleet Street, and the town-house of the Bishop of Lincoln. Another Southampton House, belonging to the same family, stood as we have mentioned in Bloomsbury Square. Just beyond this commences the New Oxford Street, of which the shops already mentioned are the only objects of remark. Near its end was St. Giles's Pound—an imaginary standard for measuring distances northward through Tottenham Court Road and Highgate; it was removed in 1765, and even the site is now covered. Oxford Street, comparatively new, has little to notice beyond its having been the road to Tyburn, and the magnificent new buildings erected towards its western extremity—Connaught Place, Hyde Park Gardens, &c., &c.

At the entrance to Hyde Park from Oxford Street, near the corner of Park Lane, is now placed the marble arch which formerly stood in front of Buckingham Palace. The design was Mr. Nash's, copied from the arch of Constantine, and the original cost was £80,000. Its effect in front of the palace was wholly lost, and though the situation here is a great improvement, a far less expense ought to have produced a more imposing structure. It is composed of a centre arch and two side arches; the arches are divided and bounded by four Corinthian pillars; there are figures over the spandrels of each arch, and panels of figures over the side arches, sculptured by Flaxman, Westmacott, and Rossi. The bronze gates, cast by Parker, are of remarkable excellence and beauty; the centre gate is 21 feet high and 15 feet wide, formed of scroll work, with circular portions, containing figures of St. George and the Dragon, ciphers of G. R., and heraldic lions. Nearly in front of this gateway, a little to the west, was the celebrated place of execution, Tyburn; the gallows stood where Connaught Place or Connaught Square now stands, and beneath it were reburied the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, after having been dragged from their graves and hung in their shrouds. The whole of Oxford Street, from St. Giles's Pound, was frequently called the Tyburn Road, and Park Lane was formerly known as Tyburn Lane. The bourn or brook crossed Oxford Street about Stratford Place or Marylebone Lane, and made its way into the Thames at King's Scholar's Pond, Chelsea. It is now a sewer, if it exists at all.

Before returning to St. Paul's, our point of divergence, we will notice Regent Street, as it crosses Oxford Street, to which it presents on each side a handsome circus. The plan was designed by John Nash, the favourite architect of George IV. when Regent, who was understood to have patronised the undertaking. It was intended to form a communication from Carlton House to the Regent's Park, and was carried through a nest of narrow dirty streets, of which one, named Swallow Street, as crooked and devious as that bird's summer flight, was the main thoroughfare from Pall Mall to Oxford Street. The design for the street was useful and magnificent, but the architecture of the houses, independent of the sham—the stucco and the plaster—was not of a high character, as far as Nash himself was concerned. The Quadrant with its colonnades (since removed) was his, and is the best specimen of his taste; the church in Langham Place perhaps the worst—but we are not sure of this. Of the other buildings, Hanover Chapel is by C. R. Cockerell; the County Fire Office, a part of the Quadrant, is by Nash and Abraham; the Junior United Service Club, at the corner of Charles Street, is by Sir R. Smirke. Regent Street joins on the north to Portland Place, which was built about 1788 by Adam, the architect of the Adelphi and of Bath, and was one of the first great attempts at improving the street architecture of London. It was named after the ground landlord, the Duke of Portland, and some of the houses were built at the expense of Elwes the miser. The street is of great breadth, and the houses are large and stately, but appear dull and heavy from their uniformity and the general flatness of the façade as a whole.



Returning to the point whence we took the northern route, we enter St. Paul's Churchyard. The Cathedral and the School have been treated of in other papers, as have many other buildings and churches, either omitted or briefly mentioned in this rapid sketch of the leading thoroughfares. The Chapter House of the Cathedral is on the north side of the churchyard. In Ludgate Street, in a court on the north side, is the Hall of the rich and numerous company of Stationers, who for a long period possessed a monopoly of printing almanacs and the privilege of printing Bibles. The old hall stood on the site of a residence of the Earls of Pembroke in the time of Henry IV.: it was destroyed in the great fire, and the present erected on the same spot. It is a low building, of no architectural beauty, but there are a few interesting portraits. On the left or south side there is a well-known line of streets, or rather lanes, leading from the hill on which St. Paul's stands to the great thoroughfare of Blackfriars Bridge. The pavement is narrow, the carriageway is often blocked up by contending carmen, the houses are mean; yet the whole district is full of interesting associations. We have scarcely turned out of Ludgate Street, under a narrow archway, when the antiquary may descry a large lump of the ancient city wall embedded in the lath and plaster of a modern dwelling. A little farther, and we pass the Hall of the Apothecaries, who have here, by dint of long and earnest struggle, raised their original shopkeeping vocation into a science. A little onward, and the name Printing-house Yard indicates another aspect of civilisation. Here was the King's printing-house in the days of the Stuarts; and here, in our own days, is the office of the 'Times' Newspaper, the organ of a greater power than that of prerogative. Between Apothecaries' Hall and Printing-house Yard is a short lane leading into an open space called Playhouse Yard. It is one of those shabby places of which so many in London lie close to the glittering thoroughfares; but which are known only to their own inhabitants, and have at all times an air of quiet which seems like desolation. The houses of this little square, or yard, are neither ancient nor modern. Some of them were probably built soon after the great fire of London; for a few present their gable fronts to the streets, and the wide casements of others have evidently been filled up and modern sashes inserted. But there is nothing here, nor indeed in the whole precinct, with the exception of the few yards of the ancient wall, that has any pretension to belong to what may be called the antiquities of London. Yet here, three centuries ago, stood the great religious house of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, who were the lords of the precinct; shutting out all civic authority, and enclosing within their four gates a busy community of shopkeepers and artificers. Here, in the hallowed dust of the ancient church, were the royal and the noble buried; and their gilded tombs proclaimed their virtues to the latest posterity. Where shall we look for a fragment of these records now? Here parliaments have sat and pulled down odious favourites; here kings have required exorbitant aids from their complaining subjects; here Wolsey pronounced the sentence of divorce on the persecuted Katharine. In a few years the house of the Black Friars ceased to exist; their halls were pulled down; their church fell into ruin. The precinct of the Blackfriars then became a place of fashionable residence. Elizabeth, at the age of sixty, here danced at a wedding which united the houses of Worcester and Bedford. In the heart of this precinct, close by the church of the suppressed monastery, surrounded by the new houses of the nobility, in the very spot which is known as Playhouse Yard, was built, in 1575, the Blackfriars Theatre. The Blackfriars was a winter theatre; so that, differing from the Globe, which belonged to the same company, it was, there can be little doubt, roofed in. It appears surprising that, in a climate like that of England, even a summer theatre should be without a roof; but the sur-



prise is lessened when we consider that, when the Globe was built, in 1594, not twenty years had elapsed since plays were commonly represented in the open yards of the inns of London. The Belle Savage was amongst the most famous of these inn-yard theatres; and even the present area of that inn will show how readily it might be adapted for such performances. We turn to the right from the crowds of Ludgate Hill, and pass down a gateway which opens into a considerable space. The present inn occupies a building dividing the area, and a portion of the sides; the rest is occupied by private houses of business. But formerly the inn occupied the whole, with open galleries running all round, and communicating with the chambers. Raised a platform with its back to the gateway for the actors, place benches in the galleries which run round three sides of the area, and let those who pay the least price be contented with standing-room in the yard, and a theatre, with its stage, pit, and boxes, is raised as quickly as the palace of Aladdin. The Blackfriars Theatre was probably therefore little more than a large space, arranged pretty much like the Belle Savage yard, but with a roof over it. Indeed, so completely were the public theatres adapted after the model of the temporary ones, that the space for the "groundlings" long continued to be called the yard. The theatres of inn-yards were undoubtedly public theatres. The yard was hired for some short period, the scaffold hastily run up, and the gates closed, except to those who came with penny in hand. Such were the theatres of the Belle Savage in Ludgate Hill, the Cross Keys in Gracechurch Street, and the Bull, in Bishopsgate Street. The Belle Savage, rude as its accommodations doubtless were, had yet its graces and amenities, if Stephen Gosson be not a partial critic: "The two prose books played at the Bel-savage, where you shall find never a word without wit, never a line without pith, never a letter placed in vain." Between the church of St. Martin and the London Coffee House stood Ludgate, of fabulous antiquity, and its prison, taken down in 1760; at the bottom of the hill ran the river Fleet, now a sewer.

West of the Fleet runs Fleet Street. In St. Bride's churchyard lived Milton for awhile. In Salisbury Square dwelt Richardson the printer and novelist—one who had no idea of difficulty in making out four widely-printed volumes, but kept his presses going and his readers attentive (not always, we fear,) through ten or twelve closely-printed volumes. Still nearer the Thames was the theatre in Dorset Gardens, and westward, between that and the Temple, was Whitefriars, or Alsatia, so vividly described in Sir W. Scott's 'Fortunes of Nigel,' and frequently alluded to by many of our earlier writers. The Temple we omit here, except to notice that in Brick Court Goldsmith died: on the opposite side of Fleet Street his friend, Dr. Johnson, lived, in Johnson's Court and in Bolt Court. On the same side near Chancery Lane lived honest genial Izaak Walton, the hosier, the poet, the angler, and the friend and associate of learned men and bishops. At the end of Fleet Street, marking the City boundaries, is Temple Bar, a heavy affair of Sir Christopher Wren's, perhaps not so much from the style of its architecture as from the sooty blackness which ever invests it, so effectually concealing whatever beauty it has, that it cannot even be ascertained whose statues occupy the niches, though they are generally stated to be those of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II. Here on state occasions the Lord Mayor of London meets his sovereign, keeping the gate closed until admission is asked, but we are not aware that the City's sovereign has ever ventured to refuse admission; it was granted alike, and with the same ceremony, on more than one occasion, to Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II.: when the citizens really wished to keep out Charles I., they threw up defences considerably farther west. When the sovereign of the land is admitted, the Lord Mayor resigns his sword, and it is courteously restored.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XXXIII. STREETS.





## XXXIII. STREETS: CONTINUED.

PASSING through Temple Bar, we leave the territory of the Lord Mayor and enter the City of Westminster, which, a contrast to its neighbour, has no corporation, nor any functionary above the rank of a High Bailiff. We are now in the Strand. The very circumstance of the name being applied to this part of the banks of the Thames only seems to show that it remained as a *Strand* long after all other parts in the vicinity of the growing London had lost their native character and appearance. The first great cause of change in the Strand must have been the erection of Westminster Abbey by Sebert, King of the East Saxons, in the seventh century, and the consequent necessity of making the former a thoroughfare. The rebuilding of the Abbey and the establishment of a palace by the Confessor in the eleventh century must have also materially enhanced its importance. Buildings gradually arose in different parts of the line. Before the close of the thirteenth century the magnificent palace of the Savoy, the first church of St. Mary, and the hamlet of Charing, were all in existence. Yet the state of the Strand continued to present a curious contrast to the edifices that here and there adorned it, and to the splendid pageants and processions that on occasions of high ceremony—such as the coronation or burial of a monarch, for instance—wound their slow length along through countless thousands of spectators. Here is a picture of it, so late as 1315. In a petition presented that year to Edward II., by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Palace at Westminster, it is stated that the footway at the entrance of Temple Bar, and thence to the Palace, was so bad that the feet of horses, and rich and poor men, received constant damage, particularly in the rainy season; at the same time the footway was interrupted by *thickets and bushes*. In 1353, during the reign of Edward III., a toll was levied on all goods carried either by land or water to the Wool Staple at Westminster, to pay for the parts of the Strand where there were no houses, and, where there were, the owners were to defray the charge; particularly as it was pointed out (and this is interesting as another cause of the progress of the Strand) “that the proprietors of the houses near and leading to that staple have, by means of the said staple, greatly raised their rents.” Essex House, Durham Place, and the Inn of the Bishops of Norwich, afterwards York House, by this time spread out their extensive and embattled piles towards the Strand, and their gardens, and terraces, and water-stairs down to the river; but the openings between them, neither narrow nor far between, still left the river exposed to the passengers on the southern side, whilst on the north there was the open country extending towards the pleasant Highgate and Hampstead Hills, merely interspersed here and there with scattered buildings. Among the characteristic features of the way at this period were the bridges, of which there were at least three between Charing Cross and Temple Bar. The sites of two of these bridges are marked out and permanently preserved by the names given to the lanes through which their channels found way,—Ivy-bridge Lane and Strand-bridge Lane. Another feature of the ancient Strand was a stone cross, standing in front of the spot now occupied by St. Mary's, at which, says Stow “in the year 1294, and diverse other times, the Justices Itinerant sat without London.”

By the time of Edward VI. the Strand had become pretty well closed up on both sides, on the south or river side by the walls of the long line of noble and episcopal mansions, and on the north by a single row of houses. Holywell Street, and its continuation Butcher Row, extending near to Temple Bar, were now middle-aged and certainly highly respectable houses. From this time, indeed, it began to be found that the Strand had progressed too fast for the comfort of passengers through it; it became choked up with the evidences of its prosperity; and later times have had to undo much of what was now done, as in the case of the removal of this very Butcher Row, and, still more recently, of Exeter 'Change. Its very soil had grown so valuable that the earls and bishops, its original owners, could no longer afford to occupy so large a share as they required for their respective residences; so they pulled them down, and thus prepared the way for the erection of a hundred houses where one had stood before. Durham Place changed its stables into an Exchange in 1608; later in the century York House became the streets now known under names which perpetuate the designation and rank of him who worked the metamorphosis—"George Villiers," "Duke," "Of," "Buckingham;" Essex House and Arundel House did not long survive the fall of their old aristocratic neighbours; whilst the Savoy, though it still managed for a time to keep off destruction, by becoming a garrison in one part and a prison in another, was finally swept away, with the important exception of the chapel, during the present century, on the building of Waterloo Bridge.

We cannot better commence our walk through the Strand than by a notice of the improvements just referred to. "On the north side, or right hand, some small distance without Temple Bar, in the High Street, from a pair of stocks there standing stretcheth one large middle row or troop of small tenements, partly opening to the south, partly towards the north, up west to a stone cross, now headless, over against the Strand." Stow here refers doubtless to the Cross we have before mentioned; and consequently, the existing Holywell Street must have formed a portion of the Middle Row he describes. The remainder was Butcher Row, granted by Edward I. to Walter de Barbier, for the residences of "foreign butchers," as they were called, but who were, in fact, country butchers only, who brought their meat in carts, and offered it for sale just without the civic jurisdiction. The principle of competition in reducing price seems to have been thus early acted on as well as understood. In reference to Butcher Row, Malcolm observes—"A stranger who had visited London in 1790 would, on his return in 1804, be astonished to find a spacious area (with the church nearly in the centre) on the site of Butcher Row, and some other passages undeserving of the name of streets, which were composed of those wretched fabrics, overhanging their foundations, the receptacles of dirt in every corner of their projecting stories, the bane of ancient London, where the plague, with all its attendant horrors, frowned destruction on the miserable inhabitants, reserving its forces for the attacks of each returning summer." The pulling down of all these "wretched fabrics" was undertaken in pursuance of a plan suggested by Alderman Pickett, and the existing Pickett Street soon rose in their room; the money required being raised, as in the case of Skinner Street, by a lottery. Butcher Row, however miserable its aspect in the days of its decline, had many interesting reminiscences. Here was the residence of the French ambassador, in which the Duc de Sully was a resident for a single night, the first of his temporary abode in London, whilst Norfolk House was being prepared for him.

The church of St. Clement Danes now stands in a fine open area. The architectural merits of the church have been much disputed, but not so much as the meaning of the appellation *Danes*. Stow refers its origin to the period of the massacre of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred; Fleetwood ascribes the original foundation to the

subdued Danes whom Alfred permitted to settle between Westminster and Ludgate. From the church we pass to where the noble archway, and its lofty columns, attract the eye on the northern side; that is the entrance to the inn of St. Clements,—the inn immortalised by Shakspeare as the home of Master Shallow in his Templar days. The inn is named from the church, and dates at least as far back as 1478, when students of the law are known to have had their lodging here. The Hall and numerous residences form three courts, through which is a thoroughfare to Clare Market and New Inn. The Hall is an elegant well-proportioned room, with a good portrait of Sir Matthew Hale among its other pictures. In a garden belonging to the Inn is a beautiful statue of a kneeling African supporting a dial, which was purchased by Holles, Lord Clare (whose family occupied the Inn during the reign of some of the Tudors), and presented to the society.

The old church of St. Mary occupied the site of the eastern part of the present Somerset House, and was one among the three or four public buildings pulled down by the proud and reckless Protector to make way for the pile he was about to build. The congregation waited a long time in the expectation that he would fulfil his promise of erecting another place of worship, joining themselves in the mean time to the congregation of St. Clement's. Somerset died without having done anything for them, and a second removal took place—the church of the Savoy being this time the adopted place. Here they remained till the erection of the present edifice, which was the first of the fifty churches ordered to be built during Queen Anne's reign. The altar at the east end, with a very large and striking-looking alcove, has paintings of the Annunciation and the Passion. The pulpit is very beautifully carved, and has a sounding-board in the form of a shell. A serious accident happened here in 1802 at the proclamation of peace. Just as the heralds were passing the church, a man, who was standing behind the stone railing that runs round the roof, leaned against one of the ornamental urns, which, being only fastened by a decayed wooden spike running up the centre, gave way, and fell among the dense crowd below. A terrible cry was raised by those who saw its descent, and in the confusion that ensued many persons were hurt, besides three who were killed by the urn, which weighed about two hundred pounds. The Maypole stood in front of the site of St. Mary's Church. The setting up is attributed to John Clarges, blacksmith, whose daughter married Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle. The parliamentary ordinance of 1644 swept away this among all the rest of the Maypoles; but, on the Restoration, a new and loftier one was raised with great ceremony and rejoicing, in which the Duke of York assisted. From a rare tract entitled 'The Citie's Loyalty Displayed,' published at the time, it appears the pole was a stately cedar, one hundred and thirty-four feet long, a choice and remarkable piece, made below bridge, and brought in two parts up to Scotland Yard. From thence it was conveyed, on the 14th of April, to the Strand, a streamer flourishing before it, amidst the beating of drums and the sound of merry music. The Duke of York sent twelve seamen with cables, pulleys, &c., with six great anchors, to assist in raising it; and after them came three men, bareheaded, carrying three crowns. The pieces were then joined together and hooped with bands of iron, the crowns, with the King's arms, richly gilt, were placed on the top, the trumpets sounded, the men began their work, and in four hours' time it was raised upright and established fast in the ground. Then the drums and trumpets beat again, and the Strand resounded with the shouts of the assembled multitude. A party of morrice-dancers now came, "finely decked with purple scarfs, in their half-shirts, with a tabor and a pipe, the ancient music, and danced round about the Maypole." Strange doings these for the Strand! If one could by any magic revive the



scene for a moment, how the New Police would be mystified ! All that's fair must fade, and Maypoles enjoy no special exemption. In 1713 it became necessary to have a new one, which was accordingly set up on the 4th of July, with two gilt balls and a vane, and this was removed about the time of the erection of the New Church, and presented by the parish to Sir Isaac Newton, who sent it to the rector of Wanstead; that gentleman caused it to be raised in Wanstead Park, to support the then largest telescope in Europe. This is the Maypole that figures in the 'Dunciad' as the starting-place for the racers.

" Amidst the area wide they took their stand,  
Where the tall Maypole once o'erlook'd the Strand."

Extending from Fleet Street as far as the present Essex Street and Devereux Court was anciently an Outer Temple, which, with the Inner and Middle Temples, constituted the residences of the Knights. From their hands it passed, in the time of Edward III., into the possession of the Bishops of Exeter, who occupied it till the reign of Henry VI. under the name of Exeter House. It was afterwards successively held by Sir William (afterwards Lord) Paget, who called it Paget Place; the Duke of Norfolk, of whom we have spoken in our account of the Charter House; then by Elizabeth's first and unworthy favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who gave it also his own name; and lastly by the nobler but less fortunate successor in the Queen's heart, the Earl of Essex. Essex's history is well known. Essex's son, the Earl of Essex who commanded the parliamentary forces in the civil war, was born here. When he was got rid of by the Commons' famous self-denying ordinance, Lord Clarendon says the whole parliament, the day after he had resigned his commission, came to Essex House to return him thanks for his great services. The only existing remains of Essex House are a pair of very large and fine stone pillars, with Corinthian capitals, at the end of the street; probably the original supports of the water-gate of the mansion. In Devereux Court is the oldest and most famous of London coffee-houses, the Grecian; with a bust of the Earl of Essex on its front, which appears to be a fine work, although from its height it is difficult to judge. Cibber, we have been told, was the sculptor.

Between Essex Street and Milford Lane Stow says an ancient chapel formerly existed, called St. Spirit. Next to Milford Lane is Arundel Street, which, with Norfolk, Surrey, and Howard Streets, the latter crossing the others, mark the site of the once stately mansion and gardens of Arundel House, and derive their names from its latest possessors. It was originally the London residence of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, when it was called Bath's Inn, or Hampton Place. It was afterwards in the possession of Lord Thomas Seymour, who rebuilt the house, and it was to this house that the Princess Elizabeth was brought when committed to his care, and it was the scene of some strange intrigues and dalliances, in which the Virgin Queen figures in a somewhat equivocal manner. Reverting to the Crown, Seymour Place was sold by it to Henry Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, with several other messuages, for £41 *6s. 8d.*, and another change of name took place; thenceforward it was called Arundel House. Clarendon gives an interesting but somewhat satirical account of the place and its master, the collector of the famous marbles, at this period. He says the Earl seemed to live, "as it were in another nation, his house being a place to which all people resorted who resorted to no other place; strangers, or such as affected to look like strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He was willing to be thought a scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent statues whilst in Italy and in Rome (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove out of Rome, though he had

paid for them), and had a rare collection of medals. As to all parts of learning, he was almost illiterate, and thought no other part of history so considerable as what related to his own family, in which, no doubt, there had been some very memorable persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his own person, in his aspect and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait and motion. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in pictures of the most considerable men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representative of the ancient nobility and native gravity of the nobles, when they had been most venerable; but this was only his outside, his nature and true humour being much disposed to levity and delights which indeed were very despicable and childish."

The magnificent collection of marbles referred to in this passage of course adorned Arundel House at the time in question, when it was the common resort of many eminent artists. Among those also who more particularly enjoyed the Earl's favour and patronage were Inigo Jones, Vandyke, Hollar, Nicholas Stone, and Le Sœur. The Earl's treasures were thus arranged:—the principal statues and busts were ranged along the gallery, the others in the garden, where he had the inscribed marbles let into the wall. The collection comprised not less than 37 statues, 128 busts, and 250 inscribed marbles. When the mansion was about to be pulled down, about 1678, the entire collection was offered for sale, but no single purchaser appearing, it was divided into several portions, and dispersed. Enough, however, ultimately found their way to Oxford to give name to a collection which comprises many of the Earl's most valued relics. From the Earl of Arundel the house passed by marriage into the hands of the Howard family, and became the seat of the Dukes of Norfolk, when it received its latest designation of Norfolk House. The Countess of Nottingham, who plays so important a part in the romantic episode of the ring in the tragical history of the Earl of Essex, died here in 1603. Her husband was a Howard, so she was probably on a visit at the time. The next visitor of importance was the Duc de Sully, during the performance of his mission from Henry IV. of France to James I., immediately after the accession of the latter; Norfolk House having been temporarily appointed as his place of residence. The great French statesman speaks of it as one of the finest and most commodious mansions in London, having a great number of apartments on the same floor. From hence he appears to have removed to Crosby Place. After the Great Fire of London learning also found shelter within its walls. The Royal Society, being burnt out of Gresham College, were invited by the Duke to reside here; they did so, and remained for some years. On their removal the whole was pulled down, and the present Arundel, Norfolk, Surrey, and Howard Streets rose on the site.

Among those curious narrow lanes which extend from the Strand downwards to the Thames, there is one called Strand Lane, through which ran the watercourse from Strand Bridge. Here is "The Old Roman Spring Bath!" Many parts of the building show an antiquity of two or three centuries. On the left of the passage is a door, leading into a vaulted chamber, measuring, we should suppose, about 20 feet in length, the same in height, and in breadth about nine feet. The bath itself is about 13 feet long, six broad, and 4 feet 6 inches deep. The spring is said to be connected with the neighbouring holy well, which gives name to Holywell Street, and their respective positions make the statement probable. Through the beautifully clear water, which is also as delightful to the taste as refreshing to the eye, appear the sides and bottom of the bath, exhibiting the undoubted evidences of the high origin ascribed to it. The walls consist of layers of brick of that peculiar flat and neat-looking



aspect which certainly seemed to imply the impress of Roman hands, divided only by thin layers of stucco; and the pavement, a layer of similar brick covered with stucco, and resting upon a mass of stucco and rubble. The construction of the pavement is made visible by a deep hole at the end near the window, where the spring is continually flowing up; and in pursuing our inquiries among those persons best calculated to satisfy them, we were told by a gentleman connected with the management of the estate, who had had a portion of the pavement purposely removed, that the rubble was of that peculiar character well known among architects as Roman. The bricks are nine inches and a half long, four inches and a half broad, and an inch and three-quarters thick.

Continuing our route, and passing King's College, Somerset House, and Waterloo Bridge, already treated of, we descend another narrow lane, bearing a name suggestive of a long train of historical memories. We are now in the precincts of the ancient palace of the Savoy; and that rather low but long and antique-looking edifice, with its beautiful windows and curious little tower, is its chapel,—the last remnant of its architectural glories. In front extends the burial-ground, and a peculiarly neat one for London, with its well-gravelled walks, and fresh-looking evergreens. The founder of the Savoy was Peter de Savoy, brother to Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, and uncle to Eleanor, the queen of Henry III. It was subsequently the residence of John of Gaunt, "time-honoured Lancaster," and it was the abode of John, King of France, after he had been taken captive at the Battle of Poitiers. In 1381 Wat Tyler's insurrection broke out, and on the 12th of June, whilst one body marched along the Surrey bank of the Thames and destroyed the furniture and books of Lambeth Palace, another directed their steps towards the Savoy. Stow says they there "set fire on it round about, and made proclamation that none, on pain to lose his head, should convert to his own use anything that there was, but that they should break such plate and vessels of gold and silver as was found in that house (which was in great plenty) into small pieces, and throw the same into the river of Thames. Precious stones they should bruise in mortars, that the same might be to no use, and so it was done by them. *One of their companions they burned in the fire, because he minded to have reserved one goodly piece of plate.* They found there certain barrels of gunpowder, which they thought had been gold or silver, and, throwing them into the fire more suddenly than they thought, the hall was blown up, the houses destroyed, and themselves very hardly escaped away." From this period, during a century and a quarter, the Savoy remained a heap of ruins. About the expiration of that time Henry VII. began to erect an hospital on the site; which does not appear to have been completed till the eighth year of Henry VIII., when a master and four chaplains were nominated. It lasted with some vicissitudes of fortune until about the commencement of Queen Anne's reign, when a commission was appointed, which found that the purposes of the institution were utterly neglected; and the commissioners entirely deprived the chaplains of their offices, and declared the hospital dissolved. Accounts of the property were taken on the part of the Crown, to which from that time it belonged. The improved value of the rents was then estimated at £2497 5s. 6d.

Two great religious meetings have been held at the Savoy; the first took place a little before Cromwell's death; when the Independents petitioned his Highness for liberty to hold a synod, in order to publish to the world a uniform confession of faith: three years later (March 25, 1661), on the same spot, was held the Savoy Conference, so famous in ecclesiastical history, "to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer," &c. Bishops and Presbyterian divines met, and ultimately, after a great



number of discussions, carried on in the presence of a numerous audience, the two parties separated without coming to any agreement. A considerable portion of the hospital was, it appears, in ruins as early as the commencement of the last century. It had been built in the form of a cross with one front towards the Thames, having several projections, and a double row of angular mullioned windows, and another towards the Strand, facing the Friary, with large pointed windows, embattled parapets, and a strong buttressed gateway, bearing the arms and badge of Henry VII., and two Latin lines engraved in large characters, ascribing the foundation to that monarch. During the improvement of the neighbourhood consequent on the erection of Waterloo Bridge, all remains of the Savoy were swept away, with the exception of the Chapel.

The Strand at this part was, about twenty years since, peculiarly narrow and inconvenient. On the north side projected Old Exeter 'Change, with its stall-like shops, its menagerie, and above all its man at the entrance in the beef-eater costume, stimulating the imagination of many a youthful passer-by, till it could believe anything of the wonders to be shown above. The place itself was not destitute of historical interest. The first building on the site, of which we have any record, was erected by Sir Thomas Palmer, Knight, in the reign of Edward VI.; "but of later time," writes Stow, "it hath been far more beautifully increased by the late Sir William Cecil, Baron Burghley." From hence, he adds, there had been "a continual new building even up to the Earl of Bedford's house, lately builded nigh to the Ivy Bridge," from which the present Bedford and Southampton Streets, &c., derive their name. During Cecil's time the house was known by his name, and afterwards from his successors, the Earls of Exeter, as Exeter House; and thus gave name to the 'Change, which is said to have been built by Dr. Barbon, a speculator in houses, in the time of William and Mary. The removal of the 'Change, and the adjoining houses as far as Southampton Street, took place in 1830; and the present handsome building, including the Hall which still perpetuates the ancient name and the ancient recollections, soon rose on their site. The Hall, which is used for the meetings of various religious and political associations, and for interesting musical performances, was opened in 1831. Its great size, one hundred and thirty-eight feet in length, ninety in breadth, and forty-eight in height, enables it to accommodate at least three thousand persons. A magnificent organ of extraordinary size and power has been recently added.

A little beyond Exeter House and the Savoy, on the same side as the latter, was Worcester House, originally the seat of the Bishops of Carlisle; where Clarendon lived during the building of his splendid mansion in Piccadilly, and at that period of his life when the wily Chancellor succeeded in accomplishing an object dear, there is little doubt, to his heart—the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of York, afterwards James II. After all difficulties were removed, the marriage was publicly announced, and the nobility and gentry thronged to Worcester House, where the marriage had taken place, to pay their respects to the new duchess. Elated by this connection with royalty, no wonder that Clarendon thought little of paying, as he did, the then enormous rent of £500 a year for Worcester House. The mansion was pulled down by the Duke of Beaufort, and the present buildings bearing his name erected on the site. At the corner house, now occupied by Messrs Ackermann, lived Lillie the perfumer, whom Steele has commemorated in his "Tatler;" and a still more important resident of Beaufort Buildings was Fielding, who was living here in 1786.

Between Worcester and Durham Houses stood other large mansions of noblemen; the principal being Rutland House and Cecil House; the latter standing on the site

of the existing Cecil and Salisbury Streets. This was built by Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, a son of the great Burghley, and was a large and stately mansion. It was a part of Cecil House that was turned into the Middle Exchange, consisting of one large room, lined with shops on both sides, extending down to the river, where was a handsome flight of steps for the convenience of those who desired to take boat. It seems to have had a bad kind of reputation, and the popular idea of the purposes to which the place was applied soon found a popular but not very delicate mode of expression, and the nick-name bestowed on it had such an effect, that the Middle Exchange went to ruin, and was, with the other remains of Salisbury House, pulled down by the Earl of Salisbury, and Cecil Street erected in their room, about 1696. All the part now known as the Adelphi was formerly occupied by the buildings, gardens, &c., of Durham House, one of the most interesting of the old Strand palaces. Pennant says the original founder was Anthony de Beck, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Durham in the reign of Edward I.; and that Bishop Hatfield, to whom Stow ascribes the foundation, merely rebuilt the place. The latter historian describes a great feast that was held here in the reign of Henry VIII., on the occasion of the "triumphant justing" holden at Westminster, 1540, when the challengers not only feasted the King, Queen, ladies, and all the Court at Durham House, but also "all the Knights and Burgesses of the Common House in the Parliament, and entertained the Mayor of London, with the Aldermen and their wives at a dinner. Durham House was subsequently the residence of the Duke of Northumberland, the uncle of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; and it was here that, in the beginning of May 1553, the scheming noble beheld the first part of his plan, in connection with the throne, accomplished, by the marriage of his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane. To strengthen himself as much as possible by other powerful alliances, his daughter, Lady Catherine Dudley, at the same time married the eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon, and a sister of Lady Jane the son of the Earl of Pembroke. The ceremony was, as we may well suppose, under such circumstances, celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. The result is but too well known. The innocent and the guilty alike fell; the former, however, by whom we more particularly refer to Lady Jane and her youthful husband, were the last who suffered. To continue the history of Durham House:—its next eminent inhabitant was Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom it was granted by Elizabeth; but the grant appears to have been made without sufficient right in the maker, for Sir Walter was dispossessed of it by the Bishops of Durham. During the reign of James I. the stables of the mansion, fronting the Strand, which had become very ruinous and unsightly, were pulled down, and the New Exchange raised in their room. It was completed in 1608, and opened in the presence of the King (James), the Queen, and the Royal Family, and was splendidly decorated for the occasion. It then received the name from the former of Britain's Burse. The shops generally were occupied by milliners and sempstresses, among whom the Duchess of Tyrconnel, wife of Richard Talbot, Lord Deputy of Ireland under James II., after the abdication of the one and the death of the other, is said to have supported herself for a short time by engaging in the usual trade of the place. She sat in a white mask and a white dress, a circumstance which caused her to be known as the "White Milliner." Almost from its first erection the Middle Exchange became a favourite place of resort. It was here that a Mr. Gerard was walking one day planning how he should best carry into execution the plot in which he was engaged,—the assassination of Cromwell,—when he was insulted by the Portuguese Ambassador, and resented it so warmly that the latter in revenge the next day sent a set of braves to murder him: his murderers mistook their victim, and

killed another man. The dénouement is curious as well as tragical :—Don Pantaleon, the ambassador, was tried, found guilty, and executed. On the scaffold he met the very party he had intended to destroy, Mr. Gerard, whose plot in the interim had been discovered.

As we approach Charing Cross we are again reminded, by the new buildings on the northern side, that improvement has been busily at work of late years. Several important edifices have sprung up to the great adornment of the Strand in consequence of the improvements ; such as the British Fire Office, a characteristic edifice, designed by Mr. Cockerell ; and the Lowther Arcade, one of those elegant nests of shops which it would be desirable to see more commonly in populous places, were it only for the shelter they afford from the variations of our uncertain climate, and from the noise, bustle, and confusion of the great thoroughfares : the latter was designed and executed by Mr. Herbert. We do not here refer, otherwise than by this passing notice, to the improvements connected with the two principal theatres of the Strand, or to those connected with Hungerford Market, as we shall have other and more favourable opportunities of so doing. With York House and Northumberland House then we shall now complete our notices of the more interesting features of this great thoroughfare.

At the corner of Villiers Street, in the house occupied by Messrs. Roake and Varty, is still preserved a portion of the old ceiling of the house where the great Bacon first saw the light. It was then occupied by his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, as keeper of the Great Seal. Originally the building had been the inn of the Bishops of Norwich ; after passing through several hands, it was given by Queen Mary to the Archbishops of York, who since Wolsey's loss of York Place (Whitehall), had possessed no metropolitan residence :—it then took the name of York House. It again reverted to the Crown in the time of James I., by exchange for certain manors, and was appropriated to the use of the Keepers of the Great Seal. Sir Nicholas Bacon resided here for many years during the period he held the office, and was succeeded by Egerton, who, when retiring into private life on account of his age and growing infirmities, recommended to James as his successor the son of Sir Nicholas, who had, as we have before mentioned, been born in this very house. Strange must have been the feelings of the man as he came back once more to the scene where the boy had spent so many happy hours ! After Bacon's fall York House was, by an act of Parliament, bestowed on James's favourite "Steenie," Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Great alterations and improvements in consequence took place. It is to this period we owe the only existing remains of York House (with the exception of the ceiling)—the beautiful water-gate at the end of Buckingham Street, and which stands a little eastward of the site of the mansion. This is one of Inigo Jones's finest works. The material is of Portland stone. On the pediment which adorns the river front are the arms of its founder. Buckingham did not long enjoy his new possessions. He was murdered in 1628, and his murderer died on the scaffold. In 1649 the Parliament bestowed York House on their general, Fairfax, whose daughter married George Villiers, the second duke, and thus re-conveyed it into the Buckingham family. By this nobleman the estate was sold for building purposes, and the streets bearing his title were shortly afterwards built.

Northumberland House, the last remaining representative of the old palatial character of the Strand, stands on the site of an hospital or chapel of St. Mary, founded in the reign of Henry III., by William, Earl of Pembroke, on a piece of ground which he had given to the priory of Rounciville in Navarre. About the beginning of the seventeenth century the site passed into the possession of Henry Howard, Earl



of Northampton, son of the poet Surrey, who erected a splendid mansion, and died here in 1614. Descending then to the Earl of Suffolk, the name was changed from Northampton to Suffolk House, and again to the present title, Northumberland House, at the marriage of the daughter of the second Earl of Suffolk with Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, in 1642. The edifice originally consisted of three sides of a spacious quadrangle, the fourth, facing the Thames, being open. Jansen is said to have been the architect, but the front is supposed to be from the designs of Christmas. A fourth side was added by Earl Algernon from the designs of Inigo Jones. Lastly, towards the close of the eighteenth century, two new wings were attached to the garden front, and all but the central division, including the gateway (the work of Christmas), of the front next the Strand was rebuilt. The existing edifice is in every way worthy of the representative character we have mentioned, as well as of the ancient family to which it belongs, though the screen next the street is dull and heavy, and the lion on the top very like a tradesman's sign. The works of art inside are numerous and of a high character, and the present noble possessor has granted admission to the public to view them under certain regulations. It was in this house that in 1660 General Monk, and many other of the principal nobility and gentry who agreed in his views, met by invitation of Earl Algernon to concert measures for the restoration of Charles.

Of the various buildings in or about Charing Cross and Trafalgar Square we have spoken in another place; Sir Robert Peel called it the finest site in Europe. We fear no one will compliment us on having made the best use of it. Nevertheless, here where, as Dr. Johnson has said, "the tide of human life runs fullest," the open space, with the wide thoroughfares which enter it all pouring in their streams of passengers, carriages, omnibuses, waggons, carts, gigs, barrows, and horsemen, possesses an interest and presents a scene wholly independent of the architecture and the statuary. Hence we pass into Pall Mall. This, in 1708, is described as "a fine spacious street." In the days of Queen Elizabeth there were only a few houses standing where is now the corner of Warwick Street. Down to the era of Club Houses (of which elsewhere) there have been few buildings of architectural pretensions in Pall Mall. Marlborough House (behind a screen of commonplace dwellings since removed), Schomberg House now pulled down, the Ordnance, Carlton House, which has also disappeared to make room for Carlton Gardens, a very handsome pile of buildings at the end of Waterloo Place, &c., and the Opera House in the Haymarket—these are all.

Schomberg House was built in the reign of William III. by the Duke of that name: it next fell into the hands of Astley the painter, who divided it into three habitations, reserving the centre for his own residence. Gainsborough also lived in a part of the same house, and till lately it was in the occupation of a bookseller. It has now been pulled down. The house bestowed upon Nell Gwynne by Charles II., from the back wall of which she horrified the decorous Evelyn by holding a light conversation with the King, never seems to have had any architectural pretensions: it is now occupied by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Marlborough House was scarcely visible from Pall Mall. Lord Grantham, too, had a house in Pall Mall; and Sir Robert Walpole for some time lived nearer the Duchess Sarah than seems to have been altogether conducive to the preservation of his equanimity.

But these were trifles to the glories preserved for Pall Mall. In 1732 Frederick Prince of Wales purchased what an erudite historian of London calls "the original Carlton House and Gardens of the Earl of Burlington." The name of the proprietor seems almost to warrant that, in his hands, the English architecture of the day had already done its worst; but royalty can prompt the genius even of absurdity to flights

beyond what ordinary mortals have the power to inspire. Flitcroft is said to have drawn a plan, in 1734, intended as an improvement of Carlton House; and Kent laid violent hands upon the gardens, said by the historian above alluded to to be "very beautiful, and full as retired as if in the country." For this sequestered spot Kent designed "a cascade;" and a saloon was erected in 1735, and paved with Italian marble brought to England by Lord Bingley and the immortal Bubb Doddington. "The walls were adorned with rich paintings and statues; and the chair of state was of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, which cost five hundred pounds. A bagnio near it consisted of encrusted marble." It was not till 1788 that one Prince of Wales completed what the kindred taste of another had begun. Carlton House was the Regent's residence during the whole of the Peninsular war, but its connexion with the martial exploits of that period was merely accidental: the more distinguished soldiers who had occasion to visit London got an occasional dinner there. It derived a temporary *éclat* from so many of Moore's squibs being directed against it and its occupant; but this interest is of the kind upon which time operates with most destructive effect. Twenty or thirty years have a withering influence over lampoons. Already it is as difficult to enter into the spirit of those of Tom Moore as of those of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams; and the Irish poet himself, in a fit of real or affected modesty, has gone far to accelerate the work of time. In vindicating himself from the charge of having repaid the hospitality of the Regent with satire, he has succeeded in proving that he could know very little of that Prince's personal habits and domestic arrangements; and has thus lowered the value of his rhymes—in so far as they might have been taken to convey authentic information regarding the manners of a Court—to that of the lampoons of any newspaper hack. In 1732, however, Dodsley, born a poet and bred a footman, published his 'Muse in Livery.' In 1735 he opened, with the assistance of his patrons, a bookseller's shop in Pall Mall. With wonderful good sense he spoke of the employment of his early life quietly as a matter of course; and he displayed good taste and kind feeling on many occasions. It was he who purchased Johnson's first original publication (1738); and it was he who, when in 1768 he started his 'Annual Register,' had the boldness and discrimination to employ as his historian no less "eminent a hand" than Edmund Burke. Dodsley's shop was the resort—and who that has known what an exquisite lounge a bookseller's shop is, ever cared for another?—of Young and Akenside, of Horace Walpole, the Wartons, and Burke. Dodsley, too, was the publisher of several of Pope's works. From 1735, when he first opened shop, to 1764, when he died, Dodsley's establishment was deservedly one of the lions of Pall Mall.

We learn from the 'Tatler' that the wits of Queen Anne's time were in the habit of repairing at times to Pall Mall and its vicinity. But when they did this they, in a great measure, laid aside their literary character, and appeared as men of gaiety and fashion, or of the great world of politics. It seems to have always been a noted place for taverns. Pepys mentions supping at one. 'The Tatler' and Swift celebrate the Smyrna coffee-house; the Rump-steak Club met at the King's Arms, and at the Star and Garter Tavern Mr. Chaworth was killed in a hasty quarrel by the fifth Lord Byron. To this melancholy event we may add the murder of Mr. Thynne at the Opera House corner.

Before we enter Piccadilly we must notice the new opening from the Strand afforded by the removal of the old and crowded buildings which were clustered round St. Martin's Church, formerly known as the Caribbee Islands. King William Street and Agar Street, open nearly opposite Hungerford Market; Agar Street, a fine wide street in which the Charing Cross Hospital stands, runs into St. Martin's Lane, and thence



through Leicester Fields by a handsome range of houses to Coventry Street, Piccadilly. The other, King William Street, with the old Golden Cross Inn rebuilt, skirts the side of St. Martin's Church, the National Gallery, and the north side of Trafalgar Square to Pall Mall East. There are then three great thoroughfares to Piccadilly. The Haymarket, at the south-west corner of which is the Opera House, and on the east side, near the middle, the Haymarket Theatre. The next is the fine opening of Waterloo Place and Regent Street, on the west side of which is the House of the Horticultural Society, and on the east Carlton Chambers. The last of the three is St. James's Street, on the west side of which the most remarkable buildings are the Conservative Club and Crockford's, now the Military and Naval Club House, and on the east side the shop where Gilray published his celebrated caricatures, and where he put an end to his existence.

In spite of steam, Piccadilly continues to be one of the great vomitories of London. The White-horse Cellar is no longer what it was. The race of long-stage drivers, in white milled box-coats, multitudinous neckhandkerchiefs, and low-crowned hats, who gave law to the road, and were the "glass of fashion and the mould of form" to the ingenuous youth of England, are disappearing. Never again shall we, diffident of our own powers of early rising, and distrustful of those of our whole family, take a bed at the Gloucester, when intending to start next morning with some early coach for the West of England, and, between the stirring influence of spring and the anticipation of rural drives, watch from the window the first faint glimmer of the reservoir in the Green Park, till broad day came, and with it Boots to warn us that the hour of starting draws nigh. Hazlitt has done justice to the imposing appearance of the mail-coaches in Piccadilly:—"The finest sight in the metropolis is that of the mail-coaches setting off from Piccadilly. The horses paw the ground and are impatient to be gone, as if conscious of the precious burden they convey. There is a peculiar secrecy and despatch, significant and full of meaning, in all the proceedings concerning them. Even the outside passengers have an erect and supercilious air, as if proof against the accidents of the journey. In fact, it seems indifferent whether they are to encounter the summer's heat or the winter's cold, since they are borne through the air in a winged chariot. The mail-carts drive up—the transfer of packages is made—and, at a given signal, they start off, bearing the irrevocable scrolls that give wings to thought, and that bind or sever hearts for ever! How we hate the Putney and Brentford stages that draw up in a line after they are gone! Some persons think the sublimest object in nature is a ship launched on the bosom of the ocean; but give me, for my private satisfaction, the mail-coaches that pour down Piccadilly of an evening, tear up the pavement, and devour the way before them to the Land's End." Pursuing his reverie, Hazlitt remarks that in the time of Cowper mail-coaches were hardly set up; and already they are far advanced in their "decline and fall." Even the "Putney and Brentford stages" are being superseded by the Putney and Brentford omnibuses. The "winged chariots" have disappeared, the huge West-country waggons, reminding us of Strap and Roderick Random, Captain and Mrs. Weazle, and the obstreperously-laughing Joey, are now only a tradition; but the omnibuses which ply incessantly, the market carts and waggons bound for Covent Garden Market which disturb the night, the cabs and private carriages for ever whirling hither and thither, present a thoroughfare not a whit less crowded, bustling, and confusing than in the days of old.

Hyde Park Corner is a worthy terminal mark to a great metropolis. Entering or issuing, it is alike imposing. "To him who hath been long in city pent," the view from the Achilles (the statue that the ladies of England subscribed to erect to the



Duke of Wellington) along the elm-rows towards the Serpentine has a park-like appearance that makes him feel out of town the moment he reaches it. To the traveller from the country the view across the Green Park towards Westminster Abbey is truly courtly and metropolitan. The triumphal archways on either side corroborate the impression of stately polish; the magnificent scale of St. George's Hospital is worthy the capital of a great nation; the statue in Hyde Park, notwithstanding the gross blunder in the interpretation of its action by the bungling copyist who erected it, is magnificent in its scale, outline, and position; and Apsley House seems placed there in order that the hero of a hundred fights may keep watch and ward on the outskirts of the central seat of power of the land whose troops he has so often led to victory.

In the old map of London, attributed to Ralph Aggas, which represents the metropolis as it appeared in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, the west end of the line of road now called Piccadilly is introduced under the designation of "The way to Reading." It is quite a country road. Between St. Martin's Church and the Mews is St. Martin's Lane, which extends in a waving line to the western extremity of an enclosure round St. Giles's Church. From the north-west corner of this enclosure a road is represented extending due west, bearing the double name "The way to Uxbridge," "Oxford Road;" from the south-west corner "the way to Reading" curves to the south-west till it reaches the northern extremity of the Haymarket, from which its direction seems to be parallel to the more northern line of road. In Aggas's plan there are a few houses around the church of St. Giles, one at the corner of the enclosure of the Convent Garden, apparently where Long Acre and St. Martin's Lane now meet, a mass of buildings at the Mews, and a few houses with a chapel rather to the west of the south end of the Haymarket, in what is now Pall Mall. To the west and north of these erections seems to have been fields and open country.

During Mary's reign (except that Sir J. Wyatt entered London by this road, and that there was a skirmish at Charing Cross), and during the whole reigns of Elizabeth and James I. (excepting what we learn from the map of London already referred to), the history of Piccadilly is a blank. Under Charles I. we again catch a glimpse of it, and are for the first time introduced to the name it now bears. Lord Clarendon, in his 'History of the Rebellion,' speaks of "Mr. Hyde going to a house called Piccadilly, which was a fair house for entertainment and gaming, with handsome gravel-walks with shade, and where an upper and lower bowling-green, whither many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted for exercise and recreation," &c. This seems to have been the house mentioned by Garrard in his letter to the Earl of Strafford, dated June, 1635, as "a new Spring Garden erected in the fields beyond the Mews, where is built a fair house and two bowling-greens, made to entertain gamesters and bowlers—at an excessive rate, for I believe it hath cost him above four thousand pounds, a dear undertaking for a gentleman barber." This should be "a gentleman tailor," according to Blount. In his 'Glossographia' he defines *Pickadil* thus:—"The round hem, or the several divisions set together, about the skirt of a garment; also a kind of stiff collar, made in fashion of a band;" and adds, "That famous ordinary, near St. James's, called *Pickadilly*, took denomination from this, that one Higgins, a tailor, who built it, got most of his estate by *Pickadilles*, which in the last age were much in fashion." Much to the same effect is what Phillips states, in his 'World of Words;' only he mentions that it was for the *skirts*, and not the *ruffs*, that Higgins was famed. He adds, "Hence the great Gaming House, built by Higgins, is called *Pickadilly*; if not rather from the Spanish word *Peccadillo*, a small sin, as there are many which accompany gaming." The first occurrence of the word is in

a poem written on the occasion of James the First's visit to Cambridge. It is printed in Bishop Corbet's Works, by Gilchrist, 1807, and the passage runs thus:—

"But leave it, scholler, leave it,  
And take it not in snuff,  
For he that wears no *pickadell*,  
By law may wear a ruffe."

We are enabled to fix with considerable precision the site of "Piccadilly House," by means of some proceedings before the Privy Council in the reign of Charles II. On the 24th of May, 1671, a petition from Colonel Thomas Panton was read at the Board of Privy Council, "setting forth that the petitioner having been at great charge in purchasing a parcel of ground lying at Pickadilly, part of it being the two bowling-greens fronting the Haymarket, the other part lying on the north of the Tennis Court, on which several old houses were standing;" and praying for leave to build upon this ground, notwithstanding the royal proclamation recently issued against building on new foundations within a certain distance from London. Sir Christopher Wren, "surveyor-general of his Majesty's works," was appointed to report upon the application, which he did in favour of the petitioner. In consequence of Sir Christopher's favourable report, Colonel Panton, obtained leave to build "certain houses" in Windmill Street; "on the east corner towards the Haymarket, about one hundred feet in front;" on the west (east?) side of Windmill Street "in the two bowling-greens between the Haymarket and Leicester Fields;" and "a fair street of good buildings" between the Haymarket and Hedge Lane, marked in the MS. to be called Panton Street. The tract of ground designated Piccadilly in these transactions seems to have extended from Panton Street on the south to a considerable way northward in Windmill Street. Evelyn, in his 'Diary,' seems to use the name with a similar latitude of application, when he speaks of a meeting of the Commissioners for reforming buildings and streets in London, on the 31st of July, 1662, at which orders were issued to pave "the Haymarket about *Pigudillo*." The site of "Piccadilly House," mentioned by Clarendon, seems satisfactorily ascertained by that of "the two bowling-greens between the Haymarket and Leicester Field," apparently "one hundred feet east of the corner of Windmill Street," and "fronting the Haymarket." It is the site on which Panton Square, at the end of Arundel Street on the north side of Coventry Street, now stands. We are also enabled to fix the western limits of the district called Piccadilly by the Act of Parliament of 3 James II., erecting a portion of St. Martin's parish into "the parish of St. James within the liberty of Westminster." This statute, tracing the boundaries of the new parish, mentions "the mansion-house of the Earl of Burlington *fronting* Portugal Street." In the same Act of Parliament a "toft of ground" on the north side of the church, which is assigned to the rector along with some other pieces of ground as a glebe, is said to be situated in Piccadilly. In the early maps of the parish of St. James, several of which are preserved in the King's Collection in the British Museum, the line of street from the Haymarket to Swallow Street is inscribed Piccadilly; its continuation to the west of Swallow Street is marked Portugal Street.

These citations seem to establish with tolerable certainty that Piccadilly, originally the name of what in Faithorne's plan of London, published in 1658, is called "the Gaming House," had come in time to designate the upper or northern part of the Haymarket, and the fields immediately adjoining on the north and west. In 1615 the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in anticipation of a visit from King James, thought it necessary to issue an order prohibiting "the fearful enormity of

in all degrees, as, namely, *strange peccadilloes*, vast bands, large cuffs, shoe-roses, hats, locks and tops of hair, unbecoming that modesty and carriage of students in a renowned university."

But the name does not seem to have been recognised for a considerable time as the true business name of the district, but rather as a semi-ludicrous popular epithet. *Wy-le-bone Lane* (or Street) retained its name; Windmill Street, Panton Square, Wrenbury Street, the Haymarket, and Panton Street, gradually superseded the name Piccadilly. Had the marriage of Charles II. with the Infanta of Portugal proved prolific, and thus remained as it was originally—popular, Portugal Street would in all likelihood have obliterated the last trace of Piccadilly. But the bad odour into which that alliance matrimonial was brought by the factious mixing up of it among the charges against Lord Clarendon brought Portugal Street into discredit; perpetuity was thus given to a name derived from a fantastic article of dress, and originally applied to denote a region haunted by the gay and idle, the locality of tennis-courts and bowling-greens. In the 'Tatler' of the 18th of April, 1709, we read—"advices from the upper end of Piccadilly say that May Fair is utterly abolished;" which shows that by that time, in popular discourse, the name had extended as far as the vicinity of Hyde Park.

Previous to 1683, the year in which Wren finished the Church of St. James's at the expense of Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's, and the principal inhabitants of the district, there does not appear to have been any continuous building in Portugal Street or Piccadilly west of the church. At a meeting of commissioners for reforming streets and buildings in London, already alluded to as mentioned by Evelyn to have been held in July, 1662, orders were issued for the "paving of the way from St. James's, north, which was a quagmire, and also of the Haymarket about Piccadilly." An Act passed the 13th Charles II. (1662) made provision for the pavement of Pall Mall, the Haymarket, and St. James's Street. Building was going rapidly forward on the space encompassed by these three streets, under the auspices of the Earl of St. Alban's. Pepys has this entry in his 'Diary' on the 1st of April, 1666:—"Up and down my Lord St. Alban his new building and market-house, looking too and again to every place building:" and under the date 2nd September, 1663, he remarks, "My Lord Mayor told me the bringing of water to the city hath cost, at first and last, above £300,000; but by the new building and the building of St. James's by my Lord St. Alban's (which is now about, and which the City stomach, I perceive, highly, at dare not oppose it), were it now to be done it would not be done for a million of money." Jermyn Street, St. Alban Street, and St. James's Square were far advanced; but the Park and Palace were the suns to which they turned their faces. Piccadilly and Portugal Street were merely a road behind them—the highway to the Haymarket. The Piccadilly line of road formed at its east end the line of demarcation between the courtly mansions erecting in St. James's Fields and "the small and mean habitations, which will prove only receptacles for the poorer sort and the offensive trades, to the annoyance of the better inhabitants; the damage of the parishes, already too much burdened with poor; the choking up the air of his Majesty's palace and park and the houses of the nobility; the infecting of the waters, &c. &c.;" of which Wren complained in a petition to the king in 1671, as "contrived and erected in Dogs' fields, Windmill Fields, and the fields adjoining So-ho."

To the north-west, however, we emerge into pleasant fields upon which the nobility and gentry had already erected mansions: more were erecting, some destined only to an ephemeral existence, some which still survive. Evelyn and Pepys furnish us



with some peeps into their interiors that throw light on the manners of their times and have some not unedifying associations attached to them.

The present Arlington Street occupies the space once taken up by the garden of Goring House. An entry in Evelyn's 'Diary' enables us to form a conjecture both as to the appearance of the mansion and the view from it; for it seems probable that the remark about the decoy must have been suggested by its being seen from the house or grounds:—"29th March, 1665. Went to Goring House, now Mr. Secretary Bennett's; ill-built, but the place capable of being made a pretty villa. His Majesty was now finishing the decoy in the park." This entry also indicates the period at which Lord Arlington took possession: it was occupied by him till the period of its destruction by fire, also recorded by Evelyn:—"21st November, 1674. Went to see the place, the loss that Lord Arlington had sustained by fire at Goring House, this night consumed to the ground, with exceeding loss of hangings, plate, rare pictures, and cabinet; hardly anything was saved of the best and most princely furniture that any noble had in England. My Lord and Lady were both absent in Bath."

In 1665 three villas were begun to be built on the opposite side of the way from Goring House, as we learn from Pepys:—"20th February, 1664-5. Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor's new house, near St. James's, which common people have already called Dunkirk House, from their opinion of his having a good look-out for the selling of that town: and very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Berkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other."

If we are to understand that the grounds belonging to Berkeley, Clarendon, and Burlington Houses, occupied the whole space on the north side of Piccadilly, when these mansions were erected, the grounds attached to Clarendon House must have extended on the east to Burlington Arcade; for that, as appears from the Act of Parliament by which the district appertaining to St. James's Church was erected into a parish, was the western boundary of the Earl of Burlington's possessions. On the west the grant of land made by the Crown to Lord Clarendon seems to have extended to where the Three Kings' livery-stable yard now is, at the entrance into which may be seen two pillars, with Corinthian capitals, according to D'Israeli the only surviving relics of Clarendon House. The Chancellor began to build here (as we learn from Evelyn's 'Diary') in the course of the year 1664, "encouraged thereto," as he has left on record in his memorial of his own life, "by the royal grant of land, by the opportunity of purchasing the stones which had been designed for the repairs of St. Paul's, and by that passion for building to which he was naturally too much inclined." It remained in Lord Clarendon's possession till his flight after he had been deprived of the great seal; and was for a time occupied by his son, who sold it to the second Duke of Albemarle, by whom it was ultimately disposed of to a company of building speculators. Evelyn records the fate of the building he reared and loved so well:—"19th June, 1683. I returned to town with the Earl of Clarendon: when passing by the glorious palace his father built but a few years before, which they were now demolishing, being sold to certain undertakers, I turned my head the contrary way till the coach was gone past it, lest I might minister occasion of speaking of it, which must needs have grieved him that in so short a time their pomp was fallen." And on the 18th of September—"I went to survey the sad demolition of Clarendon House, that costly and only sumptuous palace of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, where I have often been so cheerful with him, and sometimes so sad. \* \* The Chancellor gone and dying in exile, the Earl, his successor, sold that which cost £50,000 building to the young Duke of Albemarle for £25,000 to pay debts, which how contracted yet

ains a mystery, his son being no way a prodigal. Some imagine the Duchess, his daughter, had been chargeable to him. However it were, this stately palace is ~~were~~ need to ruin, to support the prodigious waste the Duke of Albemarle had made of ~~a~~ estate since the old man died. He sold it to the highest bidder, and it fell to certain rich bankers and mechanics, who gave for it and the ground about it £35,000; ~~my~~ design a new town as it were, and a most magnificent piazza. 'Tis said they ~~were~~ already materials towards it, with what they sold of the house alone, more worth ~~was~~ what they paid for it. See the vicissitude of earthly things! I was astonished ~~the~~ demolition, nor less at the little army of labourers and artificers levelling the ~~ground~~, laying foundations, and contriving great buildings, at an expense of £200,000 ~~they~~ perfect their design."

Lord Berkeley's house, begun, according to Pepys, about the same time with that Lord Clarendon, on the west side of it, is described by Evelyn, and we have mentioned it when speaking of Berkeley Square. Independently of the beauties of the ~~house~~ and gardens, but slender interest attaches to Berkeley House. Its founder is represented by Pepys as "a passionate and but weak man as to policy; but as a kinsman brought in and promoted by my Lord St. Alban's." The house was destroyed by ~~us~~, in what year we have been unable to ascertain. Devonshire House, which now ~~lands~~ between the two streets built, "reserving the house and as much of the gardens as the breadth of the house," was erected by the third Duke of Devonshire (the second duke died 4th June, 1729), from one of Kent's designs, at an expense of £20,000; including £1000 presented to the architect for his plans.

Burlington House, on the opposite side from Clarendon House, was east of that and of Berkeley House, but erected somewhat later. It was begun by Sir John Denham. How the transfer came to be made does not appear, but in the interim between its commencement and its occupation by Lord Burlington, Lady Denham, the mistress of the Duke of York, had died: Pepys gives a story of her having been poisoned. The present front of Burlington House and the colonnade within its court were designed and erected by Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington and fourth Earl of Cork, at whose death the title (since revived) became extinct. Immediately to the east of Burlington House, on the site now occupied by the Albany, of which the centre mansion was designed by Sir William Chambers, stood the house and gardens of the vertile Earl of Sunderland, the treacherous minister of James II. The date of the erection of this villa we have not been able to ascertain.

These scattered notices enable us to form an idea both of the appearance of the part of Piccadilly extending from St. James's Church to the west end of Devonshire House, towards the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries; and also of the tastes and pursuits of the noble occupants of the villas we have been describing, and the process by which some of them were converted into streets, and those which remained gradually surrounded by a populous city. The houses in that part of Piccadilly east of Devonshire House continued to be numbered separately from those to the west of it down to the commencement of the present century. The Court Guide for 1816 retains this double numbering. The turnpike, subsequently moved to Hyde Park Corner, was originally placed at the east end of Devonshire House, at the end of Berkeley Street. For many years subsequent to the transfer the trustees of the roads paid annually £1000 to the parish of St. George's, Hanover square, towards the expense of maintaining the road between Berkeley Street and Hyde Park Corner, and that part of the street is still watered by trustees under a separate Act of Parliament. We allude to these facts for the purpose of explaining



why we carry down the history of Piccadilly East a considerable way into the eighteenth century before adverting to Piccadilly West.

Little remains, however, to be told of the former. The conversion of the site of Goring House into Arlington Street, and the extension of the new town commenced by the Earl of St. Alban's to the north-east, soon gave a decidedly town character to the south side of Piccadilly; and the example of the adventurers who purchased Clarendon House, and that of Lady Berkeley, produced a similar effect on the north side. Bond Street—a street of shops and lodging-houses—soon became a fashionable lounge. In the 'Weekly Journal' of the 1st of June, 1717, we read—"The new buildings between Bond Street (*i. e.* Old Bond Street) and Mary-le-bone go on with all possible diligence; and the houses even let and sell before they are built. They are already in great forwardness. Could the builders have supposed their labours would have produced a place so extremely fashionable, they might probably have deviated once at least from their usual parsimony by making the way rather wider: as it is at present, coaches are greatly impeded in the rapidity of their course, but this is a fortunate circumstance for the Bond Street *lounge*rs, who are by this defect granted glimpses of the fashionable and generally titled fair, who pass and repass from two till five o'clock; and for their accommodation the stand of hackney-coaches was removed, though by straining a point in the powers of the Commissioners." While New Bond Street was thus advancing northwards, the Earl of Burlington was converting what seems to have been originally called "Ten-acres-field," at the back of his gardens, into a semi-private town bounded by the thoroughfares Bond Street and Swallow Street on the west and east, and by the school founded by Lady Burlington "for the maintenance, clothing, and education of eighty females" on the north. At the south end of Old Burlington Street is a stately mansion, built by Leoni for Gay's patron, the Duke of Queensberry, the proprietor of which was allowed to erect his house so that it commanded a view into Burlington Gardens. This mansion, after remaining for some time in a state of dilapidation, was purchased by the Earl of Uxbridge, who repaired it, and gave it his own title. Returning to the west side of Bond Street, we are informed that in 1723 the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Grantham purchased the waste ground at the upper end of Albemarle and Dover Streets for gardens, and turned a road leading into May Fair another way. This accounts for the termination to the north given by Grafton Street, which consists of two streets meeting at right angles, and uniting Dover Street with Bond Street.

Fielding, discoursing of the mob (1740–50) as the fourth estate of the realm, describes it as gradually encroaching upon people of fashion, and driving them from their seats in Leicester, Soho, and Golden Squares, to Cavendish Square and the streets in its vicinity. The discomfited fashionables seem to have swept along or across Piccadilly East without attempting to make any settlement there; for the villas of noblemen enclosed by the street dwellings must be considered as among—not of—them. It is true that a letter from Sir William Petty to Pepys in September, 1687, is dated from Piccadilly: but an item in the inventory of theatrical properties inserted in the 'Tatler' of the 16th of July, 1709—"Aurungzebe's scymeter, made by Will Brown of Piccadilly"—seems to express more correctly the class by which it was chiefly inhabited. The fashionables occupied the streets opening into Piccadilly. Thus we find Sir Robert Walpole residing in Arlington Street; Evelyn, at an earlier period, occupying a house in Dover Street, where he must have been constantly reminded of having been "oftentimes so cheerful and sometimes so sad with Chancellor Hyde" on that very ground; and at a later period Boswell domiciled in Bond Street. Mr.



worthy's lodgings too were in Bond Street, and there some of the most touching ones in 'Tom Jones' are laid.

The first attempt to build along the north side of Piccadilly, west of Devonshire House, fell to the ground. Clarges House, the residence of Sir Thomas Clarges, then-in-law to the first Duke of Albemarle, stood on the site of the present Clarges Street. At the end of Piccadilly nearest Hyde Park, however, building began at a comparatively early period. "During the Usurpation," says Faulkner, in his 'History of Kensington,' "several houses were built on the skirts of the Park, between Hyde Park Corner and Park Lane. These were afterwards granted on lease to James Hamilton, Esq. (appointed ranger in September, 1660, on the death of the Duke of Newcastle), and the lease was renewed to Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton, for ninety-nine years, in 1692. Hamilton Street takes its name from this family." Faulkner adds, "Apsley House stands on the site of the old lodge, and is held under the Crown. Apsley House was built by Henry Bathurst, Earl Bathurst and Baron Apsley, while Chancellor; that is, between 1771 and 1778. It was originally of red brick. It became the abode, in 1820, of the Duke of Wellington, who in 1828 had the exterior ordered under the directions of S. and B. Wyatt, who cased it with Bath stone, added the front portico, and a west wing, containing a gallery 90 feet long, in which is a collection of paintings of great excellence. Hamilton Place was built about forty-five years ago. The three houses contiguous to Apsley House were erected before any of the other large houses on that side of Hamilton Place; the exact time we have not been able to ascertain, but certainly previous to 1787. Before that time, where Apsley House now stands, stood a tavern called the Hercules Pillars, the same at which the doubted Squire Western, with his clerical satellite, is represented as taking up his abode on his arrival in London, and conveying the fair Sophia. Between the three houses next to Apsley House and Hamilton Place was a row of small houses, one of them a public-house called the Triumphant Chariot. It was a watering-house for hackney-coaches, and by the kerb-stone in front of it was a bench for the porters, and a board over it for depositing their loads. Such resting-places for that strong-backed fraternity were once universal in front of this class of houses, and they are still bright spots in our memory, associated with sunny days in June, tempered by light breezes, with watering troughs for the horses, and with deep draughts of stout for men, such as are idealised in Hogarth's 'Beer Street.' About forty yards west of Hamilton Place was the street mentioned by Faulkner as deriving its name from the Hamilton family; it contained twenty small houses, and two or three on a larger scale; they were pulled down, and Hamilton Place built, about forty-five years ago.

The ground intervening between Park Lane and Devonshire House was from a very remote period the scene of May Fair—an annual occasion of rude festivity, which, though repeatedly presented by grand juries as a nuisance, kept its ground till far into the last century. It ultimately became a great nuisance, and many efforts were made to suppress it, but it stood its ground until the site was let on building leases, and the present fashionable neighbourhood of May Fair arose. Eighty years ago there were no houses in Piccadilly to the west of Devonshire House (with the exception of the House) more than one or two stories high. Many of them were inns or watering-places, like the Hercules Pillars or the Triumphant Chariot. Halfmoon Street and the Horse Street appear to have been named after public-houses which stood at their corners in Piccadilly. The Peartree livery-stables received that name from a man called Peartree, who kept them for forty or fifty years. At the bottom of the block, where Engine Street now is, was a large mason-yard, known by the name of the Cure-yard, which was built upon about seventy years ago. Lord Barrymore built a

house here; it afterwards stood for some time unfurnished; it was then transferred into the Pulteney Hotel, to which the title of Imperial was subsequently added on account of its having been occupied by the Emperor Alexander during his visit to London in 1816; it was afterwards occupied by the Marquess of Hertford, and is now occupied by the Coventry Club.

Bath House, already alluded to, was the first house of any pretensions in the west of Devonshire House. It was built by Pulteney Earl of Bath, who, Robert Walpole, by forcing him into the House of Peers, had contrived to place on the shelf in the very moment of his fancied triumph. It has been subsequently replaced by the mansion of Lord Ashburton. Apsley House and the three adjoining it seem to stand next in point of seniority. Hamilton Place was built by Mr. Adams, about forty-five years ago. The house with a bow-window fronted Piccadilly, a little to the east of Hamilton Place, nearly opposite the new entrance to the Green Park, was the residence of the notorious Duke of Queensberry, known as "Old Q." The house built by the father of Mr. Michael Angelo for the Duke of Grafton came next in order. The Ranger's house in the Park, with the stags over the gateway, which were placed there by the Duke of Devonshire, when Deputy Ranger, was pulled down about eight years ago. It would be in vain to attempt enumerating all: suffice it to say that the one-story houses of this part of Piccadilly have of late years been for the most part either replaced by finer buildings or have had their fronts entirely altered. The new buildings we must, however, mention as worthy of notice the rectory by the side of St. James's Church; the house erected for Mr. H. T. Hope at the end of Down Street; Hertford House (formerly the Duke of Queensberry's), altered much to its advantage; and the very handsome new building just completed as a Geological Museum, on the south side, running back into Jermyn Street. The front is perhaps the handsomest of the two.

Some time, however, elapsed after the improvement upon the buildings in the west of Piccadilly had made considerable progress, before the street assumed its present elegant and airy appearance. The toll-gate at Hyde Park Corner, which long interrupted the thoroughfare, and gave a confined appearance to the street, was only removed about the end of 1825. Where an iron railing now gives pleasing glimpses of the Park, was, within the memory of many who have passed the middle stage of life, a long blank line of dead wall. There were seen, strung in a long line, ballads—not as now, "one hundred choice numbers for one penny" crammed into one huge sheet, but each apart on its tiny whity-brown paper, "fluttering in the breeze," or, if a somewhat violent wind, "be tolerated, dancing on the air to which they were set. The footpath under the wall was considered fifty or sixty years ago unsafe at night for solitary parties, many robberies being committed there. It was under this Park wall that the Prince of Wales, described in his epitaph as "Fred, who was alive and well," dutifully sat to huzza the voters on their way to Brentford, who went there against his father's government. This, and the commotion, what time the Duke of Devonshire was at Arms, if we may believe a poet of the day, serenaded Sir Francis Burdett, occupying the house now that of the Duchess of Cambridge, after this fashion:

"The lady she sate and she play'd on the lute,  
And she sung, 'Will you come to the bower?'  
The sergeant-at-arms had stood hitherto mute,  
But now he advanc'd, like an impudent brute,  
And said, 'Will you come to the Tower!'"

may serve to show how differently we manage these affairs from the way they set about them in the days of Sir Thomas Wyatt. The outside of the toll-gate was equally disfigured by the dead wall of Hyde Park extending towards Knightsbridge. These nuisances have all been removed. A part of the Park has been given up to widen the thoroughfare, and a row of trees, with benches here and there, adorn this bustling thoroughfare, while on either hand handsome entrances have been formed into the Parks, that into Hyde Park characterised by an elegant simplicity, and the more ornate triumphal arch forming the entrance into the Green Park, surmounted by Wyatt's colossal equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington. There are, no doubt, other objects of interest, but here we must leave the Streets of London.

In noticing the streets of London we should bear in mind that what we see forms only a part of what exists for the convenience of the inhabitants. There is great room, no doubt, yet for improvement, but we have certainly made great advances, and are daily struggling to secure more, in the paving, lighting, watching, supplying with water, and draining of the town. For a long while, perhaps even still, London was the best paved of any town in Europe; it was also the best lighted, and it was the first to adopt the use of gas; how different the assemblage of a detachment of policemen now to that time when Henry VIII, in 1510, went privily to East Cheap to behold "the setting of the watch;" how different, again, the appearance of the streets with the gatherings round the conduits, fountains, and pumps before the "forcier" of Peter Morris sent water into the dwelling-houses by means of leaden pipes, and he was followed up by Sir Hugh Middleton and a number of companies, who, however, if they send the water as high as our attics do not fail to charge highly for their service, and undoubtedly their water does not equal in purity that enjoyed by our ancestors, but this we shall soon amend. The underground works belonging to the gas and water companies is reckoned by hundreds of miles, and far exceeds that of any other town. Our drainage also would be good, though incomplete, but for the radical defect of pouring it all into our otherwise noble river, whose contaminated waters we have afterwards to drink. In modern times the sewers of London stand unrivalled for extent and excellent construction, although much yet remains to be done to render them adequate to the necessities of an immense and constantly-increasing population. Full one-third of the sewers in the City of London were made in the ten years preceding 1834. A return made by the Westminster Commissioners of Sewers shows that between 1807 and 1834 there had been built, within the Ranelagh Level, 2692 feet of open and 6886 feet of covered sewers, making a total length of 9578 feet, at the cost of the commissioners; while the length made during the same period by private persons was 91,708 feet. In the Holborn and Finsbury division 31,000 feet of new sewers were made in that district between 1822 and 1831, at a cost of more than £23,000. In the Tower Hamlets division, nearly 25,000 feet of new sewers were proposed in 1834 or 1835, of which four-fifths were completed by 1840. In 1841 the total length of main sewers in the Holborn and Finsbury division was 438,451 feet, or 83 miles.

Until 1847 there were seven Boards of Commissioners of Sewers in the metropolis, each having control over a particular district. It was often found that great inconvenience and expense resulted from the want of agreement between these boards; and at length a Metropolitan Commission of Sewers was appointed by Act of Parliament. The Commission commenced its labours in 1847. It has control over the whole of



the metropolis except the City; but the City Commission has agreed to act as far as possible in conjunction with it.

All the sewers constructed by the Metropolitan Commissions of late years are of such dimensions as to allow a man to pass through them, for the purpose of inspecting or cleansing them. The smallest sewers in the City of London division are about four feet three inches high by two feet three inches wide, the dimensions being increased, according to circumstances, up to ten feet by eight feet. The water brought down by the Fleet River is conducted from Holborn Bridge by two sewers, from twelve to fourteen feet high, and six feet six inches wide, one on each side of Farringdon Street. These sewers unite, towards the mouth, into one passage about eighteen feet by twelve.

The bricks and cement in the London sewers are of the best quality; but the form of the sewers varies greatly; some engineers preferring one form, some another. Nearly all the modern sewers, however, have an inverted arch at the bottom; and curved forms are also generally given to the sides and the top. The inclination of sewers must vary greatly in different districts, but should always, if possible, be sufficient to enable the water to run freely, and to carry off the solid matter that usually enters with it. In the metropolitan sewers the inclination varies from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a quarter in ten feet. In some cases it is very difficult to obtain sufficient inclination in a sewer, and still to make it deep enough to drain the basement story of neighbouring houses; which may be readily conceived from the fact that some parts of London are below the level of high water. Wherever it is practicable, new sewers are built at a considerable depth from the surface. The depth of that in Watling Street, in the City of London, which is an extraordinary case, is from thirty-three to thirty-five feet. In many cases, however, there is a space of not more than three feet between the surface of the roadway and the crown of the arch of the sewer. Where private drains are to be laid into a sewer for the purpose of draining houses, it is necessary that the lowest pavement of the floor of the building be at least four feet above the level of the sewer; because the house would otherwise be liable to be flooded with water from the sewer when unusually full. Drains leading from private houses are usually of a circular form, and nine inches in diameter, though some are of greater size.

Since the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers commenced their operations in 1847 many steps have been taken towards a comprehensive sewerage for the whole of the metropolis. A survey of the metropolis has been made for the Commissioners by the officers belonging to the Ordnance Survey. The survey extends to a distance of eight miles in every direction from St. Paul's, comprising an area of about 201 square miles. On a scale of five feet to a mile, the results of this survey would fill 900 large sheets, and would form a magnificent map of London eighty feet in diameter. A plan for a general system of drainage, carrying it as low down the river as Woolwich, has been proposed, and is indeed being acted on.



# KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXXIV. MARKETS.

11

12

13



## XXXIV. MARKETS. CLUBS.

## MARKETS.

the markets of London have in a great measure altered their character within the last century or two. At an early period, and when the town was not too large, it was convenient to be able to obtain particular articles in particular places. Bread bought from Stratford, in Essex, was sold in Cheapside near Bread Street; meat in Nicholas' Shambles, where now stands Newgate Market; fresh fish in Old Fish street; dried fish and salt fish in Stock Fishmonger Row, now part of Thames Street, and apparel in Cornhill; and cooked victuals in Eastcheap. As the town became extended, the retail shops became more numerous, and trades more divided. Still, wherever new neighbourhoods were built markets were also formed for the sale of the chief necessities of life, whence arose *St. James's Market*, *Newport Market*, *Oxford Market*, *Fitzroy Market*, &c., &c. Except the wholesale markets, however, these aggregations of trades have much decayed, and most of them only exist from their connection as retail shops, as is proved by the failure of all attempts to establish new ones, and the destruction of those which have been moved, as in the case of Fleet Market, which fell into decay when removed from the sheds and hovels that ran down the street—now Farringdon Street—from Fleet Street to Holborn Bridge, into a spacious and well-built though neither light nor convenient structure, only a few yards west; and in those of attempted markets near the London Road, St. George's Fields, and another at Shepherd's Bush. Of the large wholesale markets we have already noticed the Corn Market, Coal Exchange, and Billingsgate. The remaining markets divide themselves into flesh markets, vegetable markets, and leather markets. Of these Smithfield, Newgate, Covent Garden, and Bermondsey, are the great heads and representatives.

## SMITHFIELD.

Smithfield, where the great and only cattle-market of the metropolis is held, is not a place with which the inhabitants of London are very familiar, excepting as a thoroughfare. The grazier from Essex, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, or Lincolnshire, is better acquainted with the spot. The inns and shops in its vicinity are for its accommodation, and exist almost independent of the surrounding population. Smithfield and its immediate precincts may in fact be regarded in the same light as a market-town, thriving upon the industry of a class of customers who resort to it from the country. Some of the shops in the neighbourhood have been used for the same kind of business for above a century; and the customers who now frequent them go there partly because the generation before them did so, and because the experience of years has given the shopkeepers an intimate knowledge of the wants of that portion of the community with which they deal. Smithfield has its banking-house too; and when we know that property to the amount of £5,000,000 a-year changes hands in the market, we may easily conceive that such an establishment, so related as it is, is quite essential. Take away the market, and the industry which it has called into existence would be under the necessity of transferring itself elsewhere. At what period Smithfield became a cattle-market is not exactly known, but it was used for this purpose seven centuries ago, for Fitzstephen, writing in 1150, notices

horses and cattle being sold there. An act of the Common Council of the City nises a cattle-market at Smithfield previous to 1345; and the Corporation makes statutes for its regulation, which are to be found in the City records, and are called 'Statutes of Smithfield.' In 1356 these statutes were again enacted. The City, however, does not derive its authority to hold the market from any specific charter from prescription; and this ancient privilege is confirmed by a charter of Charles II. The rights and privileges which the charter confirmed were taken away by a judgment of the Judges in the reign of Charles II., but the City authorities of the present time contend that this judgment was illegal; and an Act was passed in the reign of William and Mary, which restored to the City the ancient rights, founded on custom and uniform usage for so many hundred years. Before leaving this part of the subject we must advert to a charter granted to the City in 1327 (1st Edward III.) which provides "that no market from henceforth shall be granted by us or our heirs within seven miles in circuit of the said city." Here, then, many centuries ago we have the sole cattle-market for the metropolis established on the site where it is now sent held, and the City invested with authority to prohibit any rival market within a distance of seven miles. At this remote period a more suitable spot than the present one could not have been selected. It was a large unenclosed space outside the city walls, and cattle could be driven there without annoyance to the inhabitants of the crowded thoroughfares.

We must now contemplate Smithfield as a market-place embedded in the heart of London, and observe some of the effects produced by the contracted area in which the market was held, while the number of cattle driven to it for sale was rapidly increasing with the growth of the metropolis. In John Erswick's 'Brief Note of the Customs that grow to this Realm by the Observation of Fish Days,' published in 1611, we find an estimate of the number of cattle sold yearly in Smithfield at that time. There were, he says, sixty butchers, freemen of the city, who each killed a cow weekly, or 300 per week; the non-freemen, or "foreigners," as they were called, killed altogether four times as many as the freemen, or 1200 weekly. Excluding days on which abstinence from flesh interfered with the demand for butchers' meat, Erswick states the number of cattle slaughtered annually in London at 1600. In 1732 the number of cattle sold in Smithfield Market was 76,210, and of sheep 514,700; but both were of small size, and Davenant states that the gross weight of the cattle did not exceed 370 lbs., and that of the sheep and lambs averaged to 28 lbs. This estimate of the average weight is probably rather too low. In the instructions for managing the household of Prince Henry, son of James I., the prince is directed to observe that an ox should weigh 600 lbs., and a sheep 44 lbs., or 45 lbs.; and though there might be few of this weight in the market, yet an average weight of 370 lbs. does certainly appear low. From 1740 to 1750 the population of the metropolis being about 670,000, there were sold at an average, during these ten years, about 74,000 cattle, and about 570,000 sheep. Between this period and 1831 the population increased about 218 per cent., and taking an average of three years, with 1831, 156,000 cattle and 1,238,000 sheep were sold annually in Smithfield, being an increase of 110 per cent. on the cattle, and of 117 per cent. on the sheep, compared with the numbers sold in 1740-50. But the average weight of cattle is now about 640 lbs., and of sheep about 96 lbs.: so that, while in number the sales at Smithfield have not kept pace with the population, the excess of weight in the animals sold in 1831 over those in 1740-50 shows that the consumption of butcher's meat is greater in proportion to the population than it was eighty years before—and without reckoning the very large supplies of killed meat conveyed by railway.

steam-boats to Newgate and Leadenhall Markets. Cattle and sheep are also now imported largely from foreign countries, but a great part of those intended for the London market are sold in Smithfield. In 1849 there were nearly 40,000 beasts imported, 13,500 calves, and 130,000 sheep and lambs, besides a large quantity of fresh-killed meat, a great proportion of all which reached London. The average weekly sale is now upwards of 4000 beasts, and more than 31,000 sheep. In addition to the above, about 21,000 calves and a quarter of a million pigs are annually sold. The cattle-market is on Mondays and Fridays, but the great market-day for cattle and sheep is Monday, or rather Monday morning.

There are two great thoroughfares by which the cattle are brought to London—from the north by Highgate Archway, and from the eastern counties by Whitechapel Road; large numbers are also brought by the various railways. They reach the outskirts of London on Sunday; about nine o'clock in the evening they are driven into the city, and continue arriving in Smithfield from that hour until the morning. In this large irregular area, comprising about three and a half acres, enclosed by houses, the scene on a foggy, wet, and wintry morning is one of which few persons not living in the immediate neighbourhood, or whose business does not require their attendance in the market, have an accurate conception. The drovers are furnished with torches to enable them to distinguish the marks on the cattle, to put the sheep into pens, and to form the beasts into "droves." There is not room to tie up much more than one-half of the cattle sent for sale, and the remainder are formed into groups of about twenty each, called "rings" or "off-droves," each beast with its head to the centre of the drove. This is not accomplished without the greatest exertion; and about two o'clock in the morning the scene is one of terrific confusion. To get the "beasts" into a ring, to enable purchasers to examine them more readily, the drovers aim blows at the heads of the animals, in endeavouring to avoid which they keep their heads towards the ground. Should they attempt to run backwards, a shower of blows forces them to remain in their position. The deterioration of the meat from this barbarity has been calculated at no less a sum than £100,000 a year—all this would be avoided if there were room to tie up the beasts. The exertions to prevent different flocks of sheep from mixing with each other are not so great, but here the drovers' dogs are useful. The lowing of the oxen, the tremulous cries of the sheep, the barking of dogs, the rattling of sticks on the heads and bodies of the animals, the shouts of the drovers, and the flashing about of torches, present altogether a wild and terrific combination: and few, either of those who reside in the metropolis, or who visit it, have the resolution to witness the strange scene.

The nuisance of holding a market for cattle in the heart of London is not confined to Smithfield. There it is endured for the sake of the profit which it brings to the shops, coffee-houses, inns, and other places of accommodation; and yet a person who resided in Smithfield stated before a parliamentary committee that he had lived there for fourteen years, and found it impossible to sleep in the front of his house on the Sunday night. But the evil extends to all the thoroughfares leading to the market; and there is danger as well as inconvenience in driving bullocks and sheep through crowded streets, exposing passengers to accident, and keeping the neighbourhood in a state of confusion once a-week during the entire year. The attempt to remove the market to the outskirts of London, which was made a few years ago, signally failed, although the experiment was made on a scale which it might have been expected would have ensured its success; and so did a much earlier attempt. Stow says, speaking of St. Nicholas' Shambles and Newgate Market—"In the 3rd of Richard II., motion was made that no butcher should kill no flesh within



London, but at Knightsbridge, or such like distance of place from the walls of the city." The nuisance, however, has become unbearable, and a bill is now before Parliament for abolishing Smithfield Market, and it is to be removed elsewhere.

The smaller retail butchers do not buy in Smithfield, unless it may be now and then a few sheep. They prefer purchasing from the carcass butchers, who kill to a large extent. The carcass butchers are to be found principally in Warwick Lane, Newgate Market, Leadenhall Market, and in Whitechapel. Some of them are slaughtermen, and kill on their own premises; but the business of killing is also carried on as a separate occupation. There are slaughtermen who kill above a thousand sheep and several hundred beasts a week. Many of the places in which they perform their operations are the most horrible dens which can be conceived, being literally underground cellars, down which the sheep are precipitated and immediately butchered. There are slaughtermen who kill sheep only. It is stated that the London slaughtermen perform their work with a knack and handiness which the country slaughtermen cannot attain; and the charge for killing, skinning, and preparing an ox for the wholesale butcher, and delivering the carcass, is not more than four shillings. The London Jews have a different system of slaughtering from the other butchers: instead of knocking down the animal with an axe, they kill it with a knife, and a seal is put upon the carcass by a Jewish inspector, in proof of its having been slaughtered according to the mode prescribed by the Jewish religion.

There is a horse-market held in Smithfield on the afternoon of Fridays. It commences in the summer season at three in the afternoon, and closes at seven; and in winter is held from two o'clock until dusk. This market had much the same reputation in Shakspeare's time, and most probably for centuries before, which it now bears. The number of horses is usually three or four hundred, and from fifty to a hundred asses. Here low jockeys attempt to display their broken-down animals to the best advantage, and costermongers "chaffer" over the buying and selling of their asses; and scenes of drollery and coarse and boisterous mirth may be witnessed which at least illustrate low life in London.

Smithfield is also one of the metropolitan hay and straw markets. This market is held on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. A payment of sixpence per load (unless the property of freemen), and a penny for each entry of sale, has produced above £400 a-year. The supplies arrive from places within a circle of forty miles round London.

Of the meat markets mentioned above, *Newgate Market* lies a little south-east of Smithfield, between Newgate Street and Paternoster Row. It was originally a meat market, the market-house standing in Newgate Street, the butcher market being held in Butcher-Hall Lane, and around a church called in consequence St. Nicholas Shambles, pulled down during the Reformation. After the great fire, the market was removed to its present site, and a great part of Warwick Lane has been appropriated to the same purposes, where formerly stood the town residence of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, "the king-maker," and against a house at the Newgate Street corner of the lane is a bas-relief of Guy, Earl of Warwick, bearing the date of 1668. The underground cellars we have spoken of as being used for slaughter-houses, peculiarly apply to this district.

*Whitechapel Market* consists of a long row of shops at the eastern end of the High Street, with slaughter-houses at the back. It is probably second in rank to Newgate Market.

*Newport Market*, near Seven Dials, is perhaps the next largest meat market. In the rear of the market are large slaughter-houses, where from 1500 to 1600 animals—~~men~~, calves, and sheep—are killed weekly.

*Clare Market*, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, though the next in importance, is of a ~~more~~ miscellaneous character, and is in fact declining, though from its having several thoroughfares through it, and being in a densely populated neighbourhood, there will ~~always~~ be a good deal of business done.

*Oxford Market* is at the north side and at the east end, and *St. George's Market* is on the south side at the west end, of Oxford Street. The first has lost all pretensions to be considered a market at all. It is, or was lately, a sort of warehouse, though it was one of the best planned of all the older market-houses—a square with all the shops in front, with slaughter-houses in the centre. *Shepherd's Market* consists of two or three courts, of shops for butchers, fishmongers, and dealers in vegetables.

Of vegetable markets of course *Covent Garden* is the first in rank. At the beginning of the last century, the square of Covent Garden was enclosed with rails, and ornamented by a stone pillar on a pedestal, with a curious four-square sun-dial; when the south side lay open to Bedford Garden with "its small grotto of trees most pleasant in the summer-season," and in which part alone was then kept the market for fruit, roots, and flowers. On the erection of Southampton and Tavistock Streets, with Southampton Passage, on the site of Bedford House and its parterres, the market was removed farther into the square, to the great annoyance, it seems, of the "persons of distinction" who then resided in it, and who gradually left their houses in consequence. Maitland, referring to this point, in describing the "things remarkable" of Covent Garden, calls the latter "a magnificent square," and then adds, "wherein (to its great disgrace) is kept a herb and fruit-market." If the sage topographer could see the latter now, we wonder whether its increased magnitude would make it seem in his eyes a still more disgraceful affair, or whether that very magnitude, as in a thousand analogous instances, would stamp it as respectable. The contrast is certainly curious between the opinions of the market held by a historian of London only a century or so ago, and the state and reputation of that market now.

The supremacy of Covent Garden as the great wholesale market for vegetables, fruit, and flowers is now undisputed. So early, indeed, as 1654 proposals were made for establishing a herb-market in Clement's Inn Fields; but, though the population had been fast increasing in that direction of the town during the whole of the century, the *Stocks Market* and the *Honey Lane Market*, in the City, were still flourishing, and the interests connected with them too powerful to admit of a rival. With a single bridge over the Thames, leading into the very heart of the City, these ancient markets were most convenient to the market-people, whether their supplies were brought by land-carriage or by the river. A century later the Stocks Market was removed, and Spitalfields and Covent Garden had become markets of great importance. The origin of Covent Garden Market is said to have been casual—people coming and standing in the centre of the square with produce for sale gradually led to the establishment of a regular market. This took place before either Westminster or Blackfriars Bridges were erected. A paper, published about the middle of the century, entitled, 'Reasons for fixing an Herb Market at Dowgate,' appears to have been the last attempt to preserve a great vegetable market in the City. The building of Westminster Bridge, and the continually increasing population, particularly in the western and northern

modern vegetable markets of London, where the growers and the retailers are Covent Garden; the *Borough*, Southwark; *Spitalfields*, chiefly *Hungerford Market*.

Few places could be more disgusting and mean appearance of Covent Garden. What it was eighty years ago. Duke of Bedford obtained an Act for the combination of sheds and standings by the present buildings were completed. The interior, running round the north, east, and south, with a sleeping-room above. Joining the inner courts, and through the wide and open to the top, with the promenade of those who visit the market is over. Forced fruits and culinary attraction. Very extensive cellarage nearly the whole area of the market being potatoes. Great attention has been every precaution taken to ensure the water from an Artesian well, two hundred and eighty gallons an hour, and the whole market. Over the eastern colonnade, the principal conservatories, rented by two eminent florists, delicate species of plants and flowers high, and occupy a third of the terrace and being also used for the display of flowers. The view from the terrace into the market throws up a refreshing shower, and adds to the beauty of the scene. The view from the terrace into the market side of the market, is animated, if not beautiful.

The market-days at Covent Garden are Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, being the days when the market is open.



n conferred on the laborious classes whose occupation is in the public markets of substituting tea and coffee for ardent spirits. There is some separation of different classes of articles, and potatoes and coarser produce are assigned a quarter. Vegetables and fruits are tolerably well separated, and flowers and are found together. The west side of the square is covered with potted flowers in bloom, and a gay, beautiful, and fragrant display they make. The f "cut" flowers for bouquets, or, to use the old-fashioned word, nosegays, is ge, including "walls," daffodils, roses, pinks, carnations, &c., according to the The carts and waggons with vegetables are drawn up close together on three the market.

Other vegetable markets the largest is Farringdon Market. It occupies the surface on which Holborn Hill and Fleet Street stand, and is, in fact, the bank of the river Fleet. This inclination of the surface is remarkably favourable drainage, and the market is well supplied with water. The area occupies one acre and a half, in the form of a parallelogram, surrounded on the north sides by an arcade 41 feet high and 48 broad, and measuring along the about 480 feet long, very imperfectly lighted from above. Two rows of shops, each side of these two arcades, were intended for the shops of the butchers and bakers, but have been long abandoned by them. The third side consists of a spacious open space, 232 feet long, 48 feet broad, and 41 feet high, for the fruiterers and vegetable sellers in vegetables, and it opens on the central area by a number of arches, and the area on the north and east sides, against the back walls of the shops, under the house roofs for stalls for the sale of vegetables. In the centre of the area is a shed for the shelter of goods. The south side is open to the street, but separated from it by a long iron palisading, in which there are two entrances for waggons. The number of shops is about eighty. Altogether the quadrangular area with the arcade covers 3900 square yards, being 232 feet by 150 feet. Two of the largest vegetable markets are St. John's Market, at Liverpool, 183 feet by 45; and one at Southampton, 120 feet by 36. The cost of building Farringdon Market was £30,000, the purchase of the site, the buildings which stood upon it, and the rights of the piers, cost the city about £200,000. The Borough Market is of tolerable size, but altogether destitute of architectural pretensions; and, if possible, Spitalfields and Covent Garden markets are still less distinguished in this way.

*Borough Market* is well supplied with vegetable produce, but there is no room here for a wealthy class of consumers: the market is held three times a-week. *Covent Garden Market* has not realised the expectations which were entertained of its site, but produce is brought to it by the growers on two days in the week, and a good deal resorted to by the itinerant vendors, those especially who sell hot potatoes and the criers of water-cress. *Spitalfields* is the largest potato-market in the metropolis, as, besides being convenient to the growers in Essex, whence the supply by land-carriage is obtained, it is in the midst of a dense population of the poorer class. It is difficult to obtain an estimate worthy of much confidence respecting the consumption of potatoes in London, but it is really enormous, probably amounting to 200,000 tons per annum. The most extensive potato-salesmen are established in Tooley Street, where they have warehouses adjacent to the river.

*Portman Market*, a new market erected on the Portman property, to the west of Regent's Park, is perhaps one of the most frequented vegetable markets after Covent Garden, but the business is chiefly retail, and with the more common vegetables.

*St. James's Market* was first built in 1680, and was designed for a vegetable market.

ket to compete with Covent Garden, and it seemed then to have some advantages in its favour, one of which was its proximity to the river, by which the market gardeners, many of whose grounds lie close upon its banks, could quickly and cheaply convey their products. It failed, however, and though the boats brought vegetables to the landing-place, porters were employed to carry them to Covent Garden. It fell quite into disuse as a market, and the building was used for stables and workshops. In 1831 a company undertook to rebuild it, and to establish it, not only as a vegetable market, but as a poultry and fish market. In architectural pretensions it far exceeds any of our other markets. The architect was Mr. C. Fowler, who had previously designed Covent Garden Market, and the form he adopted was that of the ancient Basilica, or of the Constantinian churches of Rome. A fine wide street was opened from the Strand to an open area, with shops on each side. The southern side of this area is formed by the front of the Hall, which consists of a nave and two aisles 150 feet long, with galleries over. Underneath the hall are spacious arched cellars. Beyond the hall were two galleries, with rows of shops, one on each side, leading to a terrace in front, with a lofty tavern at each corner. From the end of the hall a broad flight of steps led down to the fish-market, in the area of which was a fountain and moveable stands for sellers, and under the galleries above mentioned were shops. A convenient and substantial landing-place was formed, and no expense was spared to adapt it to the wants of its occupiers. Its success fell far short of the expectations of its projectors. To bring a part of the fish trade from Billingsgate, the Company gave bounties to oyster-boats and others who would bring their freight there. All would not do. Many of the shops became deserted, and even when Hungerford Bridge formed its Middlesex terminus on their platform, little benefit seemed to accrue to the market. The only branch of trade that flourished was the landing of hay and straw at their jetty. Its character is now (May, 1851) being totally altered. The hall is being fitted up as a bazaar, the space above is being formed into a theatre for displaying optical illusions, and the area of the fish market is covered in with glass for the display of some species of diorama. The shops are now reduced in number, and they appear, particularly those devoted to fish, poultry, and fruit, to be prosperous.

*Leadenhall Market* is remarkable for its miscellaneous character, and it is yet a thriving place. It was originally a granary, and afterwards a wool-mart, where the City received its tolls for weighing the wool; meal and other things appear also to have been sold there. A petition to the common council in 1519, says that the original founder had intent that "the market men and women that came to the city with victuals and other things, should have their free standing within the said Leadenhall in wet weather, to keep themselves and their wares dry, and thereby to encourage them and all others to have the better will and desire the more plentifully to resort to the said city to victual the same." The market lies on the south of Leadenhall Street, near the East India House, and extends by courts and narrow streets to Gracechurch Street and Lime Street. Here are butchers and dealers in fruit and vegetables, but the staple of the trade is now in poultry and game, of which immense quantities are daily received, dead and alive, by railway, which has greatly facilitated and cheapened the conveyance of such articles. Fresh butter and eggs also are sold here to a considerable amount. The old market-house, however, is devoted to the sale of leather and hides, and this connects it with the last almost of the markets we have to mention—Bermondsey.

If we draw a line from Bermondsey New Church to the intersection of the Grange Road with the Old Kent Road, we shall find to the west, or rather the north-west, of

that line nearly the whole of the factories connected with the leather and wool trade of London. A circle one mile in diameter, having its centre at the spot where Bermondsey Abbey once stood, will include within its limits most of the tanners, the curriers, the fellmongers, the woolstaplers, the leather-factors, the leather-dressers, the leather-dyers, the parchment-makers, and the glue-makers, for which this district is so remarkable. There is scarcely a street, a road, a lane, into which we can turn without seeing evidences of one or other of these occupations. One narrow road—leading from the Grange Road to the Kent Road—is particularly distinguishable for the number of leather-factories which it exhibits on either side; some time-worn and mean, others newly and skilfully erected. Another street, known as Long Lane, and lying westward of the church, exhibits nearly twenty distinct establishments, where skins or hides undergo some of the many processes to which they are subjected. In Snow's Fields, in Bermondsey New Road, in Russell Street, upper and lower, in Willow Walk, and Page's Walk, and Grange Walk, and others whose names we cannot now remember—in all of these, leather, skins, and wool seem to be the commodities out of which the wealth of the inhabitants has been created.

It might at first seem that the connection between leather and wool is not very apparent, the nature, uses, and preparation of the two being so very dissimilar; but when we remember that both are taken from those animals whose flesh supplies us with one portion of our daily food, and in part from other animals, we perceive a reason why the cleansing and preparation of them are conveniently effected in one spot. The ox yields hide for stout leather; the sheep yields wool, and skin for thin leather and parchment; the horse yields hide and valuable hair; and from the following enumeration of some of the manufactures in Bermondsey Street alone, it will be seen how many branches of trade spring from these sources:—hide-sellers, tanners, leather-dressers, morocco-leather dressers, leather sellers and cutters, curriers, parchment-makers, wool-agents, woolstaplers, horse-hair manufacturers, hair and flock manufacturers, patent hair-felt manufacturers. There are, besides these, skin and hide salesmen, fellmongers, leather-dyers, and glue-makers, in other parts of the vicinity.

When treating of Smithfield, the career of the ox and the sheep was traced down to the point when the drovers consign the animals to the hands of the butcher. Let us take up the thread of the story from that point. The animals are slaughtered, the flesh is retailed for the tables of rich and poor, and the skins and hides pass into other hands. Who is there that has not, at some time or other, had his ears dinned and tormented in the London streets by a cart, rattling and rumbling over the rough stones, and laden with sheep-skins? Neither the sound, nor the sight, nor the odour is a pleasant one; yet is there the germ of much wealth in those carts. They do not belong to the butcher, nor to the tanner, nor to the leather-dresser, nor to the wool-dealer; they are owned by "skin-salesmen," who act as agents between buyer and seller. As the Smithfield salesman transacts the dealings between the country grazier and the London butcher, receiving a small percentage on the purchase price of the animals; as the Mark Lane corn-factor sells the corn of the country farmer to the miller, the mealman, or the corn-chandler of London, receiving in like manner a small payment for his services; so does the skin-salesman act as agent for the butcher, disposing of the skins to the "fellmonger," and receiving a few pence on the purchase-money of each.

It may next be asked whether these skins, thus taken away in carts from the butchers and slaughterers, are conveyed to factories, to storehouses, or to markets? If the "fellmonger" is the purchaser, the skins are conveyed to his yard; but if, as is more common, the salesman is employed as an intermediate party, the skins are



conveyed to the *Skin Market in Bermondsey*. Until within about twenty years, there were two places used as skin-markets on the Southwark side of the water; one near Blackfriars Road, and the other near the Southwark Bridge Road: but the tanners and leather-dressers, deeming it desirable to concentrate the whole routine of operations, made arrangements for building the present Leather and Skin Market. They formed a company, subscribed a joint stock, and purchased a large piece of ground a little to the north of Long Lane, Bermondsey; and by about the year 1833 the whole was completed at an expense of nearly fifty thousand pounds. On passing into New Weston Street from Long Lane, we see the front portion of this building on the right-hand side. It is a long series of brick warehouses, lighted by a range of windows, and having an arched entrance gateway at either end. These entrances open into a quadrangle or court, covered for the most part with grass, and surrounded by warehouses. In the warehouses is transacted the business of a class of persons who are termed "leather-factors," who sell to the curriers or leather-sellers leather belonging to the tanners; or sell London-tanned leather to country purchasers, or country-tanned leather to London purchasers: in short, they are middle-men in the traffic in leather, as skin-salesmen are in the traffic in skins. Beyond this first quadrangle is a second, called the "Skin Depository," and having four entrances, two from the larger quadrangle, and two from a street leading into Bermondsey Street. This depository is an oblong plot of ground terminated by semicircular ends: it is pitched with common road-stones along the middle, and flagged round with a broad foot-pavement. Over the pavement, through its whole extent, is an arcade supported by pillars; and the portion of pavement included between every two contiguous pillars is called a "bay." There are about fifty of these "bays," which are let out to skin-salesmen at about twelve pounds per annum each; and on the pavement of his bay the salesman exposes the skins which he is commissioned to sell. Here on market-days may be seen a busy scene of traffic between the salesmen on the one hand and the fellmongers on the other. The carts, laden with sheep-skins, come rattling into the place, and draw up in the road-way of the depository; the skins are taken out, and ranged on the pavement of the bays; the sellers and buyers make their bargains; the purchase-money is paid into the hands of the salesman, and by him transmitted to the butcher; and the skins are removed to the yards of the fellmongers.

In *Rag Fair* (now Middlesex Street) near Tower Hill, and in *Houndsditch*, are two markets of a remarkable sort. The one in Rag Fair is nearly, though not entirely, for the sale or exchange of old wearing apparel, even of the veriest refuse that may have served for a scare-crow; and the whole street, indeed, is but a sort of bazaar for the retailing of such articles. The one in Houndsditch occupies a square open area, a little off the street, and is for articles of a more miscellaneous character. Broken umbrellas, old iron, bones, pieces of old harness, all sorts of wearing apparel, everything of the meanest and apparently most useless description, are here brought together; and it is marvellous to witness the anxiety for both sale and purchase evinced by the crowds that assemble, for during the market hours the place is always crowded, and the crowd is constantly changing. It is frequented both by men and women, the great majority of whom are Jews. It may be doubted whether the Stock Exchange could display more energy, vivacity, cupidity, and tact than is here shown: the qualities of the mind are not always developed in proportion merely to the object to be attained.

Hay markets are held at the east end of *Whitechapel*, and at *Cumberland Market*, egent's Park, as well as in Smithfield.



CLUBS.

10-11-68



## CLUBS.

THE description given by Addison, in one of the early numbers of the 'Spectator,' of the origin of clubs, affords a clue to the nature of the clubs existing a century and a quarter ago: "Man is said to be a social animal, and as an instance of it we may observe, that we take all occasions and pretences of forming ourselves into those little nocturnal assemblies which are commonly known by the name of clubs. When a set of men find themselves agree in any particular, though never so trivial, they establish themselves into a kind of fraternity, and meet once or twice a week upon the account of such a fantastic resemblance."

The Isaac Bickerstaffs and Will Honeycombs of Anne's reign introduce us to many clubs, in which oddity, good fellowship, and eating and drinking seem to have gone hand in hand. Thus the Beef-steak Club and the October Club convey in their names sufficient indication that the genius of good living was worshipped by the members. When we come down to a later period of the last century, to the days of Johnson, of Goldsmith, of Reynolds, of Burke, and of other bright names in the intellectual world, we find clubs still existing, or starting into existence, among men removed from the humble stations of society; but still widely different from the clubs of our own day. They were clubs, not for exclusive orders of society or exclusive professions, not for breakfasts, dinners, and suppers, but attractive foci or centres, to which orators, poets, statesmen, painters, and composers tended. What were the precise steps by which the clubs of the Johnson era gave way to those of the present day, need not be catalogued:—war, commercial enterprise, manufacturing invention, education—all have acted a part in bringing about social changes which have affected clubs as well as other institutions. The clubs of the West End present features in which the social club of the last century is combined with the hotel of the present. Each club elects its own members by ballot, so that no one can gain admission without the free goodwill of a prescribed majority of the members already admitted. Generally speaking, too, the members have, either in opinion or professional avocation, something which serves as a bond of union, and which distinguishes one club from another. Altogether there are about thirty of these clubs at the Court end of the town, of which two-thirds are located either in St. James's Street or in Pall Mall. There is scarcely any feature in London more remarkable than the growth of magnificent club-houses on the south side of Pall Mall, where the most distinguished are situated, within the last few years. The old houses in Pall Mall have been demolished one by one, or rather group by group, and replaced by elegant and imposing structures.

But it is in reference to their hotel-like regulations that we chiefly notice these clubs here. Every member, when elected by ballot, pays an entrance fee, and afterwards an annual subscription, for which he has the full use of all the advantages afforded by the club-house. Then all the refreshments which he has, whether breakfast, dinner, supper, wine, or any other kind, are furnished to him *at cost price*, all the other expenses of the system being defrayed out of the annual subscriptions. Perhaps we cannot do better than describe the working of this system in the words of the late Mr. Walker, in his 'Original':—

"One of the greatest and most important modern changes in society is the present system of clubs. The facilities of living have been wonderfully increased by them in many ways, whilst the expense has been greatly diminished. For a few pounds

a-year, advantages are to be enjoyed which no fortunes except the most ample can procure. I can best illustrate this by a particular instance. The only club I belong to is the 'Athenæum,' which consists of twelve hundred members, amongst whom are to be reckoned a large proportion of the most eminent persons in the land, in every line—civil, military, and ecclesiastical, peers spiritual and temporal (ninety-five noblemen and twelve bishops), commoners, men of the learned professions, those connected with science, the arts, and commerce, in all its principal branches, as well as the distinguished who do not belong to any particular class. Many of these are to be met with every day, living with the same freedom as at their own houses. For six guineas a year every member has the command of an excellent library, with maps, the daily papers, English and foreign, the principal periodicals, and every material for writing, with attendance for whatever is wanted. The building is a sort of palace, and is kept with the same exactness and comfort as a private dwelling. Every member is a master, without any of the trouble of a master. He can come when he pleases, and stay away as long as he pleases, without anything going wrong. He has the command of regular servants, without having to pay or to manage them. He can have whatever meal or refreshment he wants, at all hours, and served up with the cleanliness and comfort of his own house. He orders just what he pleases, having no interest to think of but his own. In short, it is impossible to suppose a greater degree of liberty in living. Clubs, as far as my observation goes, are favourable to economy of time. There is a fixed place to go to; everything is served with comparative expedition, and it is not customary or general to remain long at table. They are favourable to temperance. It seems that when people can freely please themselves, and when they have an opportunity of living simply, excess is seldom committed. From an account I have, of the expenses at the 'Athenæum' in the year 1832, it appears that 17,323 dinners cost on the average, 2s. 9½d. each; and that the average quantity of wine for each person was a small fraction more than half a pint."

The buildings used as Club Houses divide themselves into two classes; in one the Club has found a home in some of the large houses inhabited by the old nobility, in the other they have raised structures for their special accommodation which have given quite a character to the house architecture of London, and among them are now some of our very finest mansions. These two classes are nearly equal in number; seventeen, like cuckoos, have expelled some other birds from their nests, while fifteen have constructed nests of their own. Of the first class, chiefly the old established clubs, having spoken of the general character and constitution of clubs, we have nothing to add; Boodle's, Brookes's, the Cocoa Tree, and White's, have historical and literary associations that would carry us too far if pursued. Of the second class we shall notice the architecture of some of the more distinguished of them. The first in order of construction was *Arthur's*, in St. James's Street, an old club, for which Thomas Hopper designed a front; a rusticated lower story, with Corinthian pilasters between the windows on the first floor, a pediment, and a balustraded roof, were thought when erected, some thirty years back, to be a great advance in house architecture. The next in age of any pretension was the *United Service Club*, built in 1826, by Nash, at the east corner of Pall Mall and the opening into the Park. The building is massive, and not heavy, but the decorations are mean. The cornice is particularly insignificant, and appears worse from the contrast with its opposite neighbour, the Athenæum. The next was the *University Club House* in Pall Mall, East. The architects were

*Elkins and Gandy*, and it was built in 1826. The lower story is slightly rusticated, with six windows, three on each side of a portico with Ionic columns. The first floor has seven windows divided by Ionic pilasters, with a small cornice, and a plain roof. The interior arrangement is good, and the hall is handsome, but the exterior is plain and unprepossessing compared with those which have succeeded it. The *Union*, at the south-west of Trafalgar Square, and the *Junior United Service*, in Regent Street the corner of Charles Street, were erected in 1827 and 1828 by Sir Robert Smirke and Mr. Nash, but they do not call for any special notice.

The *Oriental Club House*, at the north-west corner of the opening from Oxford Street to Hanover Square, was erected, in 1828, from the designs of Benjamin and Philip Wyatt. It has no particular architectural merit: its front of two floors alone gives it a characteristic appearance of a club-house. Its interior is said to be well arranged, having lately been improved, and some of the ceilings have been ornamented by Millman.

In 1830 the *Athenæum Club House* in Pall Mall was opened, erected from the designs of Decimus Burton, marking a great progress in the style of building, less, however, in the general design than in the addition of what was then a novelty, a sculptured frieze over the upper story, covered by a bold cornice, and with a balustraded roof. An entrance-hall, the principal staircase, general and private dining-rooms, and news-room occupy the ground floor. On the first is a drawing-room 100 feet by 30 feet, into which open the library and reading room, &c., &c. The mezzanine and attic stories contain dressing-rooms for the members, and chambers for the use and residence of the officers and servants of the establishment. The basement is light, well ventilated, and conveniently arranged for culinary purposes.

The *Incorporated Law Society* have erected a building in Chancery Lane, from the design of Lewis Vulliamy, which conjoins accommodation for the business of the society, and a club-house for the members, the division for the club-house being in Bell Yard. It was begun in 1828, opened in 1832. The building contains a hall, open daily from nine in the morning till ten at night. It is furnished with desks or tables, and provided with the Gazette, newspapers, and other publications connected with the profession. An ante-room for clerks and others, in which are kept an account of parliamentary business, the general and daily cause papers, information of arrangements made in the different courts, &c. A library, containing a complete collection of law books, and other books relating to those branches of literature more particularly connected with the profession; acts, journals, votes, and other proceedings of Parliament; county and local histories, topography, genealogical and other matters of antiquarian research, &c. An office of registry, in which are kept accounts of property intended for sale or wanted to be purchased; of money to be lent or borrowed, on mortgage or otherwise; and for articulated, managing, and other clerks, and of every matter that may be deemed generally useful to the profession. A club-room, which may afford members an opportunity of procuring dinners and refreshments on the plan of similar clubs. A suite of rooms for private meetings in bankruptcy, of arbitrators and creditors; and for all other meetings and objects in any way connected with the profession. Lectures on the different branches of the law, for the instruction of the junior members of the profession, are regularly delivered. The front, in Chancery Lane, extending nearly sixty feet in width, is of stone. It consists of four columns and two antæ, of the Grecian-Ionic order, supporting an entablature and pediment, and forming together one grand portico. To give the requisite elevation, the columns and antæ are raised upon pedestals; these, as well as the basement story and podium of the inner wall of the portico, are of Aberdeen granite; the columns and rest of the front are



formed of large blocks of Portland stone. One wing has been subsequently added on the north side, the other wing is still wanting. In the front wall, within the portico, there are two ranges of windows above the basement. The front, in Bell Yard, extends nearly eighty feet, and is finished with Roman cement, in imitation of stone. The following are the dimensions of the principal rooms:—the Hall, 57½ feet by 44 feet, and 30 feet high; the Library, 55 feet by 31½ feet, and 23½ feet high; the Club-room, 50 feet by 27 feet, and 18 feet high. The basement story is divided, by brick partitions, into rooms for the deposit of deeds and other valuable property; they are covered with strong brick vaulting, and secured by iron doors, and are therefore perfectly fire-proof. The keeping these rooms quite free from damp (so essential for the preservation of papers), and also the warming and ventilating the building generally, is effected by the apparatus of Mr. Sylvester.

Adjoining the Athenæum, the *Travellers' Club House* was erected in 1831, after the designs of Mr. Barry. It is in the Italian style of architecture, and similar, in some respects, to a Roman palace. The plan is a quadrangle, with an open area in the middle, by which disposition all the rooms are well lighted. The apartments are handsomely decorated. The principal feature on the exterior in Pall Mall is a bold and rich cornice, which finishes the wall of the front. The windows are decorated with Corinthian pilasters. The back front varies from the principal front, in the arrangement and detail of the windows; but the Italian taste is preserved throughout. We should not be sorry to see this taste renewed; more especially as the faint projections of the mouldings in almost all the Greek examples of architecture, seldom produce any effect in this climate. We therefore think that Mr. Barry has acted most judiciously in adopting a style of architecture which combines boldness of effect with richness of detail.

The *City Club House* was erected in 1832–3, by Mr. Hardwick, in Old Broad Street, nearly opposite to the end of Throgmorton Street, for the accommodation of mercantile and professional gentlemen, on the plan of the clubs at the west end of the town. The street front is in the style of the Goldsmiths' new Hall, which is that of the Italian school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is in two stories, the entrance door being the central opening in the lower. Its façade is of the Doric order, having seven intercolumns, with pedimented windows. The ground floor has windows with dressings, between slightly rusticated piers. There are two dining-rooms and a coffee-room on the ground floor; and, on the upper floor, a drawing-room, 90 feet long by 25 feet wide, and 18 feet high, that can be formed into two by means of folding doors.

The *Carlton Club House*, in Pall Mall, was commenced in 1834, from the designs of Sir Robert Smirke. It was in the Grecian style, but of no marked character. In 1847, however, an entire *rifacciamento* was begun, has been partly completed, one-third of the building, as it is now altered, being erected. The architect is Mr. Sydney Smirke, whose work exhibits a most striking contrast to that of his brother, Sir Robert, who erected the original club-house, which as yet remains untouched by the side of the finished portion of its successor. The contrast thus exhibited speaks, besides, very strongly as to the revolution which has taken place in architectural taste, from the affectation of Grecism, to the adoption of highly florid Italianism. The new building is more literally Italian than could, perhaps, altogether be wished, the design being, with the exception of some few variations—corrections we can hardly call them—a fac-simile of Sansovino's Library of St. Mark, at Venice, only carried on to greater extent, to nine inter-columns or compartments instead of three, and broken into three divisions, each of which will accordingly have three

Windows on a floor: the centre division will be distinguished from, and made rather wider than the other two, by the columns being there coupled. One unavoidable deviation from the original is, that instead of forming an open arcade below, the arches in the ground floor, or Doric order, will be filled in with windows, the same as in the upper order; which alteration of Sansovino's design was almost unavoidable in order to adapt it to its new purpose. Such, however, is not the case with regard to some other variations, which, while they are not improvements in themselves, destroy that completeness of imitation which seems to have been chiefly aimed at in a work that is most undisguisedly a mere reproduction. There will now be either too much of indirect copying, or else too little faithfulness of copying. In Sansovino's façade the same degree of ornateness is spread over the whole; for though there are two different orders, they are assimilated as much as possible to each other: the metopes of the Doric frieze are sculptured, the arcades have moulded archivolt, and the spandrels over them are filled in with figures in relief as in the upper order; all which embellishments and finishing will be here omitted, in our opinion not very judiciously, because that consistency of decoration which marks the original, and of which some example has been needed by us, is in some measure now destroyed. Nor can it for a moment be supposed that these retrenchments were occasioned by any economical considerations, the decoration being, in some respects, rather extravagantly ostentatious: at all events, the polished granite shafts of the columns forbid the idea of mere cost being regarded for a moment. Another departure, not only from Sansovino's design, but from the style of it, will be an entrance, forming a comparatively diminutive projecting portico, which will, we fear, prove a disturbing feature, and show little better than an excrescence—an insignificant bit stuck on to the front—wherefore it would be greatly better, instead of thrusting the porch outwards, to recess it inwards, and, unless the plan now admits of no such alteration, to leave the three centre ground-floor arches open for a loggia, as in the original structure. If for nothing else, this façade would be exceedingly remarkable for its example of the Ionic order, whose entablature is exaggerated beyond the utmost stretch of all ordinary rules, it being increased to more than half the height of the columns; so that, judged by mere rules, it must be accounted vicious, whereas, estimated by its effect, it is admirable, forming, as it does, an equally bold and rich crowning to the entire elevation, and its cornice, with both modillions and dentils, being tantamount to a cornicione. The design is to be continued without other variation than that the three centre windows of the upper floor will be between coupled columns, and corresponding coupled pilasters in the Doric order. The façade will have somewhat greater extent than that of any other club-house, viz. 132 feet, or 40 more than the original building. The new portion contains a handsome coffee-room, the whole depth of the building, and has three windows at each end. It is formed into three divisions, by Corinthian columns and pilasters of scagliola, in imitation of verde antico marble; and the centre division of the room is lighted from above through a domed skylight. The walls are decorated in encaustic by Mr. Sang.

The *Oxford and Cambridge Universities' Club House* in Pall Mall is from the joint designs of Mr. Sydney Smirke and his brother Sir Robert. Although differing in many respects from the other façades of the same class there erected—sufficiently so to produce variety—the one of which we are about to speak, and which we presume emanates entirely from the first-mentioned architect, corresponds with them as to its general style, mass, and height; and, like both the *Athenæum* and the *Travellers'*, is distinguished by the richness of its cornice and entablature. This club-house, which is situated on the south side of Pall Mall, directly over against the court of Marlborough



House, which lies at its back, extends about 90 feet in front; and is in depth 130 feet on the east side, and 71½ feet on the west. Beneath the ground floor (which is seven feet above the level of the pavement, and has an ascent up to it within the vestibule as well as at the entrance) there are two others, viz., the lowermost, or actual basement, appropriated to the various domestic offices of the establishment; the other, an entresol, or mezzanine, containing chambers for the servants and dressing-rooms for the members of the club. The windows of this mezzanine are partially screened by the ornamental railing to the area; consequently the façade exhibits only a ground floor and upper one. The first of these is treated as a lofty rusticated basement, with three arches on each side the centre, filled in with circular-headed windows. The centre division is a porch—for it rises no higher than the basement—with four columns of the Corinthian order, not exactly coupled, although they may almost be said to be so, in regard to the width between those on each side. Both the frieze and cornice of the porch are continued as a finish to the basement; and the piers between the windows of the upper floor have only horizontal rustic joints. The seven bas-reliefs in the panels over the windows were executed by Mr. Nicholl, a sculptor of considerable talent. Beginning at the east end of the building, the first is Homer, the two next Bacon and Shakspeare; the centre panel contains a group of Apollo and the Muses, with Minerva on his right hand, and a female, personifying the fountain Hippocrene, on his left. The three remaining panels represent Milton, Newton, and Virgil. The entrance vestibule has a flight of steps between two square pillars, or *orthostyles* as they are sometimes termed, which leads up to a spacious doorway opening to the staircase. The interior contains a noble coffee-room on the lower floor, and a handsome drawing-room on the upper floor; with other apartments for various purposes on each floor, including two libraries on the upper floor. From the windows of the larger or back library there is a very agreeable view of Marlborough House and its gardens. There is another apartment called the writing-room, which is over the house dining-room, and of the same dimensions. Besides these there are two billiard-rooms, a smoking-room, and some others on a second floor, of which there is no indication in the façade, they being lighted, some of them by windows on the south side, others by skylights. The foundations were commenced in November, 1835, and the whole building was completed in 1837.

Up to 1839 the Travellers' Club House had been considered by far the most tasteful building of its class, and a happy specimen of that peculiar Italian style which has little in common with the so-called Palladian, to which it is greatly superior, and, as there treated by Mr. Barry, shows itself capable of expressing so much, that it has well deserved to be selected as the first subject in the "Studies and Examples of the Modern School of English Architecture." But it is now thrown somewhat into the shade by the more extensive and loftier edifice of the *Reform Club House* adjoining it, which is also the work of the same architect. Although it immediately adjoins the Travellers', neither the street nor garden façade of the Reform Club apparently extends quite up to that building, being separated from it by a break forming an intervening compartment (about 15 feet wide), in which is the separate entrance reserved for the use of those who occupy lodging apartments in the upper story of the building; and as this portion of it is not carried up so high as the rest, it does not at all interfere with, or occasion any irregularity in that architectural mass; whereas, had this latter been continued quite up to the Travellers' Club-house, it would have overpowered that building too much, which now, on the contrary, is relieved by the narrower elevation between the two. Including the space just alluded to, the entire site is nearly 140 feet from east to west, by 110 feet in depth, the whole of which is built upon except a



small kitchen court, next the Travellers' Club, or within the separate portion of the building, exclusive of which last-mentioned piece, the design consists of three uniform façades, those facing the north and south being 120 feet in length, that on the west about 110, and the two former having nine windows on a floor, the other eight. The principal front, towards Pall Mall, has a lofty door, to which there is an ascent of several steps, and the windows on the principal floor are more decorated than those in the south front, having Ionic columns, whereas on the side just mentioned they have only pilasters; another difference is that, on the south side of the building, those windows have segmental or curved pediments, on the others angular ones; but otherwise all the elevations are uniform, a circumstance that conduces materially to grandeur of character by increasing the continuity of the design and mass of the building when two of the sides are seen at the same time. The entrance (which is in the front towards Pall Mall) leads into a moderate-sized vestibule, comprising the window on each side of the door, and facing the latter is a flight of steps leading up into the hall, owing to which circumstance the last-mentioned part of the interior is kept more distinct from the outer vestibule, and produces a more striking effect than it would do were it upon the same level and entered immediately from it. This hall occupies the centre of the building, and rises to the height of the principal floor. It was, we believe, originally intended to have been an open court with enclosed corridors on each side, somewhat after the manner of that of the Travellers' Club House, but as no such uncovered area was required for the purpose of lighting any of the rooms, instead of repeating what he had done in that building, the architect has, by roofing it over, produced a fine piece of interior architecture, answering, in its plan and character, to an Italian cortile surrounded by colonnades, those below being of the Ionic, those above of the Corinthian order. The entire number of columns thus employed is forty; viz., twenty below and as many above, so arranged that there is a group of three columns at each of the four angles and two others between them, or three open intercolumns on each side of the plan. Corresponding with these intercolumns are pilasters and closed arches. The dimensions of the whole hall are 56 feet by 50; those of the space surrounded by the colonnades 35 by 29, and 54 high. On the south side of the hall, in a line with the east and west colonnades, are two doors leading into the coffee-room, which is of such extent that, notwithstanding the architectural display made in the approach to it, it strikes by its spaciousness. Its dimensions are 112 feet by 28 and 20 high, and occupies the whole length of the south or garden façade, consequently has nine windows on that side, besides two at the west end. At the north-west angle is the Parliamentary Library or News-room (50 feet by 28), with four windows facing towards the east side of the Conservative Club House, and two towards Pall Mall. The house dining-room, at the other angle of the Pall-Mall front, is 40 feet by 20. Besides these there are some waiting-rooms and others of that sort on this floor. The staircase, which is entered through an open arch in the centre of the east side of the hall, consists, like most of those in Italian palaces, of broad flights of steps enclosed within walls. It leads into the upper gallery of the hall at the north-east angle, where, turning to the left, we pass on to the principal drawing-room, which is over the coffee-room, and of the same dimensions and similar in plan, but with Corinthian instead of Ionic columns, and more highly decorated. Above the lower library is another for general literature, and over the house dining-room and vestibule in the Pall-Mall front is the card-room and smaller drawing-room; besides which there are one or two secondary rooms. The mezzanine or attic floor, between which and those just described there is no communication, is entirely appropriated to private chambers for about twenty renters, for whose

the above, there are distinct offices appropriated to the private lodging  
edifice is faced with Portland stone, and is one of the most palace-like  
our metropolis.

The *Conservative Club House* was built in 1844, on the west side of  
Street. Owing to the situation, no more is seen of the exterior than the  
façade, for although there is a street on the north, it is little more than  
hardly used at all as a public thoroughfare, on which account architectonic  
and regularity are not attended to on that side of the building, except  
of about forty-five feet as far as the break shown in the plan; whereby,  
design being abruptly broken off, a suitable degree of continuousness is  
the north-east angle of the building is looked at. Without objecting to  
Palladianism in that respect, we wish there had been somewhat more  
of that school in the lower part of the façade, which we cannot but  
looks too tame, and of a too ordinary stamp, in comparison with the  
bold and simple character of the order and the whole upper part of  
At all events, however, the basement must be allowed to possess  
novel features, viz. the recessed compartment at each end, that  
forming the entrance loggia or porch, the other containing a curved  
These portions of the basement are distinguished by Doric columns  
blatures, which are not only confined to, but proportioned to, them in  
reference to the upper order: owing to which the columns look in  
parison with the pilasters of the upper floor, more especially as they  
grouped together so as to form massive piers, wherein strength and solidi-  
bined with picturesque richness. But although not favourable to the  
smaller columns below, those grouped pilasters—notwithstanding that so  
them an architectural licence—are eminently favourable to the general  
order they belong to. The mode in which they are applied sufficiently  
in other cases might be improper, because here these compound pilasters  
than ordinary importance and decided expression to the end compared  
design, whose angles they fortify, and to which they serve as a bold and  
tectural framing. At the same time, too, that they impart diversity at  
the general composition, they rather enhance than at all detract from the

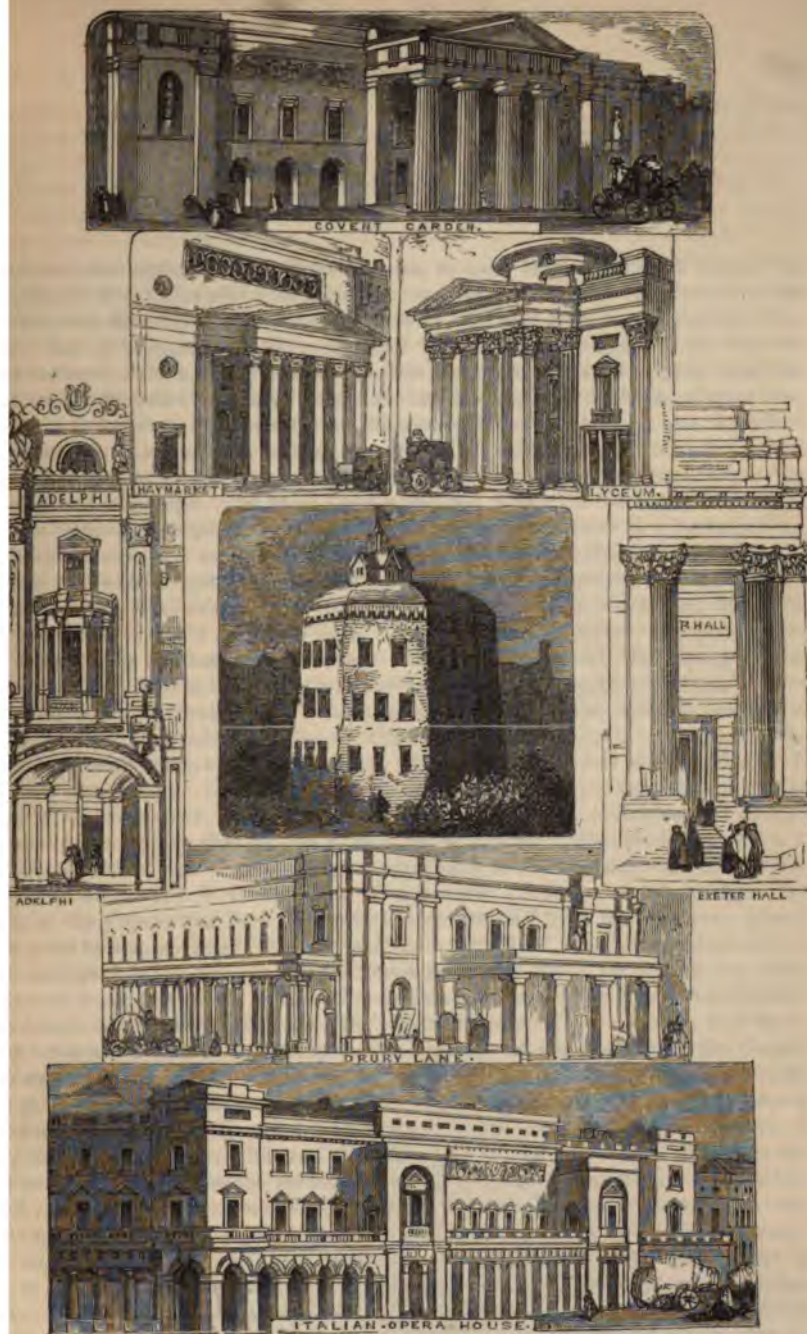
extent of the building is all the stronger. Neither does the inner hall fully disclose itself on passing from the first one, there being an intermediate, though not enclosed, space in the plan. Neither, again, does the grand staircase fully display itself from the hall, it being separated from it by three arches, the middle one opening to the first flight of stairs. So far, however, is this partial concealment of that important feature in the interior from being a fault, that it is productive of great play of perspective, and a striking degree of scenic effect. This inner hall is lighted partly from the staircase, but chiefly through the circular opening in its ceiling and the door of the upper vestibule, corresponding with the dome over the latter, which is therefore partly visible, and its ceiling and dome entirely so, from below; yet the height of the hall beneath it is well defined, whereby it is not rendered disproportionately lofty for the other apartments, as would have been the case had it been thrown open to the height of both floors. With regard to the other apartments, both on the ground and upper floor, they are imposing for their spaciousness, and have an air of sumptuousness, arising from their architectural decorations, rich cornices and ceilings, and columns and pilasters, and from costly fittings-up and furniture. The columns are of scagliola, in imitation of Siena and other marbles, and of different orders. Those in the morning-room are Ionic—we wish we could add, with more of the Grecian than Italian character in their capitals; for the coffee-room the Doric order (of course Italian) is employed; and for the evening-room the Corinthian—here the walls and ceiling are to be decorated with encaustic painting. In the library the square pillars and pilasters are distinguished from those in the other rooms, their shafts being *panelled* with green and gray scagliolas, and their capitals bronzed. Except scagliola, which may be considered a legitimate material, there is no other of a fictitious sort in any of the principal rooms, where all the doors and other wood fittings are what they pretend to be, without any graining or imitative painting. Those on the ground-floor rooms are of wainscot oak, in the upper ones of Spanish mahogany, except the evening and card rooms, where all the wood fittings are of bird's-eye maple and sycamore. In the library the bookcases and fittings are of wainscot, enriched by metal decorations, electrotyped, in conformity with the bronzed capitals of the pillars. The arrangements in the basement, and in the entresol over it (chiefly occupied by baths and dressing-rooms), are of the most complete kind. This very stately edifice is the joint production of two architects—Mr. G. Basevi, jun., and Mr. Sydney Smirke.

The *Army and Navy Club House*, from the designs of Messrs. Parnell and Smith, was erected in 1849. It stands on the north side of Pall Mall, at the corner of George Street. The idea is avowedly borrowed from Sansovino's Palazzo Cornaro, at Venice; but it may rather be said to be a combination of that edifice and another by the same architect, viz., the Library of St. Mark, of which the new part of the Carlton Club House is all but a fac-simile. The rusticated basement, comprising a ground floor and mezzanine, is, indeed, copied from the Cornaro, less judiciously, perhaps, than faithfully, the taste displayed in it being not of the very best kind. The upper part of the structure bears very little resemblance to the original claimed for it, because, while the latter has two orders, an Ionic and Corinthian, of very sober character, the Club House has only one—a Corinthian, with coupled columns in the south or Pall Mall front, where there are six intercolumns, and with both coupled and single columns in the entrance front towards George Street, where there are nine intercolumns. This order is treated similarly to the upper one of St. Mark's Library, and its copy the Carlton, the entablature given to it being proportioned not to the columns, but to the elevation generally, by means of a most exaggerated frieze



and cornice, so that coupled columns become almost necessary to support such a mass, and by being coupled, produce a corresponding degree of fulness below. Both frieze and cornice are also of unusually rich character; the former, entirely sculptured with arabesque foliage, and figures at the angles and at intervals, as to divide the frieze of each front into three compartments or lengths. The windows of the principal floor are all arched, and assume the character of arcades which, with their dressings, fill up the intercolumns. Mr. Ruskin's 'Lamps' said something about the grand effect of a frowning brow, and a building "beetling over its base," which must forthwith be attempted, without considering whether there was anything to beetle over, anything corresponding with the brow in expression. Italian precedent was found for the cornice of an upper order being proportioned, not to the order itself, but to the entire building, but then the frieze had not been exaggerated *too*; and either the stories were all columnar, or they had in some other way a decided connection, and suggested vertical lines from the ground to the summit; whereas, here, the two stories are as distinct and different as possible, so that the mind can by no effort refer the cornice to the whole building, but only to the upper story, to which the other seems a mere pedestal. A balustraded roof also, nearly as high as a mezzanine floor, as is here the case, must be allowed to partake of absurdity. One unusual feature in club-house design is, the recessed entrance loggia in the centre of the east or George Street front, which is formed by three open arches (very similar in character to those in the Strand front of Somerset House) carried up through the mezzanine. Beyond this loggia is the vestibule and staircase, to the left of which is the morning-room (76 by 28 feet), occupying the whole length of the Pall Mall front; and on the right of the vestibule is the coffee-room, extending similarly from east to west, but somewhat longer and wider, it being 82 feet by 39 feet. On the same floor, in the rear, are the visitors' coffee-room and the house dining-room, the first of which is 46 by 29 feet, the other 29 by 20. The mezzanine is occupied by baths and dressing-rooms, they being here put not beneath but over the ground-floor. On the upper floor are the evening-room (over the morning-room, and of the same dimensions), library, and writing-room. The plan is simple enough, and may be convenient enough, but it certainly is not marked by that skilful contrivance and well-studied display throughout the interior which distinguished some of the first rejected designs, in forming which the architects were compelled, by the difficulty of the site, to depart from usual and therefore commonplace arrangement.

Rather as being a club-house than as being particularly noticeable in itself, the new *Guards' Club House* may just come in here for mention: it is on the opposite side of Pall Mall, immediately adjoining that of the "United University," and presents only a very narrow frontage towards the street, appearing little more than a handsome dwelling house, with but little attempt at design, yet what there is is satisfactory. The *Military and Naval Club* have located themselves in the mansion built by Crockford in St. James's Street as a gaming-house. It was erected from the designs of Benjamin and Philip Wyatt, but has nothing remarkable in the exterior. The Club took possession of it in 1849. The *Whittington Club* occupies the old Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, in which they have made material alterations.



KNIGHTS CYCLOPÆDIA OF LONDON.

NO. XXXV. THEATRES AND MUSIC.

STANDARD LIBRARY



## XXXV. THEATRES AND MUSIC.

ALTHOUGH the earliest public Theatres seem to have been established during the continuance of a pertinacious struggle between the players and play-lovers on the one side, and the civic power on the other (who held the stage and everything connected with it in especial dislike), they had become very numerous by the time the great dramatic writers, with Shakspeare at their head, were prepared to raise them into their true importance and value. For their success in this struggle the players were evidently indebted to the court favour they enjoyed, which, in 1583, was signalled by Elizabeth's choosing, from among the different companies accustomed to perform before her, twelve of the best actors, and forming them into a company, under her own especial patronage. The chief London theatres at that period were these:—The Theatre, especially so called, in Shoreditch, and the Curtain close by; Paris Garden, Bankside, chiefly used as a Bear Garden, but also for the performance of plays, as Dekker, in his satire upon Jonson, makes the latter say he had played Zulziman there; the Blackfriars, Whitefriars, Salisbury Court, Rose, Hope, Swan, Newington, Red Bull, and Cockpit or Phoenix in Drury Lane. Various places of minor importance were also dignified by the name of Theatre, as the Inn Yard of the 'Bel Savage.' We learn what was the number of actors at the same time in the metropolis, from a letter to Secretary Walsingham, in 1586, which, after referring to the different companies, as the Queen's, Lord Leicester's, Lord Oxford's, Lord Nottingham's, and other noblemen's then performing, states the number of players as not less than two hundred. Of these theatres, the Blackfriars is the one that most deeply interests us: it was there, in all probability, Shakspeare made his first appearance both as actor and writer; it was there, certainly, that he established his reputation. The Blackfriars (and, it is supposed, others also of those we have mentioned, as the Curtain) were erected immediately after—and in consequence of the entire expulsion of players from the limits of the City by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in 1575; who, however, gained little more by the movement than the exhibition of a kind of successful contempt of their authority, in the erection of such houses as the Theatre in the Blackfriars, under their very noses, but, owing to the old monastic privileges, beyond their jurisdiction. Two companies, it appears, had the right of playing at this house, the one that Shakspeare belonged to (the Lord Chamberlain's) and that of the Children of the Chapel, afterwards (on James's accession) known as the Children of Her Majesty's Revels, who played regular pieces the same as their older rivals; as, for instance, Ben Jonson's 'Case is Altered,' in 1599, and his 'Cynthia's Revels,' in 1600. The proprietor of the Blackfriars, in fee, was Richard Burbage; and he probably let the theatre to the Children of the Revels, in the summer season, whilst he and his brother shareholders acted at the Globe. The noticeable passage in 'Hamlet' refers to them, and to the neglect experienced by the players at some particular period, through the overweening admiration of the public for these tiny representatives of the drama; who, it should seem, also, had been accustomed to injure the regular theatres by more direct modes of attack. "There is, sir," says Rosencrantz, "an airy of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion; and so berattle the common stages (so they call them) that many wearing rapiers, are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither.

And in the kindly and thoughtful spirit of Hamlet's reply there is evidence that the complaint may have been made in no selfish spirit :—" Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing ? " he asks. " Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players (as it is like most, if their means are no better), their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession ! " The Blackfriars was one of those theatres distinguished by the title of private, and which were entirely roofed over, instead of, as in those which were public, merely the stage portion ; which had a pit instead of a mere enclosed yard ; in which performances took place by candle-light ; and where the visitors, being altogether of a higher class, enjoyed especial accommodations ; among which, the right to sit on the stage during the progress of the play was the feature most peculiar to the time. In the public theatres this last-mentioned custom also prevailed ; influential persons no doubt being permitted to do so without comment, and impudent ones taking permission in order to show their impudence, or to display their new dresses to the audience in all their bravery. The stools used by such persons were hired at sixpence each. The Blackfriars was probably pulled down soon after the permanent close of the Theatres, during the Commonwealth, by the Puritans ; the locality is still marked by the name Playhouse Yard, near Apothecaries' Hall.

The other Theatre which Shakspeare has bound so closely up with his own history, and to which, therefore, a similar kind of interest is attached, was the Globe, erected about 1593 ; and it is highly probable, in consequence of the growing prosperity of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, who desired a roomier house, a more public field for exertion. This was the largest and best of the theatres yet raised ; as is clear from the care of Alleyn and Henslowe, in the erection of the Fortune, soon after, on a still larger scale, to imitate all its arrangements, excepting the shape. Yet what the Globe was, Shakspeare himself has told us in the preliminary chorus to ' Henry the Fifth : '—

" Pardon, gentles all,  
The flat unraised spirit, that hath dared  
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth  
So great an object : Can this cockpit hold  
The vasty fields of France ! or may we cram  
Within this *wooden* O the very casques  
That did affright the air at Agincourt ! "

What then ?

" Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts,"

is the bidding of the poet ; and he spoke to an audience who could do even better than that, who could forget them altogether, in their apprehension of the spiritual grandeur and magnificence that *was* then with them in the cockpit. It was burnt down in 1613, and rebuilt the next year, when Taylor, the water-poet, noticing it, says—

"— where before it had a thatched hide  
Now to a stately theatre is turn'd."

Like the Blackfriars, it was most probably pulled down during the Commonwealth.

The Fortune Theatre, built about 1599, proved truly a fortune to its chief owner, Alleyn, the actor, and founder of Dulwich College. Here the Lord Admiral's servants performed. From the indenture between Alleyn and Henslowe, his co-partner, on the one side, and the builder, Street, on the other, we learn that the house had three tiers, consisting of boxes, rooms, and galleries ; that there were " two-penny rooms," and " gentlemen's ; " that the width of the stage was forty-three feet, and the depth

thirty-nine and a half, including, however, we should presume, the 'tiring house at the back.

The price of admission seems to have varied not only at the different theatres, but at different times in the same theatre. Ben Jonson has told us in an amusing passage what they were in 1614, when his 'Bartholomew Fair' was acted at the Hope. In the Induction he says, "It shall be lawful for any man to judge his six-pennyworth, his twelve-pennyworth, so to his eighteenpence, two shillings, half-a-crown, to the value of his place, provided always his place get not above his wit." But Dekker speaks of your groundling and gallery commoner buying his sport for a penny; and other writers also of the "penny bench theatres," referring most likely to theatres of a lower grade than any we have enumerated. Of moveable painted scenes, the theatres of the Shaksperian era were not entirely deficient; but in the earliest period we had "Thebes written in great letters on an old door," when the audience were desired to understand the scene lay in that place, and which Sir Philip Sydney ridicules. Hence the briefest, but most significant of stage directions in 'Selimus, Emperor of the Turks,' published in 1594, where, when the hero is conveying his father's dead body in solemn state to the Temple of Mahomet, all parties are quietly told to "*suppose the Temple of Mahomet.*" A great many difficulties might be got rid of by this principle, which, however, was not stretched too far. Our forefathers were not required to suppose the descent of the cauldron in 'Macbeth,' as there were trap-doors; nay, upon occasion, still more difficult feats of ingenuity were accomplished. In the directions to Greene's 'Alphonsus' we read, "after you have sounded thrice, let Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she is down, say;" again, in another part, "Exit Venus. Or, if you can conveniently, let a chair come down from the top of the stage, and draw her up." In dresses and properties the stage of the Shaksperian era seems to have been rich enough to compare with the stage of the present day; nay, it is probable that, in comparison with the size of its theatres, and the number of its actors, it surpassed ours in the splendour and value of the wardrobe. In Henslowe's 'Inventory,' we find, among other and still more expensive items of dress, one of a "Robe for to go invisible," which, with a gown, cost 3*l.* 10*s.* of the money of the sixteenth century.

In 1642 appeared an ordinance of the Long Parliament, commanding the cessation of plays, on the ground that "public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity." For a time the ordinance was obeyed, though of course a cruel one to the actors, whose means of existence were annihilated; but gradually theatres opened again, first in one quarter and then in another, and by 1647 the ordinance seems to have been almost forgotten. A second then appeared, dealing in a more summary mode with all offenders, directing the governing powers and magistracy of London and adjoining counties to enter houses where performances were taking place, arrest the players, and commit them for trial at the next sessions, there to be "punished as rogues, according to law." Even this being found insufficient, the Lords and Commons met and debated the matter warmly, and at last an Act was passed on the 11th of February, 1648, which, after denouncing stage-plays, interludes, and common plays as "the occasion of many and sundry great vices and disorders, tending to the high provocation of God's wrath and displeasure, which lies heavy upon this kingdom," ordained the demolition of all stage galleries, seats and boxes used for performances, and the punishment of convicted players



with open and public whipping for the first offence, and with still severer penalties for a second. No wonder we hear of so many of the players joining the ranks of the Cavaliers during the Civil War, where, it may be added, they are understood to have honourably distinguished themselves. Some few actors, however, appear to have kept together, and acted occasionally in private at the residences of noblemen and others in the vicinity of London without interruption: Holland House was one of these places. Under Cromwell there was still greater toleration, as Sir William D'Avenant gave "entertainments of declamation and music, after the manner of the ancients, at Rutland House, Charter House Square," in 1656, and in 1658 re-opened the Cockpit in Drury Lane, where he performed without molestation until the Restoration. A new era then opened for the drama.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the restored English theatre was its extraordinary facility for extracting the evil out of everything it touched. The Elizabethan drama was not forgotten—far from it; there is scarcely a grossness in those old writers which the new ones did not now imitate and greatly improve upon; they only forgot the truth and vividness of character and life that accompanied them—their high sentiment, their noble passions, their wonderful ever-gushing fount of poetry. So again with the French drama, which they so much admired: they borrowed from it an air of conventional stiffness and formality which did not sit altogether ungracefully on a truly great poet like Corneille, whose spirit was cast in the antique mould; but that air they mistook for him. Lastly, when they began to turn their eyes homewards, and inquire what materials for an English play English society might afford, nothing can be more perfect than the tact with which, in their comedies for instance, they avoided whatever was solid, or permanent, or productive of true genial humour and universal wit. Universal popularity among playgoers was theirs—unbounded the royal admiration and approval of their works. Theatres filled—in opposition to the puritan spirit it became a proof of loyalty to attend them—managers smiled, there was no stirring in society but they met the echoes of their own wit. D'Avenant was the first to profit by so cheering a state of things, both as manager and author, and was certainly well fitted for his position. His residence in France had brought his tastes into a state of proper harmony with those of his sovereign; and the personal favour he enjoyed with Charles II. offered peculiar opportunities for the diffusion of those tastes. He obtained a licence (the origin of the existing *Covent Garden* patent right, as the licence granted at the same period to Killigrew is of that of *Drury Lane*) and built a theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1662, where, instead of the old half-lighted houses, wax-candles shed a brilliant blaze around, moveable painted scenes were introduced—music, operas, and an orchestra. But these novelties were as nothing compared to that of the appearance of actresses on the stage, as a part of the regular company; a feature so amazingly relished by Charles and his courtiers (and, indeed, it had its peculiar advantages for them, as we learn from the list of their female favourites) that certain pieces—we need not describe them—were occasionally played by females alone. It is pleasant to turn for a moment from these reminiscences to some of a purer character. Shakspeare's plays, or at least so much of them as met the approval of D'Avenant, were played in a style of high excellence. Many of the actors were men of the old school, the remnants of the former companies; and one of them, Betterton, has, from all we can learn, never been surpassed in the performance of some of the grandest of the Shakspearean creations. Comedy gradually lost its impurity, improving at the same time in excellences of a more positive character. The English opera, too, must not be forgotten in reckoning the demands of the era

in question upon our attention. In 1673 appeared Shadwell's 'Psyche,' with music by Matthew Lock; and some years later Dryden's, or rather Purcell's, 'King Arthur,' for the only valuable portion of the work is the composer's. Other works by the same composer followed; then came Arne, and Jackson, and Linley, and Dibdin, and Shield, and Storace, and gave us that school of genuine national music which we for a time almost forgot, but which is now, we trust, reviving.

The *Italian Opera*, as something exotic in its origin, and still needing the shelter of the aristocratic conservatory in which it was first planted, for its due support, demands separate notice. The first building in the Haymarket was erected by Vanbrugh at the beginning of the last century, the funds having been provided by a numerous body of subscribers, among whom were the chief members of the Kit-Cat Club. A rival house to Drury Lane, then enjoying a career of remarkable prosperity, was the object of the builder, whose scheme for its attainment was altogether a bold one; namely, that of joining himself and Congreve as writers and managers to such a company as Betterton and his companions, then playing at the Tennis Court, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, as actors. All parties were sanguine as to success; the players, it appears, fancying the reputation of their literary allies, and the grandeur of the new house, would cause the whole town to be attracted. "In this golden dream they however found themselves miserably deceived and disappointed, as on the opening of the grand and superb structure it was immediately discovered that almost every quality and convenience of a good theatre had been sacrificed and neglected, to show the spectator a vast triumphal piece of architecture; and that the best play was less capable of delighting the auditor here than it would be in the plain and unadorned house they had just come from; for what with their vast columns, their gilded cornices and immoderately high roof, scarce one word in ten could be distinctly heard." \* The very defects of the house, however, helped to promote certain schemes of Vanbrugh's in a new quarter. In July, 1703, interludes and musical entertainments of singing and dancing had been given in Italian at York Buildings. Two years after, a regular dramatic Italian piece, with the narrative and dialogue in recitative, but translated, and performed by English actors and singers, was brought out at Drury Lane. Such were the cautious steps by which the Italian Opera stole into this country. Vanbrugh, in the same year, 1705, opened the new theatre, when, in addition to the English play by Betterton's company, there was presented "Signor Giacomo Greber's 'Loves of Ergosto,' set to Italian music." But the house failed the very first season, not even the attraction, towards its close, so characteristic of the two managers, of the performance of 'Love for Love,' by women, serving to draw sufficient audiences for above three nights. Betterton and his company returned to Lincoln's Inn. The Italian Opera was more and more assiduously cultivated in succeeding seasons to prevent the utter ruin of the house from the continuous failure of the English performances; in 1708, Operas were played in which Italian and native singers were mingled; and, in 1710, the Italian Opera was introduced entire at last, 'Almahide' having been performed that year in the foreign language, by foreign performers. This house was burnt down in 1789; the present one was begun in the following year, from the designs of Michael Novosielski; altered and enlarged, and the Pall Mall and Haymarket front built, by Nash and Repton, in 1819.

About ten years ago there were only three theatres licensed to play the regular drama. On the individual histories of these three theatres we cannot attempt to enter,

\* Wilkinson's 'Londina Illustrata.'



but a few dates may be useful. When D'Avenant obtained his licence, and formed his company under the title of the Duke's Servants (the King's brother being their patron), Killigrew, as we have before stated, obtained similar powers for the formation and employment of a company at the old Cockpit in *Drury Lane*: these were to be the King's servants. At the close of the century both patents had fallen into the same hands, those of Rich, the pantomimist; who, by his parsimony, excited so much disgust, that Drury Lane was taken from him, and the licence granted to another party. Steele's name was subsequently entered in the patent; but it was not till the advent upon the London stage of the most perfect actor, perhaps, the world has yet seen, Garrick, that it obtained its highest state of repute and prosperity. In 1745 Garrick and Lacy purchased the theatre, enlarged the house, and opened it with Johnson's well-known prologue. This was a new era of acting, if not of writing; and one can very well understand the great Shakspearean services of Garrick, if we consider that it was not alone the harmony resulting from the greatest of actors representing the characters of the greatest of poets, but that he appears to have been distinguished at the same time, like the poet, by the naturalness of his style. In 1776 Sheridan became part-proprietor, and it was during his government that the Theatre was destroyed by fire in 1809. The present edifice was built by B. Wyatt, Esq. *Covent Garden Theatre* owes its rise to the loss of Drury Lane by Rich, as before stated. 'The Beggars' Opera' having made "Rich gay, and Gay rich," the former grew more magnificent in his ideas, and exerted himself to get a theatre erected in Covent Garden, which he opened in 1733, Hogarth making memorable his transit from Lincoln's Inn Fields by an amusing satirical print. This building was burnt in 1808, then rebuilt by Smirke (after the model of the grand Doric Temple of Minerva at Athens), adorned with statues and some beautiful basso-relievos by Flaxman, and re-opened in 1809. It was here that Kemble carried on the work of stage-reformation which Garrick had begun—here that for so many years with his sister, the illustrious Siddons, he played the Shakspearean drama, as we must scarcely hope ever again to see it played—and here, it must be added, that he experienced, with an indignation that might lessen, but could not prevent, the anguish of a high nature exposed to the most gross insults what it is to be an actor, if, under all circumstances, you will also be a man. It was the rise of prices consequent on the opening of the New Theatre under his management, that brought on the notorious O. P. riots. It rose, as we have said, from the success of the 'Beggars' Opera,' which Gay intended as a burlesque of the Italian Opera, though it rises far above such an object, and now the theatre has itself become a stage for the performance of the Italian Opera, with a success that induces a belief that it will permanently continue so. The "*Little Theatre in the Haymarket*" (as all its managers seem to call it, with a sort of affectionate patronising air, perhaps because, generally speaking, it seems to have been the means of a very satisfactory kind of patronage of them) was first erected about 1720. Here, in 1735, Henry Fielding opened the season with the 'Great Mogul's Company,' and acted his own Pasquin for forty nights, when he was obliged to shut up the house in consequence of the Licensing Act of 1736. In 1744 it was under the management of Macklin, and in 1747 it passed to Foote, who, to avoid a similar conclusion, gave "tea," and made it one of the most popular places of amusement in London by his own great but sadly misdirected talents. Lastly, we may observe that the Haymarket owes its present privileges to nothing more nor less than Foote's leg, which the comedian happening to break at a hunting party of fashionables, when the Duke of York was present, obtained a licence for life for the Haymarket as a summer theatre by way of



compensation, and which was subsequently made permanent. The 'Little Theatre' was pulled down in 1820, when the present edifice was erected, next door (south) to the old one, from the designs of Mr. Nash, and was opened in 1821.

Before proceeding to notice the minor theatres, we must notice the alteration which has taken place in the licensing of the houses, by which the restriction as to the performance of the regular drama has been done away. About 1830 the minor theatres had commenced performing the regular drama, endeavouring to evade the law by having a few notes of a pianoforte accompanying the performance, and an information laid against them by the proprietors of Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1831 was dismissed by the magistrates at Bow Street. In 1830 Mr. Leonard had moved for the repeal of the Act 7 Geo. II., relating to the licensing of dramatic entertainments, without success, but in 1832 Mr. E. L. Bulwer (now Sir E. Bulwer Lytton) obtained a committee to inquire into the state of the law respecting the performances and literature of the drama. The results were, first, and in a short time, the emancipation of the theatres from the absurd restriction of being confined to the lowest, and not allowed to give the best, specimens of the dramatic art; and secondly, the passing of an Act "to amend the laws relating to literary dramatic property," by which a copyright, is secured to an author for his life or for twenty-eight years from the time of its publication, if he does not live so long, both as to the reprinting or its representation on the stage without the permission of the author or his representatives; this has led to the formation of the Dramatic Authors' Society, through whose means negotiations are carried on with the managers of theatres, provincial theatres in particular, by whom stipulated sums are paid for the liberty of performing such pieces when desirable. The Act imposes a penalty of not less than 40s., or the full amount of benefit derived, for every distinct transgression.

Of the minor theatres, as they are called, the oldest is *Sadler's Wells*. It owes its origin to a mineral spring belonging to the monks of St. John, Clerkenwell, which probably still exists, as Wilkinson, in his 'Londina Illustrata,' says, in 1814, it was then in the centre of the court-yard, covered up by a brick arch. It was resorted to for the cure of disorders, and was prohibited by Cromwell as fostering superstition. It was afterwards opened as a tea and music house by one Jones, whose son added rope-dancing, &c. Sadler succeeded him, gave a more regular character to the entertainments, and his name to the place. To him succeeded Rosamon, who does not appear to have been very successful, and he sold a share of it to King the comedian, who transferred it to Wroughton the comedian, and under these two it became a regular theatre, performing burlettas and pantomimes, though rope-dancing and tumbling were still continued; indeed Wroughton and his partners applied to Parliament for an Act to limit the performance of pantomimes to this house, which Act passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Hughes afterwards became part proprietor and manager, and then Charles Dibdin, jun., under whom the house was partly rebuilt in 1803, and adapted for the performance of aquatic pieces. This and the pantomimes, supported by the extraordinary talent of the late Joey Grimaldi, rendered the speculation very remunerative for a considerable time; but it at length declined, until, under the management of Mr. Phelps, who has here produced the genuine drama, including many of the plays of Shakspeare, in a most classical and effective manner, it may be hoped it is again prosperous, which, indeed, we believe, judging from the crowded state of the house at these representations.

The next in chronological order is *Astley's*. It was erected in 1774 by Philip Astley, being little more than a shed open to the air, for exhibiting feats of horsemanship, &c. Mr. Astley, who had been a light horseman in General Elliott's regiment, was

very successful, and he improved his building. In 1794 it was burned down, rebuilt, and in 1803 again burned down, the mother of Mrs. Astley, a Mrs. Woodham, being burned, Astley himself being then a prisoner in France, whither he had gone during the short peace, and whence he shortly afterwards escaped. It was again rebuilt, and assumed the title it yet retains of the Royal Amphitheatre. In 1814 Philip Astley died, and was succeeded by his son John, who was succeeded by Ducrow, under whom it was again burnt down in 1841. The present building was then erected, and is now under the direction of Mr. Batty. It has remained faithful to its first design; it is still the arena of equestrian performances, and is renowned for the brilliancy of its spectacles, perhaps more than for their good taste.

The *Surrey Theatre*, originally the Royal Circus, was opened in 1780, under the direction of Charles Dibdin, sen. Hughes, a riding-master, had commenced some time before an opposition to Astley, but both he and Astley had been ordered to discontinue by the Surrey magistrates. Astley soon went on again with a licence, but Hughes did not. Dibdin's idea was to carry this rivalry into more effective operation, and by 1782 the theatre had been built and opened for equestrian exhibitions, under the direction of Hughes, with pantomime, parody, and music. Dibdin was subsequently expelled by Hughes, who, however, was not successful, and after a time the theatre was closed for some years. It opened again in 1793, and went on till 1805, when it was destroyed by fire. A new theatre was erected in the following year, opened, and continued with loss to the speculators, until 1809, when Elliston took it, and commenced the practice of performing the regular drama, mutilating the pieces, however, and calling them burlettas. In 1810 the horse-ride was converted into a pit. Though Elliston's receipts were large, his expenses were larger, and in 1814 he quitted it, as he said, a loser. From that time it has passed through many hands, among them Mr. T. Dibdin's, but without any marked event or characteristic, except that more than one original drama of more than average merit has been produced on this stage.

The *Olympic Theatre* was built in 1805 by Philip Astley, and was opened as a theatre for equestrian performances in 1806. It was situated on an irregular plot of ground fronting Wych Street, Drury Lane, and extending back to a court, which was formerly a part of the site of Craven House, where the Queen of Bohemia, the daughter of James I., had resided. It was built of wood, roofed with tin, and had the appearance of a large tent. The speculation was unsuccessful, and in 1813 he let it to Elliston, who almost reconstructed it. Madame Vestris had it for a time, and it was then well attended, if not very profitable. In 1849 it was burnt down, but rebuilt again with remarkable rapidity, and much improved in its arrangements.

The *Adelphi Theatre*, on the north side of the Strand, opposite the Adelphi, was built in 1802, by a Mr. John Scott, a tradesman in the neighbourhood, for his daughter, who was distinguished as an actress, and was also a dramatic writer. She wrote many of her pieces, and performed in them herself, and her success was very considerable. It was originally called the Sans Pareil, it next became the Strand, and about 1821 was named the Adelphi. In 1814 it was enlarged, and a handsome though small entrance built in the Strand. The present front was erected in 1841. Like all the rest of the theatres it has been under various managements. The most marked features were the production of 'Tom and Jerry' in 1821, which had a most unmerited success; the 'At Home' of Charles Mathews in 1828, and two or three subsequent years; and the performances of John Reeve—we may perhaps add those of the living actors, Paul Bedford and Wright.

The *Queen's Theatre*, previously the Regency, and prior to that the King's Concert

Rooms for the performance of ancient music, is in Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. After the discontinuance of the concerts, Colonel Greville opened it under the title of 'The Pic-nic Society ;' it was a subscription concern, at which amateur performances—sometimes French—were given, a cold supper, and music and singing afterwards. It did not last long. In 1808 it was opened by Saunders for horse-riding ; a little while subsequent, namely, in 1810, it was nearly entirely rebuilt as a regular theatre, and so it has continued, but always with very indifferent success.

The *Lycæum Theatre*, like Sadler's Wells, traces back a long pedigree as a place of amusement, though in a varied form. In 1765 James Payne, the architect, erected a building on some ground belonging to Exeter House for the Royal Academy, as a Lycæum or Academy, and Exhibition Room, and exhibitions took place here as late as 1790. It was afterwards occupied by Mr. Dibdin for his musical entertainments. In 1795 it became a circus for horsemanship, and Astley occupied it when his own theatre had been burnt. In 1798 the late Dr. Arnold pulled down the interior, and constructed the new building purposely for a theatre for musical performances—an English Opera House, as he named it, but it remained unoccupied, or nearly so, as he failed in getting a licence. It was used occasionally for exhibitions of various kinds : Walker displayed his Orrery, De Philipsthal and Bologna their Phantasmagoria, Dibdin and Laurent gave musical entertainments, and Ker Porter exhibited pictures. In 1809, however, Mr. S. Arnold, the son of Dr. Arnold, obtained a licence, opened the theatre, and when Drury Lane was burnt down the company removed hither for a time. About 1816, when Wellington Street was being formed, Mr. Arnold rebuilt the theatre in a handsome style, from designs by Mr. Beazley. This was destroyed by fire in 1830, and the present building was erected in its stead, from the designs of the same architect.

The *Victoria Theatre*, formerly the Coburg, at the corner of the New Cut and the Waterloo Bridge Road, was begun in 1816, and opened in 1818. Beyond the ordinary vicissitudes of theatrical property there is nothing to tell of it, and little to remark upon as to the architecture of the house, except that it is one of the largest of the minor theatres, that the exterior is very plain, and that a part of the materials of the old Savoy Palace was used in its construction.

Of the remaining theatres none have anything to notice in their histories. The *Prince's Theatre*, near St. James's Square, formerly the St. James's, was erected by Beazley for Braham the singer, who lost here the wealth he had acquired in his profession. It is now occupied for a part of the year as a theatre for the representation of French dramas by a company of French actors, with considerable success. The *Princess's Theatre*, in Oxford Street, is a handsome little house of modern date ; so is the Strand (now *Punch's Play House*), on the south side of the Strand ; so likewise are the *Standard* at Norton Folgate, the *Pavilion* in High Street, Whitechapel, and the *Marylebone Theatre* near Portman Market, the last honourably distinguished for the performances of the regular drama, under the management of Mrs. Warner, who was for some time an able assistant to Mr. Phelps at Sadler's Wells, in effecting the same good purpose. There are in addition a number of taverns at which dramatic performances of a humbler kind are exhibited, such as the Eagle Tavern, City Road, the Britannia, Hoxton, and many other places. They are not theatres, however, and so we leave them.



## CONCERTS.

SIR John Hawkins gives a melancholy view of the opportunities furnished to the middle and lower classes of society, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, for the study and enjoyment of music. The nobility had, of course, private concerts of paid performers, as, to a certain extent, they had, probably, always been accustomed to have; then, for a class lower in position, we find a kind of public concerts gradually growing into use, of which the chief manager was Mr. John Banister; but as to the people generally, it seems the musical portion of them was satisfied with entertainments given in public-houses, and by performers hired by the landlords. Here, says Sir John, there was no variety of parts, no commixture of different instruments: "half a dozen of fiddlers would scrape Sellenger's (or St. Leger's) Round, or John come Kiss me, or Old Simon the King, with divisions, till themselves and their audience were tired; after which as many players on the hautboy would, in the most harsh and discordant tones, grate forth Green Sleeves, Yellow Stockings, Gillian of Croydon, or some such common dance tune, and the people thought it fair music."<sup>9</sup> But a great reformation was at hand, though every one was astonished at the quarter from whence it came. There was then to be seen daily, walking through the streets of London, a man distinguished from his rivals in the same trade—that of selling small-coal from a bag carried over his shoulder—by his peculiar musical cry, by his habit of stopping at every book-stall that lay in his way, where, if there happened to be a treasure, it was sure to be caught up and purchased, and by his acquaintances, many of whom, as they paused to speak to him in the street, were evidently members of a very different rank of society to his. Ask any bystander you see gazing upon him with a look of mingled respect and wonder, who or what he is, and you are answered—That is the "Small-coal man, who is a lover of learning, a performer in music, and a companion for a gentleman any day of his life." It is, indeed, Thomas Britton, the founder of modern concerts. Let us follow him home: to his little coal-shed and house in Clerkenwell cheerily he goes, where all traces of the business of the day soon disappear; an hour or two elapses, and he is in the midst of a delightful circle of friends and fellow-amateurs, exchanging sincere gratulations, paying his respects to new visitors, opening music books, and tuning his violin. That is indeed a remarkable circle for a small-coal man to draw around him.

These interesting meetings, which began in 1678, appear to have been continued till the death of Britton, which, it is painful to add, occurred indirectly through them. A justice Robe was among the members, one of those greatest of social nuisances, a practical joker. This man introduced into Britton's company a ventriloquist of the name of Honeyman, who, making his voice descend apparently from on high, announced to Britton his immediate decease, and bade him, on his knees, repeat the Lord's Prayer by way of preparation. The command was obeyed; and a few days afterwards the subject of it was lying a corpse, overcome by the terrors of his imagination thus recklessly and basely worked upon.

The impulse given by the establishment of the Small-coal man's concerts soon extended itself. In one direction "music-shops" of different kinds and different grades arose; whilst in another, societies sprang into existence for the mere enjoyment and promotion of music only, apart from any pecuniary considerations. The first of these,

\* 'History of Music,' vol. i. page 2.

and therefore the first of such societies in England, was the *Academy of Ancient Concerts*, established in 1710, for the practice of ancient vocal and instrumental music; among the principal founders being Dr. Pepusch and Bernard Gates of the Queen's Chapel. A library was commenced; and, with the assistance of the gentlemen of the chapel, the choir of St. Paul's, and the boys from each, a powerful executive formed. For above eighty years did this society exist (it was dissolved in 1792), during which many and weighty were the especial services rendered by it to music, apart from the beneficial tendencies of its general course. One of these occurred in 1732. Handel, after rising to the summit of popularity, had offended his more aristocratic supporters during his management of the Italian Opera, and, in consequence, been driven into retirement with the loss of £10,000, and with a broken constitution. At the time we have mentioned, the quarrel was still raging, and the great musician's position almost desperate. Then it was that, during Lent, the Academy brought forward the oratorio of *Esther* (which had been composed by Handel for the Duke of Chandos's chapel at Canons); and performed it by means of their own members and the children of the chapel only: the boys of St. Paul's having been taken away by Dr. Greene, on the occasion of a schism in the society, who then opened the Apollo room in the Devil Tavern; on hearing of which Handel, who had been indirectly a cause of the schism, remarked wittily, "De toctor Greene is gone to the tefel!" Although thus shorn of its fair proportions, the Academy exhibited *Esther* with such remarkable success, that Handel thought he might try the same experiment on his own account; hence arose the custom of regularly performing oratorios in Lent. *Deborah* was produced in 1733, *Israel in Egypt* in 1738, *Saul* in 1740, and the *Messiah* in 1741; when, unable any longer to endure the mortification of finding such works too unpopular even to pay their expenses, the musician determined to quit the country, and accordingly went to Ireland. Pope's well-known lines will not be here out of place. Alluding to the quarrel between Handel and the nobility, the poet, in his appeal to the Goddess of Dulness, writes—

"But soon, ah! soon, rebellion will commence,  
If music meanly borrow aid from sense.  
Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel stands  
Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands:  
To stir, to rouse, to shake the world he comes,  
And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums.  
Arrest him, empress, or you sleep no more—  
She heard—and drove him to th' Hibernian shore;"

where he was received with a fitting welcome, and from which he returned with fresh laurels to London, in 1742, to try once more his fate. Samson soon appeared at Covent Garden, and an unbroken career of success commenced at last. Under the management of Handel's friends, J. C. Smith, Stanley, Linley, and Dr. Arnold, the oratorio long maintained the popularity given to it by the author of '*The Messiah*;' but toward the close of the century a person of the name of Ashley started in rivalry to Arnold, and, according to the ordinary rules of managers in opposition, adopted any expedients that promised a temporary success; among them those of partially secularising and wholly vulgarising the performances. From that time oratorios kept up but a kind of languishing existence that left little to regret when they at last disappeared for a time, to be revived with a splendour of which Handel himself scarcely dreamt.

The madrigalians were not idle during this period. There was among the members of the Academy a Mr. John Immyns, a reduced attorney, who satisfied his pecuniary



wants and his musical tastes at the same time by becoming amanuensis to Dr. Pepusch, and copyist to the Society. An ardent admirer of the good old days of madrigal singing, he had the good fortune, as no doubt he esteemed it, to light upon some compositions belonging to that class and time. Thenceforth there was nothing for it but to teach the world madrigals. It is a significant fact, that he sought for disciples at the loom and in the workshop; men whom he already knew, or had heard spoken well of, for their musical tastes and their practice in psalmody. Ketzebe says every one tries to draw a circle around him, of which he may be the centre; our attorney had now found his circle, and happy enough, no doubt, he was in it: extending the knowledge of its members, improving their tastes, developing their skill. They met in 1741 at the appropriate sign of the Twelve Bells in Bride Lane; the expenses of their music, books, paper, and refreshments being all defrayed by a quarterly subscription of 5s.; so that their weekly enjoyments cost them something less than 5d. each. And it would have done the hearts good of some of those old composers whose works they revived, to know how they performed them; we may judge of the excellence of the Spitalfields' weavers and their companions by seeing what men were attracted to their society as members—Dr. Arne, Sir John Hawkins, Drs. Cooke and Callcott—in short, almost all our great musicians down to the very present time.

In contrast with the *Madrigal Society* and its plebeian foundation, stands the *Catch Club*, founded in 1762, says Dr. Burney, by the Earls of Eglintoun and March, and other noblemen and gentlemen, but which Mr. Gardiner carries back to "the social meetings spent by Charles II. with Purcell and other *bon vivants* of that age." Music owes much to the early exertions of this Society. The Glee may almost be said to have originated with it. Up to the year 1793 gold medal prizes, of the value of ten guineas each, were annually given for the best glees, canons, and catches. And among the successful candidates we find the names of Webbe, Cooke, the Earl of Mornington, Hayes, Danby, Callcott, and Stevens. Two of these alone—Webbe and Callcott—obtained nearly fifty prizes. Three years later the *Glee Club* was established—something on the plan of the *Catch Club*, but without prizes. Immediately after the establishment of the *Catch Club* a new evidence appeared of the rapid progress of music, as regards diffusion, which, after all, was the thing then wanted, since so many admirable composers had appeared within the previous century, that good music was at all times available. Whilst amateur and mingled professional and amateur societies were flourishing in one direction, and the music shops—including such really useful establishments as Vauxhall and Ranelagh, in a second, a something combining the musical character of the one and the pecuniary features of the other—subscription-concerts, on a scale of great splendour, appeared in a third.

In 1763, Abel, a distinguished German composer and performer, a pupil of the great Sebastian Bach, and John Christian Bach, the son of the latter, commenced weekly subscription-concerts in London, which for many years were highly successful. Abel himself contributed in no slight degree to this result. Numerous other concerts of the same kind followed the success of Bach and Abel's experiment; the most noticeable are the *Pantheon Concerts*, held in the beautiful building then standing in Oxford Street, but which was destroyed in 1792 by fire; the professional concerts, given in the rooms since so famous in musical history, those of *Hanover Square*, and *Salomon's*, by far the most important of the whole. This distinguished foreign violinist, having carefully matured his plans in 1790, set off to Vienna, with the gallant determination of bringing back with him either Haydn or Mozart, to produce



in person some of their own compositions. They were so pleased with the scheme that *both* agreed to it, and arranged with Salomon that one should come over one year, and the other the next. Mozart did not live to fulfil his part of the arrangement; but Haydn arrived in London in 1791, and, in the course of that and the following year, produced six of the twelve grand symphonies that now add so greatly to the illustrious musician's name. In 1794 he came again to London, to fulfil a similar engagement with the enterprising Salomon, and the remaining six symphonies enriched that and the ensuing season. But Salomon's claims upon the musical world were to be yet incalculably enhanced. In 1798 he ventured, at his own entire risk, to bring out at the Opera Concert Room, Haydn's grandest work, the 'Creation,' the only oratorio, it is said, which will bear comparison with Handel. Of the many other subscription-concerts that followed those of Salomon, it will be sufficient to mention those conducted by Harrison and Knyvett, from 1792 to 1794; by the same parties, in connection with Bartleman and Creatorex, from 1801 to 1821; and by Mrs. Billington, Mr. Braham, and Signor Naldi, from 1808 to 1810, at *Willis's Rooms*; whilst Madame Catalani, during the same period, opposed them at *Hanover Square Rooms*.

As to the musical societies of the present day, their name is Legion. We have them for all classes, of all degrees of importance, and embodying the cultivation of all schools. Then again some are for pure instruction, as the *Royal Academy of Music*, established in 1822, and the multitudinous classes of *Exeter Hall*, from which offshoots are fast spreading into every parish of the metropolis, in a great measure through the exertions of Mr. Hullah; some for the glorification of particular musicians, as the *Purcell Club*; but generally, of course, enjoyment is aimed at, whether it be in the grand amateur performances of the *Sacred Harmonic Society* at Exeter Hall before-mentioned; in the *Promenade Concerts*; in the *Melodists' Club*, one of the most agreeable, because the most universal in its plan, of musical assemblages; or in the numerous Septet and Quartet Societies which enliven our domestic circles, and occasionally occupy the concert-room. But pre-eminent above all these, and the older (existing) societies previously noticed, and exercising over most of them an indirect influence through their superiority, are the *Ancient Concerts* and the *Philharmonic*. The Ancient Concerts were established in 1776, at a period when the taste of the time promised to banish from the orchestra the works of the mighty masters who had given to it all its true glory, and when the older academy had ceased to exercise any effectual preventive influence. At the Concerts of Ancient Music all lovers of music of the highest order were promised a gratification and an instruction that they could nowhere else obtain, and upon the whole the institution was redeemed the pledges with which it set out. The original suggester of the society was the Earl of Sandwich, who, with the aid of other noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank, also carried it into effect, and with such spirit that royalty itself became a constant visitor; a great honour, no doubt, but attended ultimately with one serious inconvenience. George III. admired Handel greatly, and in so doing shared but an almost universal feeling; but George III. admired no one else, or if he did care to hear a few notes of Purcell, just by way of relief, now and then, why that was the extent of his toleration; and to this bigotry Creatorex, whilst director, uninterruptedly lent himself. It was out of this society that the famous Handel Commemoration arose in 1784, and which, by the grandeur of the scale upon which it was conducted, gave a new impetus to the study and enjoyment of the great musician's works, the effects of which are still strikingly visible in the grand musical movement now on foot: a movement that promises to restore the old Eng-

lish universality of feeling for the art, with incalculably increased means for study and enjoyment, through the advances that art has made in the last two or three centuries.

The *Philharmonic* was established in 1813, and from a somewhat similar motive to that which originated the Ancient Concerts. Grand instrumental compositions of the highest class, by modern musicians, had ceased to have a home, as the more important of the subscription-concerts before mentioned lost their popularity and became gradually extinct. Among the early members were John Cramer, Clementi, Crotch, Horsley, Bishop, Attwood, François Cramer, Spagnoletti, and Braham. It was fitting that the man who had before done so much in the cause in which they were engaged should preside at the opening meeting. Salomon, then an old man, led the concerts with a "zeal and ability that age had in no degree impaired." The progress of the *Philharmonic* was for some years equal to the preparation; and it is impossible to over-estimate the services rendered by it to the art during that period. It has since, it must be confessed, slackened in its exertions; there has not been exhibited the same single-minded enthusiasm. But we would fain hope that it will yet again arise like a giant refreshed from its slumber. The objects for which it was instituted were never more desirable than now; we might say they were never more generally desired. But it is by no petty effort, no absurd appeals to the love of novelty merely, no yielding to the caprices of fashion, that the *Philharmonic* can recover its once overflowing lists of subscribers. It was formed to lead, and not to follow, and must redouble its exertions, if necessary, in order to place itself once more in a position to fulfil its mission. And if that be grand, what grand instruments are not in its possession to work by? The *Philharmonic* band is, perhaps, the finest in the world. It is something in a lifetime to remember that first visit to the Hanover Square Rooms, on one of the eight *Philharmonic* nights. Mozart and Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Spohr, appear there as we may nowhere else find them, unless it be at the representations of their operas by their own countrymen, when they occasionally visit us. Mr. Gardiner has given us a picturesque description of a great work of one of the men we have named—the '*Eroica*' by Beethoven—as he heard it performed by the *Philharmonic* band. And, as it illustrates in an unusually clear manner the mechanism of a grand piece of instrumental music, and, incidentally, the demands made by such a work on the skill of the performers, and on the capacity to guide and to hold with an unflinching hand, of the conductor,—it may not be uninteresting to our readers to see it here. So let us imagine ourselves seated with the writer amidst the crowded benches of the concert room, waiting anxiously for the commencement. Hush! there is the slow but sharp tap-tap of the conductor. And the '*Eroica*' "opens with two massive shocks, like the firing of cannon; after which springs up, apparently at a great distance, a solemn bewailing melody from the violoncellos, re-echoed by the grave and pensive horn. This strain is taken up in turn by all the instruments, gradually increasing and swelling in sound to an overwhelming degree. The ingenious author keeps the melody constantly in view, playing upon *platforms* of harmony, while these steady masses of sound are made to slide through the different keys. At the sixty-fifth bar a collision takes place, reiterated several times, and between every shock the dragon-like wings of the violins dart among the instruments with frightful asperity. The whole scene is wild confusion, in which some of the instruments grow mad with rage. For a moment something like repose takes place, when a running fight is represented by the violins and basses in *staccato*, driving after each other with increased rapidity. Successive crashes of sound depict the battle in close combat; the oboes and bassoons deplore

the fate of the wounded, and out of the crowd rise tones of despair and death. Here the orchestra seems exhausted, and discomfited voices try to resume the original melody, but always without success. Wide floods of harmony still undulate in massive waves, upon which the double basses carry the opening subject triumphant to the end. After this most extraordinary movement, the Funeral March is heard at a distance—a strain of solemn beauty and simplicity. This is *sung* by the voices of the wind instruments, while the violins and basses, by soft touches at regular intervals, imitate the muffled drums. The weeping oboe and the solos from the bassoon fill the whole strain with gloom and sorrow. This is followed by a soldier savage-like song that runs into the last movement, expressing tumultuous joy. The blaze of harmony is intense, but agreeably relieved by the flutter of the violins, casting a veil over the loud instruments and mitigating the sound. Near the end is a delicious strain from the wind instruments—a prayer to the Supreme Being, whom this author, in his inspired moments, always conceived to be at his elbow; a few sublime crashes of sound terminate this wonderful piece.”\* The ‘Eroica’ was written in honour of Napoleon; but, on his assuming the imperial robe, Beethoven—a determined republican—changed his title of ‘Sinfonia de Napoleon,’ to ‘Death of a Hero:’ suggested, we might fancy, by the reflection that the act in question *was* the death of *his* hero.

Exeter Hall is distinguished for its musical assemblies no less than for its religious meetings. Here are held the meetings of the *Sacred Harmonic Societies*, the old and the new; both instituted for the performance of Sacred Music, chiefly, but not entirely, oratorios; in the original Society the musical conductor is Mr. Costa, with an orchestra of about 700 performers; the conductor of the London (the new) Sacred Harmonic Society is Mr. Surman, whose orchestra usually numbers about 800 performers. The organ, a magnificent instrument, was built by Mr. Walker. The Hall was completed in 1831. It attracts little attention from the passenger, as the frontage is very narrow, and the exterior simply consists of a lofty portico formed of two handsome Corinthian pillars, with a flight of steps from the street to the Hall door. But when any great meeting is assembled, or is about to break up, there is no mistaking the place. The building stretches backward and extends to the right and left for a considerable space. The Strand entrance leads to a wide passage, which at the extremity branches off into transverse passages. Two flights of steps, which meet above, lead to the great Hall, ninety feet broad, one hundred and thirty-eight long, and forty-eight high. It will hold four thousand persons, and, with scarcely any discomfort, a much larger number. The ranges of one-half the seats rise in an amphitheatrical form, and the platform, at one end, is raised about six feet, and will accommodate five hundred persons. Two flights of steps extend from the front row to the entrances at the back. Eight or nine years ago the capacity of the great Hall was enlarged by the erection of a gallery at the end opposite the platform, and two or three years afterwards the curve of the platform on each side was extended into galleries reaching a considerable distance into the middle of the room along the walls. A still later and greater improvement has been made within the last two years by the construction of a new roof, upon more correct acoustical principles, which has materially added to the effects of the music. When the Hall is quite filled the sight is grand and striking.

We have already mentioned the efforts of Mr. Hullah to make music popular, to cultivate the voice, and elevate the taste. At Exeter Hall he was so successful as to

\* ‘Music and Friends,’ p. 686.



have 2000 pupils combining their voices in melody before crowded audiences, in the execution of some of the best oratorios, and other musical compositions of the highest order, both English and foreign. In consequence of this success it was thought desirable to have a building of their own, and a Music Hall was erected in a narrow street (Charles Street) running out of Long Acre, from which, however, it has an entrance, though no part is there shown. It is of red and white brick, in a somewhat plain Elizabethan style. It was opened in 1850, and is now entitled *St. Martin's Hall*. The Concert Hall, one hundred and twenty feet long, fifty-five feet wide, and forty feet high, is on the upper floor. The ceiling is flat, but slopes towards the sides, and is divided into compartments by timber beams; galleries run round three of the sides, the north, west, and south. The Hall will hold three thousand auditors. On the ground floor are a lecture room, fifty-one feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty feet high, and several class rooms.

There are a few other places of amusement where Music forms a great part though not the whole of the attraction. Such are the *Surrey Zoological Gardens*, which retain, during a portion of the summer, Jullien's celebrated band; *Cremorne Gardens*, which has in addition to music exhibitions of various kinds; but paramount to them all is *Vauxhall*, which has a long-established fame, even from the time of the concerts of nightingales held there, as recorded by Sir Roger de Coverley, down to the present day, and which we have mentioned at page 44.

Music is now therefore widely diffused, taste is manifestly improving, the best music draws large audiences, and though some sacrifices have to be made occasionally "to the ears of the groundlings," these are daily becoming fewer. It is possible, nay, even likely, that music may again become a popular amusement, and again be understood and comprehended by every one of decent education. De la Serre, who came to England with Mary de Medici, when she visited the Queen of Charles I., is enthusiastic in his praises of the street music of London:—"In all public places, violins, hautboys, and other kinds of instruments are so common, for the gratification of individuals, that in every hour of the day our ears may be charmed with their sweet melody." England was then a musical nation; but from that time nearly to our own her street-music became a thing to be legislated against. It ought now to be left alone, if it cannot be encouraged by the State.

In the days of Elizabeth, and of James and Charles, the people were surrounded with music, and imbued with musical associations. The cittern was heard in every barber's shop; and even up to the publication of the 'Tatler' it was the same: "Go into a barber's anywhere, no matter in what district, and it is ten to one you will hear the sounds either of a fiddle or guitar, or see the instruments hanging up somewhere." The barbers or their apprentices were the performers: "If idle, they pass their time in life-delighting music." Thus writes a pamphleteer of 1597. Tye, Tallis, and Breda—the latter the author of the glorious '*Non nobis, Domine*,' were chiefly distinguished for their church music in the time of Elizabeth; but the period was still more remarkable for its madrigalian composers, who, in number and excellence, almost form to music what the dramatists of the same period are to poetry. Morley was one of them; Dowland—the immortalised of Shakspeare's poems;

"Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch  
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense"—

was another, whose madrigals are so exquisitely beautiful as to give ten-fold interest to the lines; Wilbye, a still greater name, was a third: to these, among many others, must be added, Ford, Ward, and Gibbons; the last equally illustrious for his cathedral

music. Suddenly the growing prosperity of the art was arrested by the civil wars, and the ensuing Commonwealth, when music and musicians were alike proscribed; although it is a noticeable trait in Cromwell's character that he, who had so just an appreciation of what was most valuable in art as to purchase the Cartoons, seems to have been also devotedly attached to music in its sublimest forms. When the great organ of Magdalen College, Oxford, was forcibly removed, the Protector caused it to be carefully taken to his palace at Hampton Court, and placed in the gallery, where it formed one of his especial enjoyments, when he could steal an hour from the absorbing cares of the state, to come hither and listen. Hingston was his organist, who gave occasional concerts in his house, and these Cromwell also attended. No doubt musicians yearned for the termination of a period so generally fatal to their pursuit; but when that desire was gratified by the Restoration, the result was anything but what they must have anticipated. It was a pity that the French people did not devise some expedient of attaching permanently to their country a monarch who was so fond of all that belonged to them, and had so little respect for his countrymen. With French manners and French literature, French music also accompanied or followed the returning steps of the long-exiled prince. And although the impulse previously given was too powerful to be suddenly checked, and great British composers still occasionally appeared, fashion did as much as it could to keep down such attempts, and to a certain extent succeeded. But in this reign an event of some novelty and of great importance occurred, the influence of which in preserving a certain amount of pure taste, and consequently of genuine relish for the excellence of the native school, can hardly be overrated. Doctor King, about the beginning of the last century, found the barbers degenerating in their accomplishments, and he assigns the cause: "Turning themselves to periwig-making, they have forgot their cittern and their music." The cittern twanged then in the barber's shops in the fresh mornings especially; and then came forth the carman to bear his loads through the narrow thoroughfares. He also was musical. We all know how Falstaff describes Justice Shallow: "He came ever in the rearward of the fashion, and sung those tunes to the over-scutched housewives that he heard the carmen whistle." He had a large stock of tunes. In Ben Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair,' one of the characters exclaims, "If he meet but a carman in the street, and I find him not loth to keep him off of him, he will whistle him and all his tunes over at night in his sleep." Half a century later even, "barbers, cobblers, and plowmen," were enumerated as "the heirs of music." Who does not perceive that when Isaac Walton's milk-maid sings,—

"Come live with me and be my love,"

she is doing nothing remarkable? These charming words were the common possession of all. The people were the heirs of poetry as well as of music. They had their own delicious madrigals to sing, in which music was "married to immortal verse,"—and they could sing them. Morley, writing in 1597, says, "Supper being ended, and music-books, according to custom, being brought to the table, the mistress of the house presented me with a *part*, earnestly requesting me to sing; but when, after many excuses, I protested unfeignedly that I could not, every one began to wonder—yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up." In a condition of society like this, the street music must have been worth listening to. "A noise of musicians," as a little band was called, was to be found everywhere; and they attended upon the guests in taverns and ordinaries, and at "good men's feasts" in private houses. In 'The Silent Woman,' it is said, "the smell of the venison, going through the streets, will invite one noise of fiddlers or other;" and again,

"They have intelligence of all feasts ; there 's good correspondence betwixt them and the London cooks." Feasts were then not mere occasions for gluttony and drunkenness, as they became in the next generation. As the drunkenness went on increasing, the taste for music went on diminishing. In the next century, the 'Tatler' writes, "In Italy nothing is more frequent than to hear a cobbler working to an opera tune; but, on the contrary, our honest countrymen have so little an inclination to music, that they seldom begin to sing till they are drunk." Thus we went on till the beginning of the present century, and indeed later. The street music was an indication of the popular taste. Hogarth's blind hautboy-player, and his shrieking ballad-singer, are no caricatures. The execrable sounds which the lame and the blind produced were the mere arts of mendicancy. The principle of extorting money by hideous sounds was carried as far as it could go by a fellow of the name of Keiling, called Blind Jack, who performed on the flageolet with his nose. Every description of street exhibition was accompanied with these terrible noises. After the peace our thoroughfares gradually resounded with the somewhat improved melody of the street-singers of Paris. An Italian was now and then imported with his guitar ; and his knowledge of harmony compensated for his somewhat cracked voice. All at once glee-singers started up ; and they are now common. Then a "noise" or two of really tolerable instrumental performers were to be found in Portland Place and other streets of the west ; and even those who were familiar with Rossini might stop to listen.

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THE GREAT HALL  
AND  
ENTRANCE AT NORTH WESTERN



KNIGHTS CYCLOPEDIA OF LONDON

NO. XXXVI. METROPOLITAN RAILWAY STATIONS.



STANDARD INFORMATION



## XXXVI. METROPOLITAN RAILWAY STATIONS.

In the course of our work we have had frequent occasion to illustrate the general magnitude of the metropolis and of all that belongs to it; but few items in this mighty whole give so vivid an idea of what London truly is as is furnished by its Railway Termini—those gates of the world through which we have only to pass, put on our wishing (or travelling) cap, and the thing is done; we are presently either roaming among the sublime mountains of Wales or Scotland—following with antiquarian interest the route of Henry the Fifth's invading French army, *vid* Southampton—looking for the samphire on Shakspeare's cliff at Dover; or, if we are in a great hurry, whirling away on the other side of the Channel to Paris or Cologne, towards Italy or Vienna, towards Siberia or Timbuctoo. And apparently, before many years, all destinations will be about the same as regards the hour occupied—your only mode of measuring—or as regards the comfort and safety with which they may be reached. For, seriously, it would be as idle to sit down now satisfied that travelling has reached its climax, as it would have been when the first of those excellent coaches started which reached York from London in a week, God willing. One's health, no doubt, requires that there should be a little interval between shaking hands with friends at parting in London, and doing the same with others on meeting at Brighton; but really the amount of that interval promises to depend upon some such considerations only.

The revolution which the metropolitan railways have wrought in our locomotive capabilities sinks into comparative insignificance when we contemplate the revolution they must yet work in mental and moral phenomena—blending together more and more intimately all countries and peoples, all religions, philosophies, feelings, tastes, customs and manners, through the agency of the great social harmoniser, personal converse. We shall hardly be able to speak much longer of mere visitors to and from London, but of London going to see the country, the country coming to see London—of London running over to inquire how all goes on in Paris, Paris returning the compliment in the same way: already we perceive eleven hours is the allotted time for passing from London to Paris. Through a great portion of Europe the same kind of communications are preparing; and we may, in short, almost anticipate the time when we shall make as little fuss about the tour of the world as of a tour through the Isle of Wight; when we shall talk of London, Paris, Vienna, Madrid, and so on, as of so many stages for refreshment—a little longer, certainly, than those of a stage coach, but still more nearly akin to them than to anything else.

We now propose to notice first and briefly some of the more striking individual features of our metropolitan railways; and then to devote the remainder of our paper chiefly to a view of the economy of a metropolitan station—a subject of considerable interest, and not entirely without novelty to general readers.

### EUSTON STATION.

‡ This will perhaps ever remain the most important and most remarkable railway station in the British dominions. At no other, London Bridge excepted, do so many passengers alight and depart; at no other are tickets issued to so many places; at no other do the striking features of the railway system display themselves so forcibly.

Most persons are now aware that the London and North-Western Railway, the metropolitan terminus of which is at Euston Square, is a collection of many different railways, which, by amalgamation, leases, and purchases, have gradually come under one management. The London and Birmingham, the Grand Junction, the Manchester and Birmingham, and the Liverpool and Manchester, all great companies, and all having branches running out of their main lines, amalgamated in 1846; and in the subsequent period of five years many new branches have been made, and many purchases and leasings effected. The result is that the Company has now control over more than 500 miles of railway, besides supplying working power for many hundred additional miles. It has under its ownership lines from Preston in the north to London in the south; from Oxford in the south-west to Leeds in the north-east; from Peterborough in the east to Liverpool in the west. For all this extensive network, the Euston terminus is the great station.

When this terminus was first formed a small number of houses in Seymour Street and streets adjacent were purchased; but the necessary extensions of recent years have led to the purchase of an immense amount of house property, and the station now occupies a compact area. Almost every vestige of the original station has been removed, except Mr. Hardwick's Doric entrance; for it was found impossible to engraft the new buildings conveniently on the old, and therefore the station has been almost entirely rebuilt. The entrance is certainly a remarkable one. It is not opposite the centre of the station; it does not accord in architectural style with any other part of the building; and it renders no more service than does the marble arch at Cumberland Gate. It must depend, therefore, for its character, on its merits as an isolated structure; but these merits are certainly great. The entrance is a kind of lofty gateway, like the entrance to a temple, flanked by smaller iron gates. Without putting forth any particular claims to originality, this work has the merit of exhibiting the Grecian Doric upon a scale before unattempted in modern times, and far exceeding that of the generality of ancient examples. The columns are eight feet six inches in diameter; owing to their being of such large dimensions they are not made solid throughout, but have a hollow core. The structure is upon the plan of a Greek propylæum; that is, it forms a covered entrance, open at both ends, surmounted by a pediment. The height to the top of the pediment is 70 feet.

Those who remember the station in its old form will know that within the Doric gateway there was an ante-court, bounded on two sides by a low range of booking offices. But the whole of these have been removed; the court-yard has been enlarged; the offices on the east and west are walled off; while the north side is occupied by the new booking and other offices, the most splendid of the kind, perhaps, in the world. Entering by a number of doorways, around which are troops of porters ready to assist passengers arriving with their luggage, we find ourselves in a vestibule, or corridor, paved with tessellated tiles, made by Minton of Stoke. It was well to select the new station as a theatre for testing this material; but the friction of so many thousands of feet has already given a very dusky hue to the colours of the floor. Within this corridor is the great hall—a room which none but a great Company would be daring enough to build. It never fails to strike with astonishment these passengers who visit it for the first time. It receives all the down or out passengers—from the first-class express to the humble "Parliamentary;" all enter this hall before entering the booking or pay offices. The hall is large and lofty, and decorated in a style of considerable splendour. On the south are the entrance passages from the vestibule just spoken of; on the east and west are the doors to the booking-offices and other rooms, with a narrow gallery of communication above. On the north side

is an elegant double staircase, leading to the committee and other rooms in which the directors and their servants assemble. Near the corners of the room, just below the ceiling, are bas-reliefs, representing some of the principal towns served by this railway, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, &c., in symbolic or emblematic form. In the centre of the hall is a refreshment table of singular form: a circular ring, laden with refreshments, around the exterior of which the passengers can make their small purchases prior to the starting of a train. The size, style, cleanliness, order, and general arrangement of this noble hall, are certainly worthy of the great Company whose revenues alone could bear the charge, and whose amount of business could render such a place necessary. The decorative features were a little complained of by some of the cautious shareholders on the score of expense; but the objections have died away.

From this splendid hall doors lead on the right and left to the booking-offices, which are so large and well arranged that two or three trains can be dispatched almost simultaneously without confusion. The principal offices are on the right or east; and these lead to the departure platform, which has existed from the first, but which has undergone repeated extensions and improvements. The left, or western booking-offices, lead to a newer departure platform, which has been rendered necessary to accommodate the growing traffic of the line. The offices and side railway for the *parcels* department are still further westward, occupying the entire side of a street. The arrival platform (for all or most of the trains arrive at a platform of immense length) is on the east of the railway; and beyond this is a stand at which omnibuses and cabs take their rank when a train is about to arrive. All the passenger arrangements are comprised within a compact block of buildings, bounded by Seymour Street on the east, and Whittlebury Street on the west; but northward of this there is a very large space occupied by carriage-sheds, repairing-shops, store-houses, and other buildings necessary to the maintenance of the working stock of the railway. One of these buildings is a smith's shop, with sixteen forge fires ranged round a central shaft, which has a somewhat ornamental appearance given to it: the building contains lathes, boring machines, punching and screw-cutting engines, and much other apparatus, worked by a steam-engine of 16-horse power.

After leaving this station northward, we find four lines of rail extending through a deep cutting to the Camden goods station. This cutting had to be made through a somewhat treacherous soil; and the sides are bounded by lofty brickwork of immense thickness, pierced here and there with drain-pipes. But even this did not suffice; the engineer found that the walls showed indications of bulging in, and they have, consequently, been braced across the top with iron girders of enormous size and strength. The vastness of this bricked cutting is well seen from certain points near the Hampstead Road.

#### CAMDEN STATION.

This station, one of the largest in the kingdom, is the goods station for the North-Western Railway. It extends to within a short distance of the Primrose Hill tunnel, and is reached from Euston Square by a continuous ascent. The Euston Station occupies twelve acres, but this at Camden Town covers a much larger area. The arrangements for a locomotive department, a carriage department, and a goods department, are here carried out on an immense scale, but there is no passenger station. When the railway was first formed the passenger terminus was here; but as this is a remote point (although not so far as the Paddington terminus from the centre of the metropolis), it was resolved to incur the vast additional expense of extending



the line to Euston Square. The Birmingham and the Great Western lines approach very near together in the immediate vicinity of Kensal Green; and it was thought that if a short junction were made at that spot the Euston Station might accommodate both companies. This idea had some influence in determining the plan of four lines of rails from Camden Town to Euston Square; but whatever may have been the views of some of the parties, ten or twelve years ago, the junction has not been made; and each of the two great termini has as much traffic as it can conveniently manage. When the extension was first formed, landowners' scruples prevailed to such an extent as to forbid the use of locomotives on the part of the line south of Camden Town, and Mr. Stephenson had, therefore, to devise means to bring the trains to Euston Station by other means. He laid down an endless rope from Camden to Euston Station, worked by a steam-engine; by this rope the trains were drawn up the incline, whereas the descent was sufficient to enable them to come in the opposite direction by the force of gravity alone. For many years the arrangements were thus conducted, but great delays and expenses were consequent upon the system; and the Company afterwards succeeded in obtaining permission to bring their locomotives to Euston Square. They are kept there, however, only for a short time, and in such numbers only as are necessary for trains about to start; for the depôt is at Camden Town. So frequent, nevertheless, are the arrivals and departures of trains, that the hissing locomotive is heard nearly all day long in the northern part of the Euston terminus.

The Camden Station is remarkable both for its vastness and the extensive operations there conducted. When a train arrives, and the services of the locomotive can be dispensed with, it is drawn over a cavity or fire-pit, and the red hot fuel is raked out into the pit, and is quenched with cold water. The driver "blows off" the steam occasionally, to clean the boiler; and there is a weekly removal of the sediment which collects within the boiler. The engine is transferred to the engine-shed, where it is examined all over, and the lamps removed for examination and cleaning; the foreman of the fitters examines after the driver, the superintendent after the foreman; and if either one detects a defect which had escaped the notice of his subordinate, the latter is fined. There are coke ovens at the station, to furnish a portion of the large supply of coke required; and there is one spot where coke is kept red hot during day and night, to be shovelled into the fire-places of locomotives when wanted, in order to save time. On commencing a journey, the locomotive obtains its supply of cold coke in the tender, and hot coke in the fire-place—a quantity from one to two and a half tons, according to the size and kind of engine. It then receives its water supply, usually enough for about 40 miles. The driver has a chronometer or good time-keeper; and he also has a time-bill given him by a clerk, in which he must enter the time at which he reaches each station. There are pilot or extra engines always in readiness at the Camden Station, with their steam up.

The following account was given to the Gauge Commissioners, in 1845, of the time occupied in unloading goods waggons at the Camden Station:—"At 1 P.M. 16 waggons arrived at the shed from Manchester, which were instantly commenced unloading, the men and the road waggons being in attendance purposely for them. These were all unloaded, and the contents of ten of them reloaded into the road waggons, in 1 hour and 40 minutes. From 1 to 2 o'clock there were 49 men employed at the work; and from 2 o'clock to 40 minutes past 2, 8 more men were employed, making 57. The loading consisted entirely of Manchester packs or bales, well packed and corded, and weighing from 1 to 4 cwt. each, which were all removed by cranes, two of the cranes being worked by engine power."

At the Camden Station, the goods warehouses, the coal depôts, the coke ovens and depôts, and the waggon repairing shops, are on the eastern side of the main line of rails, as are likewise the engine-houses for the goods trains; while on the western side are the engine-house for the passenger locomotives, and the shops for repairing locomotives. Northward of these buildings are workshops for the construction and repair of goods waggons, in which many of the tools are worked by steam power. There is also a massive polygonal building, planned to receive twenty-five goods locomotives; the walls are of great thickness, and in brickwork; the roof is mainly of cast and wrought iron. At the entrance are coke stores, engineers' waiting-rooms, and various offices. The finest buildings, however, at the Camden Station, are the passenger locomotive sheds; they are 400 feet long by 90 in width, and are planned to receive forty locomotives at a time. There are generally about twenty here in store, so necessary is it to have an available reserve of steam power. Large as are the resources of this great station, nothing is done here beyond such works as are requisite to maintain the locomotives in daily working efficiency; the heavier repairs being carried on at Wolverton.

At the Camden Station a junction has been made (although not yet in working order) with the Dock Junction Railway, of which we shall speak farther on.

The railway curves westward immediately after leaving the Camden Station, and passes through a deep cutting to the Primrose Hill tunnel. This tunnel is about 1120 yards in length; a ventilating shaft rises from near its centre. The eastern entrance to the tunnel has a somewhat imposing architectural character given to it; but the western is quite plain. At a distance of about three miles from this tunnel occurs the Kensal Green tunnel, 320 yards in length. The line next forms a junction with the West London Railway, to be noticed in a future page; and it afterwards enters the open country, where we will leave it.

#### PADDINGTON STATION.

The Paddington terminus of the Great Western or broad-gauge system is the least ornate of any in London. It has more the appearance of a range of warehouse-arches under a roadway, than of a metropolitan station of a railway which earns its £20,000 per week. There is, however, no deficiency of interior accommodation.

This grand undertaking, which has many features distinguishing it from all others, consisted in the first instance of a railway of 118 miles from London to Bristol. Branches to Windsor, Oxford, Basingstoke, Hungerford, Gloucester, &c., have raised this length to about 250 miles. The Company has also acquired more or less control over every mile of the broad-gauge system, either by purchase, leasing, or working contracts, viz. the Bristol and Exeter, the South Devon, the South Wales, the Wilts and Somerset, the Gloucester and Cheltenham, the Birmingham and Oxford, the Oxford and Wolverhampton, &c.

Mr. Brunel, the engineer of all the broad-gauge railways, introduced two very important changes into railway practice—an extension in the width of the gauge, and a new mode of laying down the rails. This latter was the use of continuous timber bearings beneath the rails, instead of the stone blocks or the cross sleepers employed on other lines: these continuous bearings have since been employed on some of the other lines. But the gauge is the more important point. The national rail-gauge (so to speak) is four feet eight inches; but Mr. Brunel thought that many advantages would be gained by making the gauge fifty per cent. greater: this he has accomplished against all difficulties, financial and parliamentary. We believe it is pretty generally admitted that the travelling public are satisfied with the broad gauge; but the at-



tempt of that gauge to spread itself northward or southward of its original route, into the narrow-gauge territories, has occasioned the waste of many millions of money and continual heartburnings between the several Companies. The Great Western has been at war with its neighbours for ten years; and the "battle of the gauges" is again renewed, after a temporary respite, in the vicinity of Birmingham. This is sad folly; any success on either side will lead to reprisals on the other. The North Western would not have striven to reach Oxford, had not the Great Western stretched its arms to grasp Birmingham. If we draw a small circle which shall include Birmingham, Dudley, and Wolverhampton within its limits, we shall find that thrice as much capital has been expended on railways as is necessary for the district, and without even well supplying it—solely owing to the gauge war. But these details lead us beyond our present purpose.

Whatever be the length of broad-gauge railway (the length now actually open is about 512 miles), the Paddington Station is the natural metropolitan terminus for it. No other has the requisite broad-gauge arrangements, nor does this possess those of the narrow gauge. There is thus a strong line of distinction, which gives to the broad-gauge system many features of vastness which its rival does not possess. The locomotives and the carriages are all on a stupendous scale. Some of the locomotives, with the tender and the supply of coke and water, weigh 60 tons; and the ordinary second-class carriages will accommodate 72 passengers.

On arriving at the Paddington Station, we find that the Westbourne coach-road goes over it at a considerable elevation. The booking-offices and waiting-rooms are in the arches under the roadway; the passenger carriages and buildings are northward, and the goods department southward. It seems to be understood that this station was intended to be only temporary, and this accounts for its humble patchwork appearance; great difficulties have lain in the way of any extension to a more central spot, and the directors have therefore striven to make the best of the existing one. The general approach to the station is from what is called the Bishop's Road at Paddington, with the Paddington Canal Basin on the east and the goods station on the west. This goods station has hitherto been a very wilderness of a place in appearance, but it is gradually assuming a condition more analogous to those of other Companies. Some of the arches under the Westbourne Road are occupied as before noticed; while others are carriage entrances and exits. On proceeding to the northern side of the roadway we find two departure platforms, one for long and one for short traffic, and arrival and subsidiary platforms, quite adequate to the whole of the metropolitan trade of the broad-gauge system. Northward of these are the sheds for the locomotives and carriages, and the shops for repairing such of the rolling stock as does not require to be sent to the great dépôt at Swindon. The whole of these sheds, shops, warehouses, store-rooms, booking-offices, waiting-rooms, and other buildings, exhibit a degree of rudeness which contrasts surprisingly with many of the stations on the Great Western line, and still more with the beautiful Euston and Camden stations. The Company has obtained an Act for building a magnificent hotel at Paddington; a hotel is certainly wanted; but it will have some very rough and dirty neighbours in the surrounding buildings.

After the line leaves the Paddington Station, it passes close by Kensal Green Cemetery (in which the panting locomotives of the rival gauges are occasionally to be heard both at once), and proceeds in a shallow cutting towards Acton, and so onwards, generally at a slight elevation, towards the west.



## WEST LONDON RAILWAY.

This unfortunate little speculation has become almost a byword and a joke. *Punch* long ago took it under his care; and it is only since it has ceased to work at all, that the jokes and banter have ceased. It is, perhaps, the only railway of three miles which has had a distinct Company to manage it; it is the only one of which the absolute no-traffic necessitates or induces the closure. Yet has it been a theatre of much speculation and negotiation. The history and present state of the undertaking may be presented in a few lines.

We have stated in a former page that the two great lines of railway pass very near each other at Kensal Green. This led to a project for connecting them with each other and with the Thames near Chelsea. A line of two or three miles was planned, starting from the Birmingham Railway, descending by an incline to the Great Western Railway, and extending thence southward to the Kensington Canal, which was purchased by the Company as part of their scheme. The new scheme was called the "Bristol, Birmingham, and Thames Junction Railway;" but this name was afterwards superseded by that of "West London." The railway has been constructed, and the respective junctions made. The most remarkable engineering work on the line is a tunnel passing the Paddington Canal at a point where it is crossed by an iron suspension road-bridge; there are thus three different lines of traffic, at as many different levels. There is a narrow road leading out of the Harrow Road near Kensal Green Cemetery, from whence we can obtain a view of the singular arrangements at this spot, arrangements which were carried out by Mr. W. Hoaking. This view embraces the intersection and point of communication of the West London Railway with the Great Western Railway, the road-bridge over the latter, the south entrance to the gallery by which the West London Railway is passed under the Paddington Canal, the canal with its towing paths over the railway, and the iron arch suspension-bridge which carries the road in one span upon a diagonal over both the railway and the canal. We have thus, perhaps, the only instance existing of three distinct modes of public traffic upon the same spot at three different levels; a public carriage road passing over a first-rate navigable canal, and both over a railway in communication, and of course of equal lateral magnitude, with the two principal railways in the kingdom. The gallery under the canal is of breadth sufficient for a double line of rails; the canal has a water way under the bridge 30 feet wide, with 6 feet 6 inches depth of water, and two towing paths each 12 feet wide at the narrowest; the bridge has a carriage-way 20 feet wide, with two footways of five feet each clear of the ribs, making a total roadway of 30 feet; and the span of the iron arched ribs which carry the bridge is 70 feet in the clear.

When this smallest of railways was finished, attempts were made to develop a traffic; but the great Companies did not render much assistance towards this development. Few passengers from the north or the west would wish to be set down at Kensington instead of Paddington or Euston Square; and only a small tonnage of goods could be profitably shifted at Kensington for transference to the Thames down the Kensington Canal. About six or seven years ago a new impulse was thrown into the undertaking, by projects for a branch from Kensington to Sloane Street, and for another branch along or near the canal; but these plans fell to the ground, the Company sank into something very like bankruptcy, and the property was just within reach of the auctioneer's hammer when the two great Companies stepped in and rescued it. By an Act obtained in 1845, the railway is leased to the Birmingham Company, the Great Western having the power to use it on equal terms. The West

London Company is to receive a certain percentage of the gross traffic passing over the line; but unfortunately the leasing Company has not found it worth while to work this most pitiable of railways, and consequently the West London dividend, ever since the formation of the Company in 1836, has been, to use a Stock Exchange phrase, "nil." An Act has been obtained by the leasing Company for a Thames branch from Kensington, but this also is in abeyance.

If the reader, on the road from Kensington to Hammersmith, were to look northward, he would see the closed 'terminus' of the West London Railway; and on the road from Bayswater to Acton might be seen the similarly closed Bayswater Station; further north may be seen the junction with the Great Western; and at the most northern point the junction with the Birmingham. There was an expectation that the West London Railway would be used to convey excursion visitors to the Great Exhibition *vid* Kensington instead of *vid* Euston Square; but no signs of such an advancement are visible up to the time of printing this sheet, and we may leave the silent railway without further comment.

#### KING'S CROSS STATION.

The station now being formed at King's Cross promises to be one of the largest and most important near London. Indeed, in respect to actual area, we believe it excels all the rest. It will be the metropolitan terminus of the Great Northern Railway, by which the shortest route will be obtained (and consequently *the* route) to Yorkshire and Newcastle.

Few newspaper readers are ignorant of the struggle which occurred respecting this northern traffic in 1844-5-6-7. There were the 'London and York,' the 'Direct Northern,' the 'Cambridge and Lincoln,' the 'Hull and Lincoln,' and numerous other schemes, all intended primarily to shorten the distance from London to the north; while the Midland and the Eastern Counties Companies, to preserve their own property from invasion, also planned 'direct' schemes. The principal result was the passing of the Act, in 1846, for the Great Northern Railway, which was a kind of amalgamation of the London and York with the Direct Northern schemes. Other Acts have been obtained in subsequent years, which tend to give to the Great Northern system a position of great magnitude. The northern part of the line, from about Doncaster to York, has been abandoned, or at least suspended, under arrangements with the older Companies; but there will be a tolerably direct line from London to Doncaster, a loop-line from Peterborough by Boston and Lincoln to Bawtry, another line from Boston to Grimsby, a branch from Hitchin to Cambridge, and many smaller branches. More than 220 miles of the whole system are now opened, and the rest is rapidly progressing. The operations have been conducted under severe monetary pressure; but the energy and sanguine anticipations of the directors have surmounted all difficulties; and there are growing indications of a large trade.

The site of the former Small-Pox Hospital is that chosen for the terminus of the Great Northern Railway. It is at the present time a vast wilderness, with the remains of razed houses strewed around. The destruction of property has been immense. In the first place the hospital, with the adjacent Fever Hospital, have been removed, and new structures built at the Company's expense near Highgate. Then, all the houses which bounded those hospitals on the north have been removed to give an approach to the terminus; and lastly, the whole of the property on the west side of Maiden Lane, from the New Road to the canal, has been razed to the ground, and the Lane itself doubled in width, to give a commodious road-approach to

the goods station north of the canal. The buildings were all of a very humble character, except the hospitals, but the expense of purchase must nevertheless have been very large. We might hazard a conjecture that the northern station (presently to be noticed) might have sufficed tolerably well both for passenger and goods traffic, and an expenditure of several hundred thousand pounds thereby saved; but the directors must be supposed to be the best judges of that matter. At the present time there is nothing to be seen, from the New Road to the canal, but the sites of whole streets of destroyed houses, and the preparations for forming the permanent terminus; we will therefore transfer our view further north.

At the spot where the Regent's Canal passes under Maiden Lane, the present station of the Company commences, and extends thence to a great distance north-westward; being bounded on the east by Maiden Lane, and on the south by the canal; the bridge has been rebuilt, and made double the former width, to accommodate the traffic. The extension railway to the permanent or southern station passes *under* the canal; but this part of the works is as yet unfinished. All the arrangements for passenger traffic at this station are temporary; for it is ultimately to be only a merchandise station. In its latter character it will be very large and complete. On the west of the present passenger station is a goods shed, 600 feet long by 350 wide, terminating with a row of warehouses several stories in height, for the reception of corn, flour, and other agricultural produce. There are numerous cranes for loading and unloading the waggons; and also traps or overhanging platforms to afford facilities for barges on the canal to receive or discharge goods. The great warehouse also communicates directly with the canal by an inclined tunnel.

The Company evidently contemplates a very large coal trade. The best Yorkshire coals are already supplied to every part of the metropolis at 17*s.* per ton, by the Company's own servants and waggons; and it is only a very large sale that can make this price remunerative. The works now being executed in connection with the coal department are very large. There will be four large groups of stores, of fifty bays or compartments, each capable of containing seventy tons; thus affording storage for fourteen thousand tons of coals. An ingenious contrivance allows the coal to pass from the waggon to the lower level of the store without serious shock or breakage. In the store-floors are shoots, six to each bay, through which the coal can either be discharged in bulk, or the floor can be so regulated as to allow of their being easily put into sacks. The locomotive and carriage departments of the Company are north-west of the goods and coal departments; and the whole together occupy an area of about forty-five acres.

The railway, after leaving the station, passes under Maiden Lane, under Copenhagen Fields in a tunnel, under the Caledonian Road, and over the Holloway Road. There is a tunnel at Hornsey, another near Southgate, and three more near Potter's Bar. At Welwyn occurs a magnificent viaduct of 42 arches, each 30 feet wide by 97 feet high: it is said to have cost nearly £80,000. Between Welwyn and Hitchin are two more tunnels; but beyond Hitchin the works become of a lighter character. The railway has not yet been the media of any notably large passenger traffic; but the Company's arrangements for accommodating Great Exhibition visitors seem to be judicious and liberal, and will probably bring the King's Cross terminus into great requisition.



## SHOREDITCH STATION.

The Shoreditch Station belongs to a Company which has had a very sea of trouble to wade through. The Eastern Counties Railway was planned from London to Norwich, *via* Colchester and Ipswich; but the Company spent between London and Colchester all the capital which should have carried them to Norwich. The inordinate and certainly disgraceful extortions of one or two landowners greatly impoverished the Company; while the engineer met with repeated difficulties which taxed both his skill and the directors' patience. Moreover, the line passes through a purely agricultural district, which has not paid, and will not pay, equally with a manufacturing county. Again, the Company has had to ward off opposition by amalgamations and leases, frequently on disadvantageous terms. The result of all this has been that the shareholders' dividends have been few in number and small in amount.

The original terminus for this railway was planned somewhere in the Bethnal Green neighbourhood; but it was soon felt to be desirable that the line should advance further west, to the great thoroughfare of Shoreditch. This has been effected at a great expense, for although the house property destroyed was of a poor character, it was very dense; and the line is carried wholly on brick arches. When a railway was projected to Cambridge and other north-eastern towns, a terminus was designed at Islington; but by an arrangement with the Eastern Counties Company, the Northern and Eastern consented to use the Shoreditch Station instead; and the line is carried by a curve from Tottenham to the other railway at Stratford, instead of being carried from Tottenham to Islington. At a later period the two Companies amalgamated; and still more recently, working arrangements have been made with the Norfolk Company (Brandon to Norwich and Yarmouth), and with the Eastern Union Company (Colchester to Ipswich, Bury, and Norwich); so that the Shoreditch Station now accommodates the whole East-Anglian district of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Many minor links have from time to time been added to this chain; and the outposts of the united Companies may be now said to be Peterborough, Wells, Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Harwich, North Woolwich, and London.

The Shoreditch Station is not a large one, scarcely large enough for the traffic, and much caution is required in the arrangements. There is a spacious court in front of the station, to give access to the various offices; and as the railway itself is on a considerable elevation, the roads of approach are somewhat steep. The Company's offices are on the west side, the booking-offices on the north side, and the arrival platform on the west side of the central building. Immediately beyond the station buildings, the carriage sheds spread out in long lines. The coke stores and water-tank are placed near a siding close to the main line; beyond them is a siding for light goods traffic, such as milk, poultry, and dead meat. The North Woolwich and other short traffic is accommodated by a separate branch and sheds. This is the only one of the metropolitan termini whose goods station is on arches, raised considerably above the level of the street; in all other cases (with the trifling exception at Fenchurch Street) the goods stations have been so managed that waggons and carts could come up to them on a level; but this is not the case at Shoreditch; and the defect (for a defect it certainly is) has taxed the ingenuity of all parties concerned.

The arrangements of the goods station are thus described in Mr. Weale's 'London and its Vicinity':—"On the rails level, upon a series of arches, are the spare lines upon which stand the trucks prepared for departure, or which may have arrived from the country. The quays for loading or unloading the goods are situated on the lower level, that is to say, on the level of the streets; and the waggons are respectively

ised or lowered by means of two steam lifts. These quays and lifts are on the northern side of the main line; and the former consist of two ranges of warehouses, ranged on somewhat different principles. The eastern warehouse consists of two sets of rails in the centre, with a platform for the reception of goods, and a cart-road on the side of each; the western consists of a double set of rails in the centre, with series of bays or indentations, able to receive a waggon in length, and with two rails. There are thus sixteen turn-tables, and quay space for the broadsides of twenty-four waggons, besides end space (so to speak) for two more . . . . The steam lift is able to raise nominally thirteen tons, which in all probability is a maker's exaggeration; but it can be very rarely that more than eight tons can be put upon it at once. The height of the lift is twenty-four feet; the engines twelve-horse power. On the up, or northward side, is an immense warehouse for the reception and storage of corn and agricultural produce. It contains three sets of rails on the upper level, by which the waggons can be run into the interior of the store, and is six stories in height. Its capacity is intended to be such as to receive 60,000 quarters of corn."

The railway extends from the Shoreditch terminus, almost due eastward, on arches, nearly all the way to Stratford. There is a small station at Mile End; and at Bow occurs a junction with the Blackwall Extension Railway; at this point also it crosses the railway from Camden Town, presently to be noticed. At Stratford there are so many junctions that great caution becomes necessary; on the left, or north, the Cambridge or Peterborough line branches off; in front, or eastward, extends the original line to Colchester and Ipswich; on the right, or south, branches off the short line to North Woolwich; while at the centre, where all these lines meet, are situated the extensive locomotive and repairing shops of the Company. This Stratford depot is situated on the natural level of the ground, and is, so far, much better placed for its object than the lofty Shoreditch Station.

#### FENCHURCH STATION.

We next transfer our attention to a Company whose operations cover a very small space, but which has contrived to expend on them an immense amount of capital. The London and Blackwall Railway received its Act in 1836, and was then called the Commercial Railway; but this name was changed in 1839.

The London and Blackwall Railway had originally some peculiarly individual features to distinguish it from the other metropolitan railways, arising chiefly from the fact that no locomotive engines were used on it, and that it was necessary to set down passengers very frequently. Accordingly there was an endless rope, nearly six and a half miles long, or double the length of the railway, attached to two powerful engines, one at Blackwall and one in London. A train starting from the latter was so arranged that the Blackwall carriages were foremost, and the carriages for all intermediate stations similarly placed in order. At a signal, given by means of the electric telegraph, the Blackwall engine began to wind up the rope, thereby drawing the attached carriages towards it. On approaching the first station the carriage destined for it was detached from the train by the guard, and stopped by a brake; and the same proceeding took place at all the other stations. Whilst drawing the train, the Blackwall engine had at the same time of course unwound the other part of the rope attached to the London engine, which, in its turn winding up, drew back the train, with all the carriages which before starting had been attached to the rope, wherever they were. The same line therefore, it will be seen, was used both for going and returning. This remarkable result was in great measure accomplished through that beautiful invention of our own times, the *electric telegraph*. Its importance here



may be understood when we state that it was not only necessary for the attendants at each terminus to know when the train was about to start from the opposite extremity of the line, but also when the carriages at all the five intermediate stations were ready.

But, skilful as were these arrangements, the rope traction was not commercially successful; the ropes frequently broke, even when made of iron wire, and the expense of the two large stationary engines were seriously high. When, moreover, it was contemplated by the Company to make their unsuccessful railway more prosperous by extensions and junctions with longer lines, it was felt to be impossible to effect this unless similar means of traction were adopted. The Company has formed a junction line of a mile and a half, from Stepney to the Bow Station of the Eastern Counties Railway; and soon after this was opened, the gauge of the Blackwall Railway was reduced to the national gauge of 56½ inches (it had previously been greater), and locomotives were substituted for rope traction.

The traffic on this railway is a remarkable one. So far as regards the districts of Blackwall, Poplar, Stepney, Shadwell, &c., they are too poor (although densely populated) to pay for the maintenance of any but a cheap railway; and no traffic that is likely to accrue will ever pay for the present enormously expensive line, which has cost at least £300,000 per mile. But the river terminus at Blackwall is worth more than any of the inland stations. The steamboats which leave the pier at that terminus for Greenwich, Woolwich, Gravesend, Margate, and other places, give rise to a large traffic along the few miles of this railway, especially in the summer months, and it is to this traffic that the Company mainly looks for its profits. The rule has been to make the total fares from London the same, whether a passenger steams the whole way down the Thames, or shortens the time of transit by making the railway trip to Blackwall, and there takes boat. Many attempts have been made to extend the inland trade by branches, and the extension to Bow was made with this view; but up to the present time the Company has received very little benefit from its connection with the Eastern Counties line. The Camden Town and Blackwall Railway promises better things.

In respect to stations the Blackwall Railway presents little calling for notice. The metropolitan terminus was originally in the Minories; but as this was deemed too far eastward, an extension was afterwards made to Fenchurch Street, at an enormous outlay, on account of the value of the property to be purchased. The Fenchurch Station is plain and neat, and is well served by omnibuses from various parts of London; but it is too small for any great increase of traffic beyond the present limits, while its goods station is of the humblest possible kind. The intermediate stations at Shadwell, Limehouse, West India Docks, and Poplar, are very small, but sufficient; while the Stepney Station, on account of the junction with the Bow line, is larger, but is woefully rough and rude. The Blackwall terminus is larger; the station presents a good architectural façade towards the river, and the general arrangements are convenient.

#### THE CAMDEN AND DOCKS RAILWAY.

We hardly know how to designate this railway in a few words. Its full name is, "London and Birmingham and East and West India Docks Junction Railway"—an awful affair, which, in such a business-like age as the present, ought to be shortened in some mode or other. We will call it the Camden and Docks Railway. It was designed, primarily, as a means of bringing goods traffic from the Camden Station to the Docks and the Thames; it has always belonged to an independent Company, but



the Birmingham Company has a close interest in it. The plan of the engineer was to intersect as little house property as possible ; and this plan has been carried out very skilfully, by skirting the metropolis on north and east, where a few vacant spots are still to be found. It commences by a junction at the Camden Station, where several buildings have been removed for its accommodation. It crosses Camden Town at a great elevation, with wide bridges over the Hampstead Road and College Street ; gaining the still open fields near Copenhagen House, it passes south of the Model Prison, and thence, in a walled cutting, beneath the streets of Barnsbury and Islington, to the point where Islington and Highbury meet ; it thence goes eastward to Kingsland, Dalston, Hackney, Homerton, and Hackney Wick. At this last-named point, facing the extreme north-east limit of the new Victoria Park, it bends almost due south, and passes near Old Ford, Bow, and Bromley, to a point on the Blackwall Railway midway between the East and West India Docks. It also forms a junction with the Blackwall extension line at Bow, and thereby gains access to the Fenchurch Station.

It has been said that this railway was intended principally for goods' traffic ; but as the arrangements are not yet completed for this traffic, the directors have made a remarkably bold experiment in respect to passengers. As all the suburban villages or parishes near which it passes have cheap omnibus communication with the heart of London, an attempt was made, with the co-operation of the Blackwall Company, to establish an equally cheap railway accommodation. Trains are dispatched every quarter of an hour from Camden Town, calling at intermediate stations at Islington, Kingsland, Hackney, and Bow, and conveying passengers either to Fenchurch Street or to Blackwall ; one fare is charged for each class to any or all of these distances—viz., 6*d.* for first class, and 4*d.* for second ; and for these charges passengers can travel from Camden Town to Blackwall or to the City, a distance of about eight miles. Moreover, day tickets are issued at three-fourths of these fares. The result is, that persons can travel sixteen miles for 6*d.*, in second-class carriages superior to those on most of our railways. The traffic which has already arisen is very large, and is pretty equally diffused among all the stations. The goods traffic, when it commences, will be of a wholly different character.

In respect to construction, the most noticeable features in this railway are the wrought plate iron bridges which cross the several roads : they are cheap, efficient, and easily put up. The railway crosses the Great Northern line near Maiden Lane, at a great height ; and whether owing to treacherous soil, or to some other cause, many disasters occurred at this point before the works arrived at completion.

#### LONDON BRIDGE STATION.

Let us now cross the river, and visit the stations on the Surrey side ; stations which are fully as interesting as those already touched on.

Perhaps no station in the kingdom has been the theatre of more struggles by contending Companies than that at London Bridge, on account of four Companies using the same terminus. The lines of the whole are connected together in a most remarkable manner. Thus, for a short distance there is but one line, though of immense width ; then the Croydon and Epsom Railway diverges to the right, forming to Croydon also the Brighton and Dover lines ; from Croydon the last two depart in undivided companionship as far as Redhill, about twenty-one miles from London, where they separate to seek each alone its respective destination. Such were the arrangements so long as the Companies remained disunited ; but leaseings and amal-

gamations have rendered the London Bridge Station a wholly different one from that with which travellers were familiar a few years ago. Let us briefly trace these changes.

First came the *Greenwich Railway*. The Act for this was obtained in 1833, and the line was finished at the enormous cost of a million sterling, for less than four miles of length. The next in the field was the *Croydon Railway* (1835). As this could not conveniently obtain a separate terminus near London, it was agreed that it should start from a middle point on the Greenwich line, and pay toll for the use of two miles of that line. The third stage was the *Brighton Railway*, which, after an unprecedented parliamentary expenditure in a struggle with rival Companies, was finally determined on in 1836, and planned so as to start from the Croydon Railway at a point about a mile from Croydon. We thus find that the Croydon had to pay toll to the Greenwich, and the Brighton to pay toll to both; but as if this was not complication enough, another member of the group appeared by the Act for the *Dover Railway*, in 1837; this was to start from the Brighton Railway near Reigate, and was to pay toll to all the other Companies for the length passed over.

Such were the preliminary arrangements; such the 'cause of quarrel,' as we may well term it; now for the solution of the quarrel. The Greenwich Company widened their line to accommodate the other Companies, but charged so high for the accommodation as to dissatisfy them all without much enriching their own exchequer. The Brighton Company had in like manner cause of complaint against the Croydon; and the Dover against the Brighton. After many threatened schemes of opposition, and much useless expenditure of capital, the four Companies became two. The Dover took a lease of the Greenwich, and the Brighton amalgamated with the Croydon; and the London Bridge terminus has ever since belonged conjointly to two powerful Companies.

The effects of these rivalries and leasings have been to entail immense cost at the station. The original station for the Greenwich Railway was a small and humble one; but the formation of the longer railways necessitated the construction of a larger station, a greater width of rails, and a more convenient approach. The three Companies, Croydon, Brighton, and Dover (or, as they were briefly called in the committee-rooms of the House of Commons, the B, C, and D Companies) joined in these works, and contributed in certain ratios towards the expense; the Joint Station Committee being elected from the three Boards of Directors. It was under this arrangement that the London Bridge Station was built, which existed until within the last few months, but of which scarcely a vestige now remains. It has been superseded by a station more commodious, perhaps, but certainly less architectural. The late station presented a façade in the Italian palazzo style; the length of the façade was 250 feet; it was broken into two stories, and at the right, or south end of the façade, was an observation tower, in the campanile style, which was a great ornament to the building. But when the South-Eastern Company obtained an Act for their North Kent line, it was found that more terminus room would be wanted; and as the joint-station arrangement had been marred by much bickering, it was determined to put an end to that system, and to build an entirely new terminus. The station was pulled down, and two new ones built, entirely distinct from end to end, although the same road of approach serves for both. The new South-Eastern station is miserably poor and bald in an architectural sense; the Brighton is more ornate, but is straggling in arrangement, and placed very much out of view. The amount of capital expended within a quarter of a mile circle at this spot, during the last sixteen years, must have been truly enormous.

On approaching the station from London Bridge, we find that not only is it built

irely upon brick arches, but that the road of approach is also so built. Immediately front is the monotonous group of windows belonging to the South-Eastern Company, with the Dover entrances at one part, and the North Kent entrances at another. On the left, close to or rather overhanging Tooley Street, is the Greenwich Station, standing far back. On the right is the Brighton and Croydon Station, with all the offices belonging to that Company. On the left of the approach-road is a group of shops forming an arcade, intended for retail trade, but not yet occupied. Looking over the palisading on either side, we see the houses and streets far beneath us, and begin to form some judgment of the amount of property which must have been destroyed and paid for to make room for the station and its approaches. But this is better seen from below, where various arches or tunnels pass entirely beneath the station, maintaining communication between streets which were formerly connected in the ordinary way.

To trace the course of the various lines which radiate from this busy spot forms no part of the object of the present work. An active traffic indeed it is. There is the enormous Greenwich trade, employing sixty trains a day in each direction. There is the rapidly increasing North Kent traffic, which, commanding such stations as Woolwich, Gravesend, and Chatham, cannot be otherwise than extensive. There is the South-Eastern Railway proper, whose sea-side termini now comprise Whitstable, Margate, Ramsgate, Sandwich, Deal, Dover, Folkstone, Rye, and Hastings. There is the South Coast Railway, which grasps Hastings at one end, Brighton at the centre, and Portsmouth at the other end of its sea-side boundary. And lastly there is the Croydon and Epsom branch, which has about sixteen stations to accommodate "short office" passengers. The London and North-Western Railway will excel it in relation to manufactures; but no other terminus commands, with the same mileage of way, so many pleasure towns as the London Bridge Station.

#### BRICKLAYERS' ARMS STATION.

When struggles occurred between various southern Companies a few years ago, the want of a west end terminus was often urged as an objection to the Dover and Greenwich Companies. As an approach towards the west end, the Bricklayers' Arms Station was built, and a branch made to it from the Croydon Railway. But all attempts to command or create a traffic from this point have failed; the tavern from which the station takes its name, and near which it is situated, is actually farther removed than the London Bridge terminus from all the six bridges (London to Westminster). The Dover, the Croydon, the North Kent, and the Greenwich traffic have all been tested from this point, but all in succession have failed.

There was, however, another motive for the construction of this station. The London Bridge Station, being built entirely upon arches, and being busily occupied with the passenger traffic, is eminently unfitted for goods traffic. All the principal railways find it desirable, to a greater or less degree, to separate the two kinds of traffic; and this separation became still more desirable at London Bridge on account of the high level. The Bricklayers' Arms Station became at once the goods dépôt for the Dover Company; and the advantages of the arrangement have been so apparent that the Brighton Company have purchased a share in the advantages, and removed their goods dépôt from New Cross to this point.

The establishment of a connection between the Bricklayers' Arms Station and the various lines of the two Companies has been managed by a curious array of engineering works. At a point near the Grand Surrey Canal these junctions occur in plentiful abundance—one line leaping over another in a somewhat daring way. First, we have the



original Greenwich Railway; then we have the Croydon Railway joining it at Corio's Lane; then the Bricklayers' Arms branch from the Croydon Railway at the crossing of the canal; then the North Kent springing from the Greenwich at the crossing of the canal; then a short line from the point where this last-named junction takes place, descending so as to pass *under* the Croydon Railway, and rising again to form a junction with the Bricklayers' Arms branch; and lastly, a Thames junction branch belonging to the Brighton Company, passing *under* the Greenwich line at the point of junction with the North Kent. We thus find that each Company creeps under the line of the other, in forming the various junctions.

#### WATERLOO STATION.

Our circuit has now brought us to the last Company whose railways have a metropolitan terminus—the *South Western*. This Company does not command so extensive a mileage as those whose termini are at Paddington, Euston Square, King's Cross, Shoreditch, and London Bridge. The original or primary railway was from Nine Elms to Southampton. At subsequent periods were formed minor branches from Bishopstoke to Gosport, from Fareham to Portsmouth, from Bishopstoke to Salisbury, from Woking to Guildford and Farnham, from Weybridge to Chertsey, and from Kingston to Hampton Court. The Company also became possessed, by purchase or leasing, of a railway from Southampton to Dorchester, and of the short but busy lines to Richmond, Brentford, Twickenham, Windsor, &c. The Nine Elms terminus is quite as favourably circumstanced as that at Paddington for general traffic; yet the intense competition of 1845 led to the extension of the line eastward to the vicinity of Waterloo Bridge, at a cost which almost staggers belief, and which can scarcely be justified by any probable increase of traffic. The Nine Elms Station was a neat and convenient one; easy access was obtained to it by the river steamboats; and when this was the terminus of the South Western line, and the Company had not yet hampered itself with guarantees and leasings, its prospects were brighter than they have since been; but as the same may be said of most of the other Companies, we need not expatiate on this point. Since the extension to Waterloo Bridge, the Nine Elms Station has formed the locomotive and carriage depôt and the goods station, and seems to be well fitted for these purposes.

The Waterloo terminus is a strange mass of ugliness in its present form. Look at it from what side we will, there is nothing to make us wish to "look upon its like again." It is elevated at a great height, on brick arches, but is rude and rough on all sides. No one can understand why this should be without bearing in mind that one part of the Company's scheme is to extend their line still further, to the vicinity of London Bridge; in which case the Waterloo Station would cease to be the terminus, and would only require the usual arrangements of a road-side station. The London Bridge extension has, however, been abandoned, and the Waterloo Station bids fair to be the permanent terminus of the South Western Railway. To build a series of station buildings worthy of the railway would be an ornament to a district very much in need of ornament; but it would entail a large expenditure; and the directors have to balance these advantages and disadvantages as best they may. As matters now stand, there are two ascending roads of approach to the station from the Waterloo Road, and staircase approaches for the Hungerford and Westminster passengers. The booking-offices and waiting-rooms are plain and temporary; and no buildings have been constructed beyond those actually needed for the traffic. From Waterloo Station the railway is four lines in width to Nine Elms, and presents an aspect of great magnitude and boldness. The bridges which span some of the roads are among the most remarkable skew bridges connected with railway engineering.

## DAILY WORKING ECONOMY AT EUSTON STATION.

The sketch which Sir Francis Head gave of the daily working details of the London and North Western Railway, in an article in the 'Quarterly Review' for 1848, though filled with rattling gossip in magazine style, contains many really instructive details, from which we will pick out a few here and there, so far as they relate to the Euston and Camden Stations.

As soon as an up-train is seen to emerge from the Primrose Hill tunnel, a man at the Camden Station transmits a signal to Euston Square to communicate the fact. A bell is rung, to prepare the porters and others; and the station-master ascertains that there is a clear stage for the approaching train. Not until he orders a white flag to wave, is a return signal sent to Camden Town; and not until this return signal is transmitted, does the train descend the inclined plane from the Camden Station to the terminus. The train draws up, the porters open the doors, the cabmen are ready, and all is bustle. "Numerous salutations, and kissings of hands of all colours and sizes, are seen to pass between several of the inmates of the passing train, and those seated in or on the motley line of conveyances standing stock still which have been awaiting their arrival. A wife suddenly recognises her husband, a mother her four children, a sister her two dear brothers; Lady A. B. politely bows to Lady C. D.; John, from his remote coach-box, grins with honest joy as faithful Susan glides by; while Sally bashfully smiles at a 'gentleman' in plush breeches reclining in the rumble of the barouche behind it."

Immediately on the departure of the passengers from the train, every carriage is examined from top to bottom. The buffer rods are rubbed and oiled; axle-boxes are supplied with a yellow lubricating paste of tallow and palm oil; the luggage straps at the top of the carriages are cleaned and oiled; the interior is examined, and every seat, cushion, pocket, and recess searched; and all articles left in the carriages by the passengers are taken to a particular office. The carriages are then drawn off into a siding, where they are waited upon by a party of "the housemaids," clattering in wooden shoes and in leather leggings rising above their bony knees; these wash and mop the carriages. The carriages are all then examined by a foreman, who orders off to the repairing shop any that may seem to need it; while a duster dusts and brushes and wipes the interior of the remaining carriages.

Many of our readers may possibly have seen an office doorway in Seymour Street, close to the Euston Station, inscribed with the name "Railway Clearing House." The history of this establishment is full of instruction in connection with the railway system. When various railways became connected end to end, it was absolutely necessary to devise some means of combined operation, to prevent passengers from being shifted from one train to another when they leave one Company's territory and enter upon that of another. All the formalities of booking, weighing, loading, packing, and conveying goods, and booking and conveying passengers,—if they had to be observed by every Company for the same goods or the same passengers—would entail ruinous delays and charges: indeed, the long traffic would be almost paralyzed. To remedy the evil, a remarkable and most successful scheme has been planned and adopted, based on the "clearing house" system of the London bankers. A sort of imaginary Company is formed, called the *Clearing House*, to which all the railways stand related as debtors and creditors, and which manages all the payments from one Company to another. At the end of 1849 there were forty-nine Companies interested in the Euston Square Clearing House; they had 887 stations, from any one of which passengers or goods could be booked to any other; thus comprising about 400,000 pairs



of places between which traffic might be conducted. Passengers pay all their fare to the Company from whose station they start; but the goods toll may be paid at either end of the journey, according to circumstances. The Clearing House has to calculate how large a share is to come to every Company, according to the mileage run, for every passenger, parcel, and ton of goods, according to the rates of charge decided on by all the Companies. Most of the Companies provide locomotives, carriages, and waggons; and all these may run on any of the lines, according to arrangement; the Clearing House has then to determine how much each Company is entitled to charge for such rolling stock as is thus employed. There is thus a double account—every Company charges all the rest for the use of every mile of its rails; and every Company charges all the rest for the use of its carriages, &c.; and the Clearing House has to determine the exact ratios, day by day. The Booking Company pays all the Government duty on a passenger's fare; and this also has to be afterwards adjusted by other Companies, over whose lines the same train runs. A *black* ink return is forwarded from every station to the Clearing House every day, stating the amount of booking, money received, goods sent, &c.; a *red* ink return, of like frequency, states the amount of goods, &c., arrived; and the Clearing House has to square up these accounts. The sum total of all black accounts ought to agree with that of all the red; if the agreement does not appear, the Clearing House seeks out the cause of discrepancy. All the tickets and cheques are likewise sent, and these must be made to agree with the amount of money received. Agents of the Clearing House attend at every junction and every station; and the system pursued is so rigorous, that the daily history (so to speak) of every locomotive and carriage can be traced. The Clearing House (which settles monthly with all the Companies) had, at the end of 1849, under its financial charge 3633 miles of railway and 887 stations, and had to partition among the Companies a gross revenue of £1,691,720 in that year; these were the accounts of the Companies against each other, and not including the local traffic on each distinct line. The managers of the Clearing House are elected by all the Companies interested.

The *Parcel Office* is little less interesting in its management than the passengers' platforms. The superintendent has within view two offices or compartments, one laden with parcels which have arrived by train, and one with parcels which are about to be dispatched. In the daytime the 'down' parcels are dispatched in the break waggons of the various passenger trains; while at night a train of locked-up vans is dispatched. When the parcels are about to be thus sent, a porter calls out the name of the person to whom it is to be sent, the weight, and how much (if any) has been paid on it. A clerk enters these particulars, another clerk writes out a label, another porter pastes this label on the parcel, and the parcels are forthwith transferred to the van or carriage. All this proceeds with marvellous quickness.

The *Lost Luggage Office*, at the Euston Station, is not the least remarkable feature in that stupendous establishment. If a passenger has lost any of his luggage, there is an office where he can apply concerning it; if a railway porter finds luggage in a railway carriage, without an owner, there is a room where it is deposited; and the Company spares no pains in affording facilities for the due return of the property. Yet it is surprising how much luggage is left at the various stations, and never called for. In one apartment such articles are kept two months, ticketed and numbered; and if not reclaimed before that time, they are transferred to a large vaulted chamber, where they are placed in different compartments according to their nature. If not claimed in two years, they are sold by auction. The lively author of 'Stokers and Pokers' gives the following picture of what met his view on a visit to this vaulted



chamber :—"One compartment is choke-full of men's hats ; another of parasols, umbrellas, and sticks of every possible description. One would think that all the ladies' reticules on earth were deposited in a third. How many little smelling-bottles—how many little embroidered pocket-handkerchiefs—how many little musty eatables and comfortable drinkables—how many little bills, important little notes, and other very small secrets, each may have contained, we felt that we would not for the world have ascertained . . . . One gentleman had left behind him a pair of leather hunting breeches ; another his boot-jack. A soldier of the 22nd Regiment had left his knapsack, containing his kit. Another soldier of the 10th, poor fellow, had left his scarlet regimental coat. Some cripple, probably overjoyed at the sight of his family, had left behind him his crutches. But what astonished us above all was, that some honest Scotchman, probably in the ecstasy of seeing among the crowd the face of his faithful Jeannie, had actually left behind him the best portion of his bagpipes. Some little time ago the superintendent, on breaking open, previous to a general sale, a locked leather hat-box, which had lain in this dungeon two years, found in it, under the hat, £65 in Bank of England notes, with one or two private letters, which enabled him to restore the money to the owner, who, it turned out, had been so positive that he had left his hat-box at a hotel at Birmingham, that he had made no inquiry for it at the railway office."

#### PROJECTS FOR NEW STATIONS AND JUNCTIONS.

The year 1851 is one which is marked by a very different state of the public mind from that of many previous years. The world's industry, and the palace which contains so many of the products of that industry, are now the absorbing topics ; and we forget (among other things) the railway mania of past years. Any account of the metropolitan termini would scarcely be complete, however, without a notice of the extraordinary plans promulgated a few years ago for improving those termini. Only one or two of those plans have been carried out ; but others may be so hereafter, and all are interesting—as beacons, if not guides.

A commission of five persons—of whom three were members of Parliament, one the Lord Mayor, and one an engineer—were appointed in 1846, to "investigate the various projects for establishing railway termini within or in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis." The report of that Commission exhibits one of the most extraordinary collections of daring commercial and engineering projects ever presented to public notice.

Any one who remembers the railway fever of 1846 will easily call to mind the struggles made by the various Companies, whose trains start from London, to trip up their rivals by offering increased accommodation ; as well as the multitude of new projects brought forward by bubble Companies. In order to prevent the labours of the Commission from branching out into almost interminable details, the following limits were imposed :—1st. The Commission was to examine only such projects as were brought before Parliament in that session. 2nd. It was to examine and determine whether the extension of railways into the centre of the metropolis is calculated to afford such additional convenience or benefit to the public as will compensate for the sacrifice of property, the interruption of important thoroughfares, and the interference with plans of street-improvement, likely to arise out of such an extension. 3rd. It was to confine its attention chiefly to the space bounded by the following limits—the Edgeware Road, from Oxford Street to the New Road ; the New Road and City Road to Finsbury Square ; Bishopsgate Street ; London Bridge ; High Street,

Borough, and Blackman Street; Borough Road and Lambeth Road; Vauxhall Road and Vauxhall Bridge Road; Grosvenor Place; and Park Lane.

The following formidable list presented itself to the Commission: each one urged on by an eager army of solicitors, engineers, traffic takers, and advocates of various kinds, whose evidence required to be sifted with especial care, to separate the true from the doubtful or untrue:—

1. Extension of the Eastern Counties Railway to Finsbury Square.
2. Ditto . . . Ditto . . . . . Fore Street.
3. Ditto . . . Ditto . . . . . Farringdon Street.
4. Extension of London and Birmingham Railway to Farringdon Street.
5. City extension of proposed London and Manchester Railway.
6. North London Junction Railway.
7. Regent's Canal Railway.
8. Direct Northern Railway Extension to Holborn.
9. Camden Town and West India Dock Railway.
10. General Central Terminus in Farringdon Street.
11. Great Western and Central Junction Railway.
12. Thames Embankment Central Terminus.
13. London Railway.
14. London Connecting Railway and Railway Transit Line.
15. National Junction Railway and City Terminus.
16. North Kent Railway.
17. South-Eastern Extension to Waterloo Bridge.
18. South-Western Extension to London Bridge.
19. West End and Southern Counties Railway.

In a large map of the metropolis, appended to the Commissioners' report, the whole of these schemes are laid down in coloured lines, so far as regards the metropolis itself; and here it will be seen that the engineers of the various projects did not scruple to overspan (on paper) the principal thoroughfares on both sides of the Thames, and the Thames itself. Without dwelling on the merits or demerits of the schemes, we will give a few extracts from the Report of the Commissioners on the plans as a whole.

In relation to the convenience and benefit of the public, the Commissioners say:—  
 "We are of opinion, that, as regards *Passengers*, the demand for that further accommodation which would be given to them by extending the present lines towards the centre of the metropolis, and the advantage which would be derived from such accommodation, have been much exaggerated. It is no doubt true that, for persons to or from the City, the terminus of the Great Western at Paddington is inconvenient; and the same must be admitted of the Eastern Counties terminus at Shoreditch, in regard to passengers to or from the West End of London. And if these lines were to be laid down afresh, it would perhaps be a benefit to the public at large, that they should enter London at points respectively east and west of their present stations. . . . The station of the Birmingham Railway in Euston Square is, on the whole, situated conveniently for the great mass of passengers; this opinion is supported by the fact that the distribution of the passengers for the various stations in London may be estimated to take place in the proportion of 9 to the west, and 4 to the east, of a line drawn north and south through Temple Bar." The Commissioners further state, that while the short traffic from London is chiefly on the south of the Thames, the passengers northward take much longer journeys; that the long passengers do

not value much an extension of a railway into the heart of the town, which bears but small ratio to the distance they have travelled; and therefore, if any extensions were necessary, it were better they should be on the south than the north of the Thames, irrespective of their lesser expense.

In respect to the centralization plan, they say:—"If the convenience of passengers does not call for the prolongation of railways into the heart of the metropolis, still less does it require the establishment of any one central terminus, at which the railways from different parts of the country should meet. We believe that the number of passengers who desire to pass through London without quitting the railway, and to whom principally such an arrangement would be an advantage, is so small as to be scarcely appreciable."

The accommodation of the *Merchandise* traffic is thus noticed:—"It is our opinion, supported by the evidence of experienced and very intelligent witnesses, that, so far as an easy, unbroken, and economical communication between the northern railways and the Docks, or the east of London generally, is concerned, this object can be more conveniently and easily attained by a line which should pass outside the metropolis on the north, at such a distance as to avoid interference with populous districts and thronged thoroughfares; and so connect the goods stations of the various railways from west to east with each other, terminating at some convenient point on the Thames or within the Docks." So far as regards the goods station of the Birmingham line, this object is now nearly attained (and will soon be fully attained) by the Camden Town and Docks Railway; while a similar junction might be very easily formed with the Great Northern and the Eastern Counties goods stations.

In respect to the interruption of thoroughfares, the Commissioners report their "decided opinion, that unless the existing main lines of streets are enlarged and improved to a degree far beyond the intention, and perhaps beyond the means, of any of the railway Companies or projectors with whom we have had communication, the Legislature would not be justified in sanctioning the extension of any railway into the neighbourhood of those streets."

And in relation to the proposals for carrying a railway across the Thames within the metropolis, the Commissioners say:—"We are of opinion that there are strong reasons for discouraging such a scheme. An increase in the number of bridges already existing cannot take place without creating a new obstruction to the navigation of the river, and therefore should not be permitted except upon grounds of paramount necessity. To withdraw from ordinary traffic, and to appropriate to the purposes of a railway, any of the existing bridges, would be an inconvenience and injury to the public: and no plan which has been brought before us for adapting any of the bridges to both purposes is free from serious practical objections."

The result of the whole inquiry was, that the Commissioners discountenance any through-town connection of the railways north of the Thames, or any general terminus, or any railway bridge over the Thames within the limits of the metropolis; but they approve of some modes of bringing the southern railways as near the Thames as convenient, and also a cordon or circle of railways, intended to connect the existing lines at points beyond the immediate limits of the metropolis, so as to bring goods traffic to the Thames and the Docks, and to accommodate traffic for special purposes, but not with a view to bring the various streams of traffic to a general central terminus.

Dr. Lardner, in his 'Railway Economy,' presents in a clear and forcible light the advantageous effects of railways in facilitating the supply of food to large towns.



"The extent of soil by which great cities are supplied with perishable articles of food is necessarily limited by the speed of transport. A ring of country immediately about a great capital, is occupied by market gardens and other establishments supplying the vast population collected in the city with their commodities. The width of this ring will be determined by the speed with which the articles in question can be transported. It cannot exceed such a breadth as will enable the produce raised at its extreme limit to reach the centre in such time as may be compatible with their fitness for use. It is evident that any improvement in transport which will double its speed will double the radius of this circle; an improvement which will treble its speed will increase the same radius in a threefold proportion. Now a given actual area or quantity of soil included within such a radius is augmented, not in the simple ratio of the radius itself, but in the proportion of its square, it follows that a double speed will give a fourfold area of supply, a treble speed a ninefold area of supply, and so on. How great the advantages therefore are which in this case attend increased speed are abundantly apparent."

The same writer points out the effects of railways in "de-centralizing" the population of inhabited cities. If persons can travel—say even only twice as far—in a given time as formerly, from London, the area of the vicinity placed within their reach is not simply doubled but quadrupled; and, so far as locomotion is concerned, they are still as near their business establishments as before. "It is not now unusual for persons whose place of business is in the centre of the capital, to reside with their families at a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from that centre. Nevertheless, they are able to arrive at their respective shops, counting-houses, or offices, at an early hour of the morning, and to return without inconvenience to their residence at the same time in the evening. Hence in all directions round the metropolis in which railways are extended, habitations are multiplied, and a considerable part of the former population of London has been diffused in these quarters. . . . This principle of diffusion, moreover, is not confined to the towns only; it extends to an entire country when intersected by lines of easy, rapid, and cheap communication. The population instead of being condensed into masses, is more uniformly diffused; and the extent of the diffusion which may be thus effected, compatibly with the same degree of facility of course, would be, to use an arithmetical phrase, in the direct proportion of the square of the speed of locomotion." It is not only true, as above stated, that 'city dwellers live fifteen or twenty miles out of town, and come up by railway to business in the morning, but even *Brighton* is made a suburb of London in this way. By meeting the express trains and the season tickets, the facilities afforded on this line are extraordinary. A person can breakfast at Brighton, reach London for business about eight o'clock, remain in town till half-past four, and return to Brighton to dinner by six. While writing, these facilities are about being increased by another feature—the establishment of a train from London at a little before ten at night, and reaching Brighton a little after eleven. The results of such arrangements as these on the daily life of passengers must necessarily be considerable; and we do not for an instant doubt that the balance of the results is a favourable one.

THE END.

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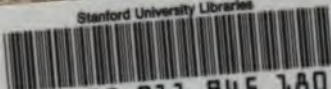








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